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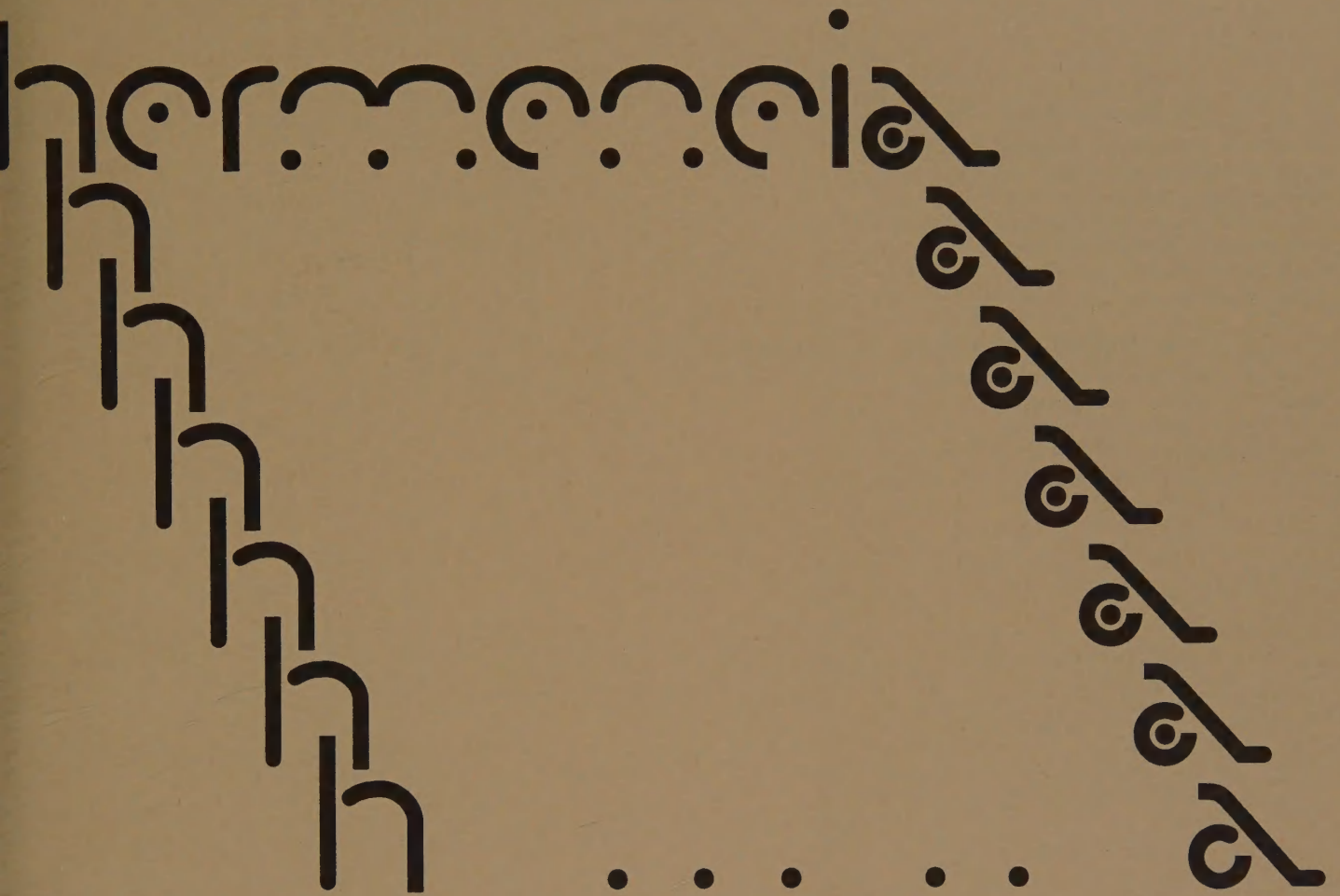


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**Hermeneia
—A Critical
and Historical
Commentary
on the Bible**

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1 Enoch 1



A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch,
Chapters 1-36; 81-108
by George W. E. Nickelsburg

Edited by
Klaus Baltzer

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1 Enoch 1
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Chapters 1-36; 81-108

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■ TO MARILYN

George W. E. Nickelsburg was born in 1934 and lives in Iowa City, Iowa. He received his education at Valparaiso University, Concordia Seminary, Washington University, and Harvard University, where he did his doctoral work with Krister Stendahl, Helmut Koester, Frank M. Cross, and John Strugnell. In 1963–64 he was Thayer Fellow at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and a field supervisor in archeological digs at Tell Ta'annek, the Wâdi-ed-Dâliyeh, and Tell el-Ful.

For three years he served as pastor of a Lutheran parish in Akron, Ohio. Then for more than three decades he taught on the faculty of The University of Iowa, where he was director of its School of Religion for five years and developed public programming in religion and the arts. He retired as Professor Emeritus in 2000.

The history and literature of early Judaism and the relationships between early Judaism and Christian origins have been the special focus of Nickelsburg's research. His monographs include *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1972) and *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Fortress Press, 1981). He has also co-edited several collections and Festschriften that have made lasting contributions, including *Faith and Piety in Early Judaism: Texts and Documents* (Fortress Press, 1983); *Christians among Jews and Gentiles: Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Fortress Press, 1986); *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Scholars Press, 1986); and *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Fortress Press, 1991). He is also the author of seventy articles and several hundred dictionary and encyclopedia entries. In the Society of Biblical Literature, he was chair of the Pseudepigrapha Group (1973–80) and co-editor of the series Septuagint and Cognate Studies. He has served on the editorial boards of *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, *Dead Sea Discoveries*, and the *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period: 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*

Contents	Endpapers	xx
	Foreword to Hermeneia	xxi
	Preface	xxiii
	Reference Codes	xxvii
	1. Sources and Abbreviations	xxvii
	2. Short Titles	xxxii
	3. Sigla Relating to the Translation and Its Textual Base	xxxviii
■ Introduction		
	0.0. Prolegomena	1
	0.1. Literary Approach	1
	0.2. Historical Dimensions	2
	0.3. Translation and Textual Base	3
	0.4. Some Hermeneutical and Theological Observations	4
	0.4.1. The Universal Embrace of Religious Concern	4
	0.4.2. The Text in Its Physical Environment	4
	0.4.3. This-Worldly Apocalypticism	5
	0.4.4. Reading Apocalyptic Eschatology in Its Historical Context	5
	0.4.5. Divine Justice and the Human Impulse toward Vengeance and Hatred	5
	0.4.6. Some Unusual Theological Formulations	5
	1.0. A Short Account of the Book	7
	1.1. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)	7
	1.2. The Book of Parables (Chaps. 37–71)	7
	1.3. The Book of the Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82)	7
	1.4. The Dream Visions (Chaps. 83–90)	8
	1.5. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105)	8
	1.6. The Birth of Noah (Chaps. 106–107)	8
	1.7. Another Book of Enoch (Chap. 108)	8
	1.8. The Book of Giants	8
	2.0. Texts and Manuscripts	9
	2.1. Aramaic Texts	9
	2.1.1. Aramaic the Original Language?	9
	2.1.2. Manuscripts	9
	2.1.2.1. 1 Enoch 1–36, 85–107	9
	2.1.2.2. The Book of the Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82)	10
	2.1.2.3. The Book of Giants	10
	2.1.3. Implications	11
	2.2. Greek Version	12
	2.2.1. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)	12
	2.2.1.1. The Akhmim Manuscript (Codex Panopolitanus)	12
	2.2.1.2. The <i>Chronography</i> of George Syncellus	12
	2.2.2. Fragments of the Book of the Luminaries and the Animal Vision	13

2.2.3. An Excerpt from the Animal Vision (Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1809)	13
2.2.4. The Epistle of Enoch (Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus)	13
2.2.5. Date and Provenance	14
2.3. Latin Quotations and References to 1 Enoch	14
2.4. A Coptic Fragment of the Apocalypse of Weeks	15
2.5. A Syriac Excerpt from the Book of the Watchers	15
2.6. The Ethiopic Version of 1 Enoch	15
2.7. The Textual Base for This Commentary	18
2.8. The Translation as It Relates to the Textual Situation	20
3.0. 1 Enoch as a Literary Composition	21
3.1. Literary History of the Corpus	21
3.1.1. The Manuscript Evidence	21
3.1.1.1. The Ethiopic Version	21
3.1.1.2. The Greek Manuscripts	21
3.1.1.3. The Qumran Aramaic Manuscripts	21
3.1.2. Literary Macrostructure	21
3.1.2.1. A Pentateuch?	21
3.1.2.2. A Testament	22
3.1.3. The Development of the Corpus	25
3.1.3.1. Development Resulting in a Testament	25
3.1.3.2. From a Testament to 1 Enoch	26
3.2. Function of the Enochic Corpus	26
3.3. Literary Microstructures	28
3.3.1. Genres and Forms	28
3.3.1.1. Rewritten Biblical Narrative	29
3.3.1.2. A Prophetic Call Narrative	30
3.3.1.3. Cosmic Journeys	30
3.3.1.4. A Prophetic Oracle	31
3.3.1.5. Dream Visions	32
3.3.1.6. Historical Reviews	32
3.3.1.7. An Epistle	33
3.3.1.8. Forms within the Epistle of Enoch: Woes, Exhortations, Descriptions of the Future, a Beatitude, and Revelatory Formulas	34
3.3.1.9. Prayers	34
3.3.1.10. Doxologies	34
3.3.2. Poetry in 1 Enoch	35
3.3.2.1. Parallelism and Prosodic Structure	35
3.3.2.2. Literary Devices	36
4.0. Worldview and Religious Thought	37
4.1. The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality	37
4.1.1. The Focal Point: The Coming Judgment	37
4.1.2. Temporal and Spatial Dimensions	37
4.1.2.1. Temporal Dimension	38
4.1.2.2. Spatial and Material Dimension	38
4.1.2.3. Temporal Dualism	40

4.1.2.4. Cosmic Dualism	40
4.1.2.5. Ontological Dualism between Divine and Human	40
4.1.2.6. The Disaster of Life Here and Now: At the Intersection of Several Dualisms	41
4.1.3. Salvation in 1 Enoch: The Resolution of Its Dualisms	41
4.1.3.1. Salvation in the Future, When God Intervenes	41
4.1.3.2. Salvation in the Present: Bridging the Dualisms through Revelation to the Community of the Righteous and Chosen	41
4.2. God and Humanity	42
4.2.1. God	42
4.2.1.1. God's Epithets	42
4.2.1.2. God as King and Lord	43
4.2.2. God's Heavenly Entourage	43
4.2.2.1. Titles	43
4.2.2.2. Functions	44
4.2.2.3. Use of Proper Names	45
4.2.2.4. The Chosen One	45
4.2.3. Sin as Rebellion against the Divine King's Sovereignty	46
4.2.3.1. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)	46
4.2.3.2. The Animal Vision (Chaps. 85–90)	47
4.2.3.3. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105)	47
4.2.3.4. The Book of Parables (Chaps. 37–71)	47
4.2.4. God as Judge and Savior	48
4.2.4.1. Judgment as the Restoration of Justice	48
4.2.4.2. Resurrection of the Dead	49
4.2.4.3. The Locus of Final Divine Blessing	49
4.2.4.4. A Profile of the Judgment?	49
4.2.5. Covenant, Torah, and Wisdom	50
4.2.5.1. The Sinaitic Covenant and Torah	50
4.2.5.2. Revealed Wisdom: The Source and Criterion for Human Conduct	50
4.2.5.3. Law and Order	51
4.2.5.4. The Myth of Wisdom's Descent	52
4.2.5.5. Wisdom as a Comprehensive Category	52
4.2.5.6. The Wisdom of the Chosen: 1 Enoch's Constitutive Category	52
4.2.5.7. The Interrelationship of Election and Revelation	53
4.2.5.8. The Chosen of Israel and the Nations	54
4.2.6. Forgiveness of Sin—A Minor Issue in 1 Enoch	54
4.2.7. Temple and Cult in 1 Enoch	54
4.2.8. Apocalyptic Eschatology and Eschatological Revelation	55
5.0. 1 Enoch in Its Contexts	57

5.1. History of Ideas	57
5.1.1. Israelite	57
5.1.1.1. Scripture in 1 Enoch	57
5.1.1.2. Torah and Wisdom	58
5.1.1.3. A Fusion of Prophetic and Sapiential Streams	59
5.1.1.4. Varieties in Prophetic Wisdom or Sapiential Prophecy: The Marginalization or Centrality of Mosaic Law	60
5.1.2. Non-Israelite	61
5.1.2.1. Mesopotamian Sources	61
5.1.2.2. 1 Enoch and Hellenism	62
5.1.2.2.1. Cosmology and Mythic Geography	62
5.1.2.2.2. Parallels to Greek Myth	62
5.2. Social Contexts	62
5.2.1. Antipathy to Hellenistic Culture	62
5.2.2. Setting in Conflict, Persecution, and Oppression	63
5.2.2.1. Israel and the Nations	63
5.2.2.2. Social Conflict between Rich and Lowly	63
5.2.2.3. Religious Conflict	63
5.2.3. The Enochic Community	64
5.2.3.1. Evidence of a Community	64
5.2.3.2. Relationship to Known Groups	64
5.2.3.2.1. The Hasidim	64
5.2.3.2.2. The Qumran Community	65
5.2.3.2.3. A Galilean Provenance?	65
5.2.4. Offices and Institutions: Who Were the Enochic Authors?	65
5.2.4.1. Scribes, Sages, and Seers	65
5.2.4.2. Priests?	67
5.2.4.3. The Charismatic Figure Hidden behind the Persona of Enoch	67
5.3. 1 Enoch and the History of Jewish Apocalypticism	68
5.3.1. Daniel	68
5.3.2. 4 Ezra	68
5.3.3. 2 Baruch	69
5.3.4. <i>The Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	69
5.3.5. From Enoch to Abraham	69
6.0. 1 Enoch in the Ongoing Tradition	71
6.1. Introduction: The Figure of Enoch	71
6.2. Judaism	71
6.2.1. The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira	71
6.2.2. Pseudo-Eupolemos	71
6.2.3. <i>The Book of Jubilees</i>	71
6.2.3.1. The Authority of Enoch	72
6.2.3.2. <i>Jubilees</i> ' Use of Enochic Traditions about the Watchers	72
6.2.3.2.1. The Descent of the Watchers	72
6.2.3.2.2. Narrative about the Watchers' Sin and Judgment	73

6.2.3.2.3. Noah's Retrospective Reference to the Prediluvian Events	73
6.2.3.2.4. Kainam Transmits the Watchers' Teaching	73
6.2.3.2.5. Noah's Final Instructions and <i>Jubilees'</i> Demonology	73
6.2.3.3. The Use of Traditions about Enoch's Life and Activity	73
6.2.3.3.1. Enoch the Sage, Seer, and Writer	73
6.2.3.3.2. Enoch's Time with the Angels	74
6.2.3.3.3. Enoch's Departure for Paradise and His Subsequent Activity	74
6.2.3.3.4. Enoch as Witness and the Author of a Testimony	75
6.2.4. The Genesis Apocryphon	76
6.2.5. The Aramaic Levi Document	76
6.2.6. Enoch at Qumran	76
6.2.7. The Wisdom of Solomon	78
6.2.8. Philo of Alexandria	79
6.2.9. Josephus	79
6.2.10. <i>4 Ezra</i> 11–13 and <i>2 Baruch</i>	79
6.2.11. <i>2 Enoch</i>	79
6.2.12. <i>3 Enoch</i>	81
6.2.13. The Targumim	81
6.2.14. The Rabbis	81
6.2.15. Synthesis	81
6.3. Early Christianity	82
6.3.1. New Testament and Early Gospel Tradition	83
6.3.1.1. Early Son of Man Christology	83
6.3.1.2. Mark	84
6.3.1.3. Matthew	84
6.3.1.4. Luke-Acts	84
6.3.1.5. John	84
6.3.1.6. The Epistles of Paul	85
6.3.1.7. Revelation	85
6.3.1.8. The Epistle of Jude	86
6.3.1.9. 2 Peter and 1 Peter	86
6.3.1.10. The Church as the Eschatological Community of the Chosen Constituted by Revelation	86
6.3.2. Early Orthodox Tradition	87
6.3.2.1. <i>1 Clement</i> 19–20	87
6.3.2.2. Papias	87
6.3.2.3. <i>The Epistle of Barnabas</i>	87
6.3.2.4. <i>The Apocalypse of Peter</i> and <i>The Gospel of Peter</i>	87
6.3.2.5. Justin Martyr	87
6.3.2.6. Athenagoras	88
6.3.2.7. Irenaeus	88
6.3.2.8. Minucius Felix	88
6.3.2.9. Tertullian	89

6.3.2.10. Cyprian	89
6.3.2.11. <i>Ad Novatianum</i>	89
6.3.2.12. Clement of Alexandria	90
6.3.2.13. Origen	90
6.3.2.14. Julius Africanus	92
6.3.2.15. Anatolius of Alexandria	92
6.3.2.16. Lactantius	92
6.3.2.17. Commodianus	93
6.3.2.18. Hilary of Poitiers	93
6.3.2.19. Epiphanius	93
6.3.2.20. Jerome	94
6.3.2.21. Rufinus	94
6.3.2.22. Augustine of Hippo	95
6.3.2.23. The Chronographers	95
6.3.3. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Circulated in Christian Circles	95
6.3.3.1. <i>The Life of Adam and Eve</i>	96
6.3.3.2. <i>The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	96
6.3.3.3. <i>The Testament of Abraham</i>	97
6.3.3.4. A Coptic Enoch Apocryphon	97
6.3.4. Other Forms of Early Christianity	97
6.3.4.1. Pseudo-Clementine Literature	97
6.3.4.2. Gnostic Texts	98
6.3.4.2.1. The Incarnation of Evil and Salvation as Revelation	98
6.3.4.2.2. <i>The Apocryphon of John</i>	98
6.3.4.2.3. <i>On the Origin of the World</i>	99
6.3.4.2.4. <i>Pistis Sophia</i>	99
6.3.4.2.5. <i>The Acts of Thomas</i>	99
6.3.4.3. Mani and the Manichaeans	99
6.3.5. Greek Codices of 1 Enoch	100
6.3.6. Synthesis	100
6.3.6.1. Major Tendencies in the Tradition	100
6.3.6.1.1. Eschatology	100
6.3.6.1.2. The Story of the Watchers and the Origins of Evil	101
6.3.6.1.3. Chronology and Cosmology	101
6.3.6.2. The Authority of Enoch	101
6.3.6.2.1. Acceptance of This Authority	101
6.3.6.2.2. Rejection of This Authority	101
6.3.6.3. Geographical Distribution	102
6.3.6.4. The Petrine Trajectory	103
6.3.7. The Ethiopian Tradition	104
6.3.7.1. 1 Enoch's Function in Ethiopian Christianity	104
6.3.7.2. 1 Enoch and the Early Ethiopian Church	106
7.0. Currents in the Modern Study of 1 Enoch	109
7.1. The Book's Reappearance in the West	109
7.2. Major Nineteenth-Century Editions and Studies	109

7.2.1. Texts, Translations, and Commentaries	109
7.2.2. Discussions of 1 Enoch	110
7.3. Work on 1 Enoch from R. H. Charles to the Discovery of the Qumran Scrolls	111
7.3.1. Texts and Translations (1893–1902)	111
7.3.2. R. H. Charles	112
7.3.3. Handbooks of Jewish Religion	112
7.3.4. A New Greek Text of the Epistle of Enoch	113
7.3.5. The Study of 1 Enoch between the Two World Wars	113
7.3.6. Scholarship on 1 Enoch: Primarily a Christian Enterprise	114
7.4. The Study of 1 Enoch after the Discovery of the Qumran Scrolls	114
7.4.1. New Textual Tools	115
7.4.1.1. The Qumran Fragments	115
7.4.1.2. Editions and Translations	115
7.4.1.3. Textual and Philological Studies	116
7.4.2. Literary Aspects	117
7.4.3. Historical Contexts	118
7.4.3.1. Time, Place, Situation	118
7.4.3.2. 1 Enoch and the History of Israel's Religion	119
7.4.3.2.1. The Hebrew Scriptures	119
7.4.3.2.2. Jewish Apocalypticism	120
7.4.3.2.3. Prophecy, Wisdom, and Apocalypticism	120
7.4.3.2.4. Astronomy and the Calendar	121
7.4.3.2.5. Social Location	122
7.4.3.3. Cross-Cultural Elements	122
7.4.4. 1 Enoch in the Ongoing Tradition	122
7.4.4.1. The New Testament	123
8.0. Agenda for Future Study	125

■ Commentary

1–5	Introduction to the Book	129
	Introduction	129
	Literary Form	129
	Chapters 1–5: An Introduction to Chapters 6–36	132
	Audience, Setting, and Function	132
1:1	Superscription to the Book	135
1:2–5:9	An Oracle of Judgment	137
1:2–3b	Introduction	137
	Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones	140
1:3c–9	The Theophany	142
2:1–5:4	The Indictment	150
	Excursus: Traditions about Nature's Obedience and Humanity's Disobedience	152

5:5-9	The Verdict	159
6-11	The Rebellion of the Watchers	165
	Introduction	165
	The Strata in 1 Enoch 6-11	165
	The Shemihazah Myth	165
	Literary Aspects	165
	An Interpretation of Genesis 6-9	166
	Genre	168
	Date and Setting	169
	The Growth of the Tradition in Chapters 6-11	171
	Asael in the Continuing Tradition	172
	Excursus: The Book of Giants and 1 Enoch	172
6	The Conspiracy	174
7	The Deed and Its Results	182
	Introduction	183
8	The Secrets They Reveal	188
	Introduction	190
	The Literary History of Chapter 8	190
	Excursus: The Origin of the Asael Myth	191
9	The Intercession of the Four Archangels	202
	Excursus: Jewish Prayers of Petition	205
	Excursus: The Four—or Seven—Archangels in Jewish and Early Christian Literature	207
	Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents: Developments in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature	208
10:1-11:2	The Commissioning of the Four Archangels	215
12-16	Enoch's Interaction with the Fallen Watchers	229
	Introduction	229
	Literary Analysis	229
	Date	230
	Provenance	230
	Religious Concerns	230
	Place of Origin	231
	The Author's Community	231
	Function	232
12:1-2	A Redactional Introduction	233
12:3-13:3	Enoch's First Mission to the Fallen Watchers	234
13:4-7	The Fallen Watchers Commission Enoch to Intercede for Them	237
	Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6-16	238
13:8-10	Enoch's Ascent to Heaven and Second Commissioning to Preach to the Watchers: Narrative Summary	248
14:1-7	Enoch's Ascent to Heaven and Second Commissioning to Preach to the Watchers: The Commission Summarized	251
14:8-16:4	Enoch's Ascent to Heaven and Second Commissioning to Preach to the Watchers: Detailed Account	254

	Form: A Prophetic Commissioning	254
14:8-23	Enoch's Ascent and Vision	257
14:24–16:4	The Oracle	267
17–19	Enoch's Journey to the Northwest	276
	Introduction	278
	Function	278
	Relationship to Chapters 14–16	278
	Date	279
	History of Religions Context	279
	Context in Third-Century Judaism	280
	Excursus: Babylonian and Early Greek Cosmographies	282
20–36	Enoch's Journey Eastward	290
	Introduction	290
	Contents and Emphases	290
	Literary Form and Structure	291
	Function	292
	Worldview—A Testimony to Setting	292
	Date	293
20	List of the Seven Archangels	294
	Excursus: Interpreting Angels in Apocalyptic Literature	294
21	The Places of Punishment	297
22	The Mountain of the Dead	300
	Literary History	302
	Biblical and Nonbiblical Context	303
23:1–24:1	The Fire of the West	310
24:2–25:7	The Mountain of God and the Tree of Life	312
26–27	Jerusalem, the Center of the Earth and the Place of Punishment	317
28–32	To the Paradise of Righteousness	320
33	To the Ends of the Earth	329
34–36	Enoch's Journeys North, West, South, and East: A Summary	331
81–82	The End of Enoch's Journey and His Return: A Section of Testamentary Narrative	333
	Introduction	334
	Literary Problem: A Foreign Body in Its Context? Excursus: The Literary Unity of 1–36 + 81:1–82:4c + 91:1-10, 18-19 + 93:1-10; 91:11-17 + 93:11–94:5 + 104:10–105:2	335
	An Earlier Context and Function for 81:1– 82:4a-c: A Narrative Bridge between Chapters 1–36 and 91–105	337
	Literary Form: Interpreted Vision and Testamentary Narrative	337
	Function	338
	Date	338
83–84	Enoch's First Dream Vision: The Flood	345
	Introduction	346

	Origin, Function, and Date	346
	The Balaam Inscription: A Reflection of a Possible Prototype	347
	Literary Style	348
85-90	Enoch's Second Dream Vision: Introduction	354
	Contents	354
	The First Era (85:3-89:8)	354
	The Second Era (89:9-90:27)	354
	The Third Era (90:28-38)	355
	Central Theme: The Story of How God Deals with the Human Predicament	355
	The Human Predicament: The Presence of Sin	355
	The Source of Sin and Evil	356
	Sin and Judgment	356
	Focus and Plot in the Vision	356
	Genre	357
	Use of Sources	358
	The Biblical Histories	358
	Traditional Interpretation of Biblical Texts	359
	The Prophetic Corpus	359
	Enochic Tradition	359
	1 Enoch 1-36	359
	The Apocalypse of Weeks	360
	The Legend of Enoch the Heavenly Scribe	360
	Purpose	360
	Date	360
	Provenance	361
	Internal Evidence	361
	External Evidence	362
	Possible Relationship to the Qumran Community and "the Hasidim"	363
85:1-89:58	History from Adam to the Fall of Jerusalem	364
	Excursus: Blindness and Straying as Apostasy and the Opening of Israel's Eyes as Revelation	380
89:59-90:19	History from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the End Time	387
	Excursus: The Biblical Sources of the Idea of the Negligent Shepherds	391
	Excursus: The Chronology of the Vision: Seventy Shepherds Ruling for Seventy Weeks of Years	391
	Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening in the Hellenistic Period	398
90:20-42	The Judgment and the New Age	402
91:1-10,		
18-19	Enoch Summons His Children and Instructs Them	409
	Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91-93	414

92-105	The Epistle of Enoch: Introduction	416
	1.0. Literary Analysis	416
	1.1. The Forms	416
	1.1.1. Woes	416
	1.1.2. Exhortations	418
	1.1.3. Descriptions of the Future	419
	1.1.3.1. The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17)	419
	1.1.4. Revelatory Formulas	419
	1.1.5. Other Forms and Formulas	420
	1.1.5.1. Two-Ways Instruction	420
	1.1.5.2. A Beatitude	420
	1.1.5.3. "Do Not Say"	420
	1.1.5.4. An Appeal to Contemplate Creation	420
	1.1.6. Summary	420
	1.2. Literary Structure	420
	1.3. The Epistle of Enoch in the Context of the Enochic Corpus	421
	1.4. The Epistle's Dependence on Other Parts of 1 Enoch	422
	2.0. The Symbolic Universe of the Epistle	423
	2.1. The Great Judgment According to the Epistle	424
	3.0. The Historical Setting, Provenance, and Function of the Epistle	425
	3.1. Literary and Interpretive Problems	426
	3.2. Social, Economic, Political, and Religious Circumstances	426
	3.3. Setting a Time Frame	427
	3.4. Author and Provenance	428
	3.5. Function	428
92	Introduction to the Epistle	430
93:1-10;		
91:11-17	The Apocalypse of Weeks	434
	Introduction	438
	Text	438
	Contents and Genre	438
	Schematization of History	439
	Date	440
	Provenance	441
	Excursus: The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature	444
93:11-14	Enoch Recapitulates His Revelation: A Fragment	451
94:1-5	Enoch's Instruction on the Two Ways	454
	Excursus: The Two Ways	454
94:6-96:3	Enoch's First Discourse: Social Oppression	460
96:4-98:8	Enoch's Second Discourse: The Abuses of Wealth and the Judgment of the Rich	467
	Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes in 1 Enoch and Israelite and Christian Literature	478

98:9–99:10	Enoch's Third Discourse: True and False Religion and Their Consequences	481
	Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies	486
99:11–100:6	Enoch's Fourth Discourse: A Stern Warning to the Sinners	495
100:7–102:3	Enoch's Fifth Discourse: To the Sinners, on Their Judgment	503
102:4–104:8	Enoch's Sixth Discourse: A Disputation on Justice and the Judgment	511
104:9–105:2	Conclusion to the Epistle	531
106–107	The Birth of Noah	536
	Introduction	539
	Literary Genre	540
	Relationship to Parallel Stories	541
	Source and Date	542
108	A Final Book by Enoch	551
	Introduction	552
	Parallels to the Rest of 1 Enoch	552
	The Righteous and Their Attitude, Worldview, and Lot in Life	553
	Provenance	554
	Historical Circumstances and Date	554
	Excursus: Hell in the Gospel Traditions	556
	Excursus: Parallels between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter	560

■ Bibliography Index

Bibliography	561
Index	
1. Passages	573
2. Names	609
Designer's Notes	617

■ Excursuses

The Watchers and Holy Ones	140
Traditions about Nature's Obedience and Humanity's Disobedience	152
The Book of Giants and 1 Enoch	172
The Origin of the Asael Myth	191
Jewish Prayers of Petition	205
The Four—or Seven—Archangels in Jewish and Early Christian Literature	207
Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents: Developments in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature	208
Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16	238
Babylonian and Early Greek Cosmographies	282

Interpreting Angels in Apocalyptic Literature	294
The Literary Unity of 1-36 + 81:1-82:4 + 91:1-10, 18-19 + 93:1-10; 91:11-17 + 93:11-94:5 + 104:10-105:2	335
Blindness and Straying as Apostasy and the Opening of Israel's Eyes as Revelation	380
The Biblical Sources of the Idea of the Negligent Shepherds	391
The Chronology of the Vision: Seventy Shepherds Ruling for Seventy Weeks of Years	391
Traditions about a Religious Awakening in the Hellenistic Period	398
The Original Order of Chapters 91-93	414
The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature	444
The Two Ways	454
Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes in 1 Enoch and Israelite and Christian Literature	478
Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies	486
Hell in the Gospel Traditions	556
Parallels between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter	560

■ Illustrations

Map of Upper Galilee	240
Photographs of Mount Hermon and Its Environs	241-243

The endpapers display manuscripts of the Aramaic, Greek, and Ethiopic versions of 1 Enoch. The front endpaper reproduces the extant fragments of columns 2–4 of 4QEng, containing the Aramaic of 1 Enoch 91:10–94:1, as reconstructed by J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 245–72. Photo reproduced by permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The left back endpaper reproduces folio 12 *recto* of the Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus of 1 Enoch, containing the Greek of 1 Enoch 104:10–106:7 (minus chapter 105). Photo reproduced by permission of the Papyrology Collection, Graduate Library, University of Michigan. The right back endpaper reproduces the first page of the Ethiopic manuscript g (BL Orient. 485), containing 1 Enoch 1:1–8. Lines with light lettering are rubricated (written with red ink). Photo reproduced by permission of the British Library.

The name *Hermeneia*, Greek ἑρμηνεία, has been chosen as the title of the commentary series to which this volume belongs. The word *Hermeneia* has a rich background in the history of biblical interpretation as a term used in the ancient Greek-speaking world for the detailed, systematic exposition of a scriptural work. It is hoped that the series, like its name, will carry forward this old and venerable tradition. A second, entirely practical reason for selecting the name lies in the desire to avoid a long descriptive title and its inevitable acronym, or worse, an unpronounceable abbreviation.

The series is designed to be a critical and historical commentary to the Bible without arbitrary limits in size or scope. It will utilize the full range of philological and historical tools, including textual criticism (often slighted in modern commentaries), the methods of the history of tradition (including genre and prosodic analysis), and the history of religion.

Hermeneia is designed for the serious student of the Bible. It will make full use of ancient Semitic and classical languages; at the same time, English translations of all comparative materials—Greek, Latin, Canaanite, or Akkadian—will be supplied alongside the citation of the source in its original language. Insofar as possible, the aim is to provide the student or scholar with full critical discussion of each problem of interpretation and with the primary data upon which the discussion is based.

Hermeneia is designed to be international and interconfessional in the selection of authors; its editorial boards were formed with this end in view. Occasionally the series will offer translations of distinguished commentaries which originally appeared in languages other than English. Published volumes of the series will be revised continually, and eventually, new commentaries will replace older works in order to preserve the currency of the series. Commentaries are also being assigned for important literary works in the categories of apocryphal and pseud-epigraphical works relating to the Old and New Testaments, including some of Essene or Gnostic authorship.

The editors of *Hermeneia* impose no systematic-theological perspective upon the series (directly, or indirectly by selection of authors). It is expected that authors will struggle to lay bare the ancient meaning of a biblical work or pericope. In this way the text's human relevance should become transparent, as is always the case in competent historical discourse. However, the series eschews for itself homiletical translation of the Bible.

The editors are heavily indebted to Augsburg Fortress for its energy and courage in taking up an expensive, long-term project, the rewards of which will accrue chiefly to the field of biblical scholarship.

The editor responsible for this volume is Klaus Baltzer of the University of Munich.

Frank Moore Cross
For the Old Testament
Editorial Board

Helmut Koester
For the New Testament
Editorial Board

1 Enoch is a collection of Jewish apocalyptic traditions that date from the last three centuries before the Common Era. The collection is extant in its entirety only in an Ethiopic translation of a Greek translation of its Aramaic original. Although it is arguably the most important Jewish text of the Greco-Roman period, no scholar has written a full-blown critical commentary on the entire work since the first manuscripts of it were brought from Ethiopia in 1773. This volume and one to follow seek to fill this major gap in scholarship. My fresh English translation is supplied with a full apparatus of all significant variant readings in the Ethiopic manuscripts, the manuscripts that preserve parts of the Greek version, and the Qumran Aramaic fragments. The verse-by-verse commentary and excurses treat major philological, literary, theological, and historical questions; and the synthetic introduction places the work in the broader context of Hellenism, contemporary Judaism, and early Christianity. I have attempted to concretize those contexts through the prolific citation of parallel passages from Israelite, ancient Near Eastern, Greco-Roman, and early Christian literature. The index of these passages at the back of the volume offers scholars of early Judaism and Christianity some new vectors into the literature in which they are expert.

Because of the length of 1 Enoch (roughly equivalent to the book of Isaiah) and the extraordinary time required for me to delve into this complex text, I have divided the commentary into two volumes. For literary reasons explained in the introduction (§3.1.2-3), I treat chaps. 1-36 and 81-108 in this first volume. In volume 2 James VanderKam and I will discuss the rest, the Book of the Luminaries (most of chaps. 72-82) and I the Book of Parables (chaps. 37-71). Work on that volume is already underway. In the near future we will publish our translation of the whole of 1 Enoch in the Hermeneia Supplements series.

My NT colleagues may consider my deferral of a commentary on the Book of Parables an act of betrayal. After all, the Parables are where one can read all about the "Son of Man"—so central to early christology. I encourage them to read on; the apocalypticism of the earlier parts of 1 Enoch treated here is of great consequence for an understanding of the transition between late biblical Israelite religion and both first-century Judaism and early Christianity, as I argue in the various sections of my introduction. The Book of Parables and the figure of the Chosen One/Son of Man are only one part of that picture.

During the three decades in which I have occupied myself with this ancient text, I have accumulated many debts among the colleagues and friends from whom I have learned so much. I happily acknowledge these with gratitude and in the hope that this volume offers repayment. The opinions expressed here are, of course, solely my responsibility.

At a time when methodologies change quickly and the history of scholarship is subject to convenient amnesia, I mention three of my predecessors whom I would have liked to have met: Richard Laurence, who presented 1 Enoch to the Western world; and August Dillmann and R. H. Charles, whose prodigious scholarship

firmly rooted 1 Enoch in the landscape of nineteenth- and twentieth-century biblical studies.

In a course at Concordia Seminary (St. Louis) in 1960, Edgar Krentz first turned me loose on 1 Enoch. For one schooled in the Christian canonical Scriptures, it was an epiphanic experience—entering a Jewish text that was at once so familiar and so strange. Life has never been the same. More than any one else, John Strugnell has been my mentor and colleague in the study of Enoch, sharing his broad knowledge and testing my own. He graciously offered to read the entire manuscript, and his numerous queries, comments, and corrections and our extensive conversations have made this a better book. To J. T. Milik I owe thanks for his brilliant identification and assembling of the Qumran Aramaic fragments that are indispensable for any modern treatment of this work. My one-time teacher, Frank Moore Cross, the chairman of the Hermeneia editorial board, invited me to write the commentary and has patiently awaited its incarnation. From the start, Klaus Baltzer has been my editor and has enthusiastically aided, abetted, and encouraged my work, offering many insightful suggestions.

Over the years, I have profited from conversations and correspondence with my companions in the study of 1 Enoch and Jewish apocalyptic literature—among them John Collins, Devorah Dimant, Jonas Greenfield, Paul Hanson, Michael Knibb, Marinus de Jonge, Michael Stone, Patrick Tiller, and James VanderKam. Zvi Uri Ma'oz has engaged my work with interest and has ironed out some wrinkles. For two decades my good friends in the Taskforce on Apocalyptic of the Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft für Theologie have tested and refreshed my ideas at their biennial meetings. My special thanks to their *Vorsteher*: Jürgen Becker, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, Klaus Koch, and Hartmut Stegemann. During my sojourns abroad, I have enjoyed gracious hospitality from the families Baltzer, Burchard, de Jonge, Koch, Kuhn, Lichtenberger, Rengstorf, Schmidt, and Stone. In ways I cannot trace, I have profited, year by year, from conversations with Birger Pearson and Norman Petersen, my roommates at meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. In special ways my work has been enhanced and encouraged by Walter Harrelson, Jacob Neusner, and Jonathan Z. Smith.

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This project has received significant financial support from The University of Iowa, including three semester leaves, a three-semester Faculty Fellowship, ongoing funding for equipment and travel, and a generous subvention for its publication. With thanks I also acknowledge the support of the Heinrich Hertz Stiftung and the Otto von Harling Stiftung (1974), the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation (1977–78), the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (1980–81), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (1973–74, 1983–84). NIAS, the Institutum Iudaicum Delitzschianum in Münster (Karl Heinrich Rengstorf,

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Jonathan Goldstein, Michael Knibb, Zvi Uri Ma'oz, Patrick Tiller, James VanderKam, and Robert Wilken read parts of the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions. Willis Barnstone has helped me with translation issues.

Outside the biblical guild, I have learned a bit about literary poetics from David Rabe and Pat Toomay, and Thomas Moore has encouraged me to keep my feet on the ground.

At Fortress Press K. C. Hanson counseled me on editorial matters and issues of substance, and Beth Wright, always helpful, was instrumental in the expeditious production of the book. Gary Lee's painstaking copyediting has brought consistency and clarity, and some additional accuracy to the book, as did Chuck John's close reading of the text of the page proofs. Rex Matthews (Society of Biblical Literature) and John Kutsko (Hendrikson Publishers) saved me many hours by making available to me in electronic form the lists of abbreviations in *The SBL Handbook of Style*. At the Scriptorium, Maurya Horgan and Paul Kobelski transformed a complex and often cluttered manuscript into a handsome and readable book, and did so with care and great accuracy. They also compiled the index of Ancient Sources.

My final and most important thanks belong to my family. For three decades, Enoch has lived with us as a kind of permanent houseguest—annoying, amusing, sometimes intriguing, and always hovering. Jeanne and Michael have not known life at home without the old patriarch, but have accepted this with stoical good grace. Marilyn has been my companion on the way, though she has sometimes wondered which of the two ways we were traveling. Her advice to put the manuscript on a computer seventeen years ago reduced the time of the project by a few years. More important than this and her keyboarding of seven hundred pages, she has provided a ramp out of my literary ruts by encouraging me to focus on the concrete and sensory aspects of Enoch's apocalypticism. With gratitude and appreciation for these and other things as well, and with much affection and love, I dedicate the book to her.

Iowa City, Iowa
April, 2001

George W. E. Nickelsburg

1. Sources and Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	ATDan <i>b.</i>	Acta theologica danica
AB	Anchor Bible	<i>B. Bat.</i>	Babylonian Talmud
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (David Noel Freedman, ed.; 6 vols.; Garden City, N.Y., 1992)	BA	<i>Baba Batra</i>
acc.	accusative	BAGD	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
AcOr	<i>Acta orientalia</i>		Walter Bauer, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds.; 2d ed.; rev., Frederick W. Danker: Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
act.	active		
ad loc.	ad locum, at the place discussed		
<i>Adam and Eve</i>	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>	BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
Add Esth	Additions to Esther	1 Bar	1 Baruch
adj.	adjective	2 Bar.	<i>Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch</i>
adv.	adverb	3 Bar.	<i>Greek Apocalypse of Baruch</i>
Ag. Ap.	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>	Barn.	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums	BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums	BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>	B.C.E.	Before the Common Era (= B.C.)
AJSJL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>	BDB	Francis Brown, Samuel R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907)
al.	<i>alii</i> , others		
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums	<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakot</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica	BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (James B. Pritchard, ed.; 3d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969)	BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers	<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>	BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>	bis	twice
Ap. John	<i>Apocryphon of John</i>	BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
Apoc. Abr.	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	BL Or.	British Library Oriental collection
Apoc. Mos.	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>	BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
Apoc. Zeph.	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>	BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
APOT	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> (R. H. Charles, ed.; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913)	BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
Aram.	Aramaic	BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>	BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>	BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
Asc. Isa.	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>	ca.	circa, about
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>	CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments	Cant	Canticles (Song of Solomon)
		CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>

CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series	Eth.	Ethiopic
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis	ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document	Euripides	
C.E.	The Common Era (= A.D.)	<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare with	Exod	Exodus
chap(s).	chapter(s)	Ezek	Ezekiel
1, 2 Chr	1, 2 Chronicles	fasc.	fascicle
Cicero		FB	Forschung zur Bibel
<i>De div.</i>	<i>De Divinatione</i>	frg.	fragment
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i>	Gal	Galatians
1 Clem.	1 Clement	Galen	
col(s).	column(s)	<i>Mixt.</i>	<i>On Mixtures</i>
comm.	a section of commentary in this volume	GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament	Gen	Genesis
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament	gen.	genitive
1, 2 Cor	1, 2 Corinthians	Gk.	Greek, referring to lexical forms, not translation
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum	GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (Emil Kautzsch, ed.; transl. A. E. Cowley; 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910)
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium	<i>Gos. Heb.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
Dan	Daniel	GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
DBSup	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément.</i>	Great Pow.	Concept of Our Great Power
Deut	Deuteronomy	Hab	Habakkuk
Did.	<i>Didache</i>	Hag	Haggai
diss.	dissertation	Hag.	Hagigah
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert	HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>	Heb	Hebrews
DSSC	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers</i> (Compiled by Stephen E. Reed. Revised and Edited by Marilyn J. Lundberg with the Collaboration of Michael B. Phelps; SBLRBS 32; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994)	Heb.	Hebrew
EAJT	<i>East Asian Journal of Theology</i>	<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
Ecd	Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth)	Hilary of Poitiers	
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by, edition	<i>Tract. super Psalm.</i>	<i>Tractatus super Psalmos</i>
EMML	Ethiopic collection of Hill Monastic Manuscript Library	hma.	hoimoioarcton, beginning with the same word(s)
Eng.	English	hmt.	homoioteleuton, ending with the same word(s)
Ep Jer	Epistle of Jeremiah	Homer	
Eph	Ephesians	<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>	<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Erub.</i>	<i>Erubim</i>	Hos	Hosea
1 Esd	1 Esdras	HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
esp.	especially	HRCS	Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, <i>Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testaent</i> (2 vols; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1954).
Esth	Esther	HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others	HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
EtB	Études bibliques	HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
		HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
		HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
		HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College

<i>Hyp. Arch.</i>	<i>Hypostasis of the Archons</i>	JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same place as the previous citation(s)	<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary	JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements
<i>IDB</i>	<i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> (George A. Buttrick, ed.; 4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962)	<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>IDBSup</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: Supplementary Volume</i> (Keith Crim, ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1976)	<i>JTC</i>	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
<i>idem</i>	the same author	<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>	<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i>	<i>Jud</i>	<i>Judaica</i>
<i>impf.</i>	imperfect	<i>Judg</i>	<i>Judges</i>
<i>impv.</i>	imperative	<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>	<i>Ker.</i>	<i>Kerithot</i>
Irenaeus		1, 2 Kgs	1, 2 Kings
<i>Adv. haer.</i>	<i>Adversus haereses</i>	<i>LAB</i>	<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i> (Pseudo-Philo)
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching</i>	Lam	Lamentations
Isa	Isaiah	LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i>	<i>Let. Aris.</i>	<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>	Lev	Leviticus
<i>JANESCU</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>	lit.	literally
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>	LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (9th ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961)
Jas	James	Lucian	
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	<i>Dial. Meretr.</i>	<i>Dialogi meretricii</i>
Jdt	Judith	LXX	Septuagint (the Greek OT)
<i>JE</i>	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> (Isadore Singer, ed.; 12 vols.; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901–6)	<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	1, 2, 3 Macc	1, 2, 3 Maccabees
Jer	Jeremiah	Mal	Malachi
Jerome		Matt	Matthew
<i>Com. in Ep. Tit.</i>	<i>Commentariorum in Epistolam ad Titum</i>	Melito of Sardis	
<i>Brev. in Ps.</i>	<i>Breviarium in Psalmos</i>	<i>Pasch. Hom.</i>	<i>Paschal Homily</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	mg.	margin
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	Mic	Micah
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	Mid.	<i>Middot</i>
<i>Jos. As.</i>	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>	MM	James Hope Moulton and George Milligan. <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament</i> (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930)
Josh	Joshua		manuscript(s)
<i>JPh</i>	<i>Journal of Philology</i>	ms(s).	Masoretic Text of the OT
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit	MT	Murabbaʿat document
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>	Mur.	Museon
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements	<i>Mus</i>	note(s)
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>	n(n).	Nahum
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>	Nah	no date
		n.d.	<i>Nedarim</i>
		<i>Ned.</i>	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
		<i>NedTT</i>	Nehemiah
		Neh	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
		<i>Neot.</i>	neuter
		NHC	Nag Hammadi Codices
		NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
		NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
		<i>Nid.</i>	<i>Niddah</i>
		nom.	nominative

<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	Plutarch	
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements	<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>NPNF</i> ²	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series 2</i>	Pr Azar	Prayer of Azariah
n.s.	new series	Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh
NT	New Testament	<i>Prot. Jas.</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	Prov	Proverbs
NTT	<i>Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>	Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
Num	Numbers	<i>Ps.-Clem. Hom.</i>	<i>Pseudo-Clementine Homilies</i>
NumenSup	Supplements to Numen	Ps.-Cyp.	Pseudo-Cyprian
Obad	Obadiah	Ps.-Vig.	Pseudo-Vigilius
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (M. Cary et al., eds.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1949)	<i>Ps. Sol.</i>	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Iovaniensia periodica</i>	ptc.	participle
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>	PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
om.	omit	PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> (n.s.)	PWSup	Supplement to PW
OrChrA	<i>Orientalia christiana analecta</i>	Q	Qumran, preceded by the number of the cave of discovery and followed by short title or ms. number. Scrolls identified by number (e.g., 4Q417) follow the standard in <i>DSSC</i> and in most recent editions and translations of the Qumran corpus. Other abbreviations are as follows.
<i>Orig. World</i>	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
Origen		1QH	<i>Hodayot</i> or Thanksgiving Hymns
<i>De Princ.</i>	<i>De principiis</i>	1QIsa ^a	Isaiah scroll from Cave 1
<i>Num. Hom.</i>	<i>Homiliae in Numeros</i>	1QM	<i>Milhamah</i> or War Scroll
OT	Old Testament	1QpHab	<i>Pesher</i> on Habakkuk
OTL	Old Testament Library	1QS	<i>Serek Hayahad</i> or Rule of the Community
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (James H. Charlesworth, ed.; 2 vols.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1983–85)	1QSa	Rule of the Congregation
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>	1QSB	Rule of the Blessings
Ovid		4QAmram	Testament of Amram
<i>Metam.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	4QLevi	Aramaic Levi document
par.	parallel (used to indicate textual parallels, e.g., Matt 25:14-30 par. Luke 19:11-27)	4QMess ar	Fragment of the Book of Noah (4Q534)
pass.	passive	4QpNahum	<i>Pesher</i> on Nahum (4Q169)
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i>	4QPrNab	Prayer of Nabonidus (4Q242)
<i>Pesah.</i>	<i>Pesahim</i>	4QTQahat	Testament of Qahat (4Q542)
<i>Pesiq. R.</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>	11QPss ^a	Psalms scroll from Cave 11 (11Q5)
1, 2 Pet	1, 2 Peter	11QgtJob	Targum of Job from Cave 11
PG	Patrologia graeca (J.-P. Migne, ed.)	<i>Rab.</i>	<i>Midrash Rabbah</i> (e.g., <i>Gen. Rab.</i> = <i>Genesis Rabbah</i>)
Phil	Philippians	RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (vols. 1–; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–)
Philo of Alexandria		RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim</i>	RE	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>Gig.</i>	<i>De gigantibus</i>	rel.	<i>reliqui</i> , the rest
<i>Q. Gen.</i>	<i>Quaestiones in Genesim</i>	RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
<i>Spec. leg.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	repr.	reprinted
<i>Pirque R. El.</i>	<i>Pirque Rabbi Eliezer</i>	Rev	Revelation
PL	Patrologia latina (J.-P. Migne, ed.)	rev.	revised by
pl.	plural	RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
Plato			
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>		
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica</i>		
Plautus			
<i>Amph.</i>	<i>Amphitruo</i>		
Pliny the Elder			
<i>Nat. Hist.</i>	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>		

RHPPhR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>	Syr.	Syriac
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>	T. 12 Patr.	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
Rom	Romans	T. Ash.	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>	T. Benj.	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
1, 2 Sam	1, 2 Samuel	T. Dan	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
Sanh.	<i>Sanhedrin</i>	T. Gad	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
SAQ	Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften	T. Iss.	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
		T. Jos.	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
		T. Jud.	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
		T. Levi	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series	T. Naph.	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
SBLEJL	SBL Early Jewish Literature	T. Reu.	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series	T. Sim.	<i>Testament of Simeon</i>
SBLRBS	SBL Resources for Biblical Study	T. Zeb.	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
SBLSBS	SBL Sources for Biblical Study	T. Abr.	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies	T. Job	<i>Testament of Job</i>
		T. Mos.	<i>Testament of Moses</i>
		TBl	<i>Theologische Blätter</i>
SBLSP	<i>SBL Seminar Papers</i>	TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds.; transl. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976)
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations		
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology		
SC	Sources chrétiennes		
SD	Studies and Documents		
SEÅ	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>		
Sem.	Semitic	TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds.; transl. John T. Willis and David E. Green; 8 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–)
Sem	<i>Semitica</i>		
Seneca			
Nat. Quaest.	<i>Naturales Quaestiones</i>		
sg.	singular		
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to <i>Numen</i>)	Tertullian	
		De cult. fem.	<i>De cultu feminarum</i>
Sib. Or.	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	Tg(s).	Targum(s)
Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus	Theophrastus	
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity	Hist.	<i>Historia plantarum</i>
SÖAW	Sitzungen der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien	1, 2 Thess	1, 2 Thessalonians
		1, 2 Tim	1, 2 Timothy
		Tob	Tobit
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften	TS	Texts and Studies
		TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
SPB	Studia Post-biblica	TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
Spec	<i>Speculum</i>	TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
SPSH	Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities	TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
		txt.	text
ST	<i>Studia theologica</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
		varr.	manuscript variants of a form
Str-B	Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> (6 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1926–1963)	VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
		VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
		VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
		v(v)	verse(s)
SubBi	Subsidia biblica	vol(s).	volume(s)
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments	Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
		WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
sup	supplement		
Sus	Susanna	WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica		

y.	Palestinian Talmud
Yeb.	<i>Yebamot</i>
Yer.	<i>Yerušalmi</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
Zech	<i>Zechariah</i>
Zeph	<i>Zephaniah</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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3. Sigla Relating to the Translation and Its Textual Base

- () Words supplied to clarify the translation. Also occasionally they indicate a parenthetical comment within the text itself.
- < > Textual emendation, either changing extant words or adding others presumed to have been lost
- { } Words are possibly not original
- [] Words supplied to fill a physical lacuna in a ms.
- One to five hyphens between words in the text-critical apparatus indicate one to five or more words omitted from the lemma.
- * Posited form of the text not extant in any MS.
- א Qumran Aramaic text(s)
- Ⲛ Coptic version of 1 Enoch
- Ⲅ Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch, the OT, or the NT
- Ⲙ Greek version of 1 Enoch or of the OT
- Ⲙ^a Akhmim papyrus of Greek Enoch (Codex Panopolitanus)
- Ⲙ^{as} Greek version attested in Akhmim papyrus and Syncellus
- Ⲙ^{CB} Chester Beatty–Michigan papyrus of the Greek version
- *Ⲙ^E Posited Greek behind Ethiopic version
- Ⲙ^s Greek version attested in Syncellus
- Ⲙ^V Vatican MS. of the Greek version
- ℒ Latin version or translation of 1 Enoch
- ⲙ Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible
- ⲥ Syriac translation of 1 Enoch in Michael of Syria
- ⲧ Targum of a biblical text
- ⲧ^{Jon} Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
- ⲧ^{Neof} Targum Neofyti
- ⲧ^{Onk} Targum Onkelos
- ⲧ^{Yer} Targum Yerushalmi
- Ⲯ Vulgate

Note: OT passages are cited by the chapter divisions and versification of ⲙ. English Bible citations that differ follow in () or [].

0.0. Prolegomena

The Jewish apocalyptic, or revelatory, traditions collected in 1 Enoch were composed between the fourth century B.C.E. and the turn of the Common Era in the name of the patriarch mentioned in Gen 5:21-24. The language of their composition was Aramaic, but the collection as a whole has been preserved only in a fifth- to sixth-century C.E. Ethiopic (Ge'ez) translation of an intermediate Greek translation (see §2). The place of their composition appears to have been Palestine, although some of the traditions have roots in Babylon.

The sheer size, as well as the contents, historical contexts, and ongoing influence, of this collection make it arguably the most important text in the corpus of Jewish literature from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Roughly as large as the Book of Isaiah, it comprises an extraordinarily broad range of material that we might define in modern categories as religious, scientific, intellectual, and social. In it we are given a unique window into the diverse world of Palestinian Judaism in the three centuries before the Common Era. Through it we can view Israelite religion in transition: the Mosaic Torah is not yet a universal norm; the familiar forms of biblical prophecy and proverbial wisdom blend with speculation about the shape and future of the cosmos; and Hellenistic ideas and myths give nuances to Israelite traditions. Platitudes about God's justice clash with the realities of a world that appears to attest the absence or impotence of the God of Israel. The answers and formulations that arise in this context and are attested in this writing will have a profound impact on the shape of emergent Christianity, as it is documented in the NT. At the same time, the road taken by the Enochic authors and their Christian successors will become increasingly alien to many of the rabbinic teachers and their communities as they consolidate their religion after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. Ironically, however, the seeds sown in Enochic speculative wisdom will blossom in later Jewish mysticism. It is a rich collection from which thoughtful students of Jewish and Christian religion can learn much about how things were and how they came to be what they are.

In a "postmodern" twenty-first century, the Enochic world seems strange, fantastic, and even weird: fallen angels mating with mortal women, the ghosts of dead giants roaming the earth, flights to heaven, and bizarre visions about sheep and wild beasts. One should not be deceived, however. When read with care and empathy, the unfamiliar imagery comes alive to reveal a humanity much like our own. They struggle with violence, lies, disappointment, and lack of meaning, and they are pulled in opposite directions by hope and despair and the competing forces of high religious symbols and explosive human emotions.

How does one enter that world? Two predominant aspects of 1 Enoch invite two approaches for interpretation. The book as text calls for literary analysis, and its genesis in time and place invites historical investigation.

0.1. Literary Approach

My interpretation of 1 Enoch is beholden to no single literary method or theory, though I find much that is helpful in formalism. That is, the surface structure of a text provides clues for the text's interpretation, and to take seriously the shape, pattern, and order of a text is to honor the text as it presents itself. Because they are not likely to be accidental, they provide entry to an author's mind and purpose. This is not to claim that an author is always *consciously* aware of the shape or pattern that we discern;¹ the poetic process is more complex and mysterious than we often acknowledge. Writers in the ancient world did not necessarily create their texts as modern scholars often prepare their learned disquisitions—moving from a thesis to a carefully articulated outline to a full-blown text. Nonetheless, when such order presents itself, it invites the careful reader to make sense of it. This approach from the textual data themselves bears more fruit, I believe, than reading a text through our own axiomatic, theological, literary, and philosophical categories.

Thus my way into the text has been inductively literary. What shape and pattern can I discern, and what

1 For an instructive example, see David Rabe's comment on the writing of his play *Hurly Burly* (New York: Grove Press, 1985) 161–71.

sense can I make of these? On the microlevel my tools have been the traditional methods of source criticism and form criticism and an identification of the rhetorical patterns of the text. I have also sought to make sense of the text as a whole. The division of 1 Enoch into five large “books” with two appendices has been accepted by almost every scholar who has worked on this text for the past 150 years. I have also suggested rationales for the combination and order of these books and appendices, and my explanation has led me to divide the commentary into two volumes, which correspond, I believe, to the literary evolution of 1 Enoch (see §3.1.3). Again often following the suggestions of my predecessors, I have tried to identify recognizable subunits and sub-subunits² and to seek the rationale for their combination.

The organization of the commentary reflects this shuttling between microstructure and macrostructure. My writing moved from commentary on smaller units to synthetic commentary on, and introduction to, larger units. As a result, the volume has a kind of pyramidal structure, in which comments on individual verses or groups of verses are not only important in their own right, but also serve as footnotes or bases for syntheses of increasingly larger units. Sections 4 and 5 of this introduction attempt some synthesis of the whole text, with section 3 providing details of my literary analysis.

0.2. Historical Dimensions

This literary analysis must be complemented, I believe, by historical exegesis, if one is to give the text its due. Texts are historical artifacts, created in time and space by real human beings, who were the recipients and—through their texts—the transmitters of their experience and culture. Thus, while literary exegesis is invaluable for an appreciation of a text’s aesthetics, or an understanding of the perennial validity or lack of validity of its message, it must be supplemented by a study of the

historical matrices that are also an essential aspect of its personality.

One may go a step farther. For almost two millennia, Christian theology, preaching, and practice have given perennial and primary value to the symbols and rhetoric of ancient apocalyptic literature with little concern about how specifically its message worked, and for whom and under what circumstances. A religious literature that cared for God’s earth and portrayed that God as the vindicator of the oppressed has often been used to justify exploitation of the earth and oppression of its poor (see below, §0.4.1–4).

The use of social scientific methods complements traditional historical methods by identifying *perennial* analogies to the *unique* historical circumstances of the world we seek to re-create through exegesis.² Though I have employed no single method, I have attempted to be sensitive to the issues raised and analyzed by these methods. Since my first scholarly writing, I have been concerned with the functions that certain ideas and theological conceptions have for those who generate and adhere to them.³ My essay on the apocalyptic construction of reality (see §4.1) is indebted to the insights of the sociology of knowledge. Much Jewish apocalyptic literature is rooted in the experience of persecution and oppression, and in seeking the voice of the Enochic writers, I have found the issues raised by contemporary feminist and minority scholars of biblical literature to be helpful.

Social and economic issues were part of the warp and weft of the world in which and to which the Enochic authors wrote. One need not read very far into 1 Enoch before recognizing that these authors were interested in much more than can appropriately be reduced to religious ideas and practices. Geographical context and cosmological interest also play a major role in the early strata of the text. Thus my commentary has often taken me far from traditional theological and history-of-religions analyses of ancient texts.

Concrete historical context, with all of its social, cul-

2 See George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism,” in David Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1983); and for strong advocacy, John H. Elliott, *What Is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 87–106.

3 George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 10. For this approach to my dissertation, I am indebted to my advisor, Krister Stendahl.

tural, institutional, and ideological dimensions, should be an important concern for a commentator on an apocalyptic text. Where possible, I have attempted to attend to these matters, but much work remains to be done in this area as we reassess the propriety of the categories that we have sometimes created to help us understand these ancient texts.⁴

The writing of history is always a less than perfectly successful undertaking. It is a selective and interpretive process. As one constructs an historical account, one's results are qualified by the evidence that is admitted or ignored, and the questions one asks determine, in large part, the answers one gets. The problem is exacerbated in the writing of ancient history. Our textual and material evidence is fragmentary and our possession of it is fortuitous; much of it is obscure, vague, and ambiguous. We see darkly in a tarnished and scratched mirror, and our interpretations of the images often present only one of several possibilities. While the factual contextual and methodological horizon on which we can read 1 Enoch has expanded immensely since I began this commentary thirty years ago, I send the finished manuscript forth with an acute awareness of many unfulfilled agendas (see §8.0). Through fits and starts, we make progress—but only if we acknowledge the tentativeness of our scholarly conclusions.

0.3. Translation and Textual Base

The translation on which I comment is my own, though it is inevitably indebted to other published translations. As I note below (§8.0), we need a new critical edition of the text of 1 Enoch. My translation and commentary presume my own eclectic text, which represents my best judgment about the value of the resources available in the Aramaic fragments, the Greek and Ethiopic versions, and the fragments of versions preserved in Latin, Coptic, and Syriac. For details, see §2.7.

My translation is as literal as possible within the limits of good English usage. Since many readers of this

commentary will not have access to the languages of the original texts (especially Ethiopic), I have, where possible, reproduced original word order, construct chains, and the use of hendiadys, including the employing of nouns as adjectives. Thus, for example, I translate “the watchers and holy ones,” “the righteous and chosen,” and “the throne of your glory” rather than “the holy watchers” or “watchful holy ones,” “the righteous chosen,” and “your glorious throne.” Persons versed in Hebrew or Aramaic, but not Ethiopic, can retrovert to the Semitic idiom and understand its intent. The conjunction represented by the Aramaic letter *waw* is problematic in any translation, and I have to deal with its frequent representation by the Gk. *καί*. Where there seems to be a genuine coordination, I have translated “and.” I have occasionally employed the subordinating “for.” Where it seems to be simply a verbal pause, I have not translated the particle.

While I respect the desire of contemporary theologians to develop a gender-free religious language, I have not opted for such in this volume. It seems to me certain that the authors of the various strata of the text were men, and so I refer to them as “he” and “him.” As an historical commentator on an ancient text that depicted God, the angels, and the demons as masculine in gender, I have retained the use of the third person singular masculine pronoun and adjective where they appear in the original. Collective terminology is more difficult to reproduce exactly in English, and here again I have tried to reflect the original: “the righteous ones” and “the sinners” where the masculine plural is used; “sons of men” or “humanity,” where these are called for; and “son of man” as a fixed cliché.⁵ This use of “sons of men” and “son of man” has sometimes forced me to use “men” for humanity, a usage still justified by the dictionaries.

Finally, I have attempted as much as possible to translate what I consider to be the oldest form of the text at any given point. Although the whole text is extant in Ethiopic, substantial parts of it have been preserved in its parent Greek version, and the Qumran Aramaic frag-

4 George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion,” in *SBLSP* 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 715–32.

5 In this instance, since I am not commenting on individual verses, I have not made a distinction among the various Ethiopic terms for this figure. On this

see Carsten Colpe, “*υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*,” *TDNT* 8 (1972) 423.

ments bring us even closer to the authors' original compositions. Because I am interested in pursuing this archetype, I have reproduced the Greek or Aramaic idiom when it seemed feasible. This, of course, produces a text that nowhere existed, as such, but it brings us closer to the original than would be possible through a straight translation of the Ethiopic alone. At the same time, I have avoided bringing into my translation occasional words and phrases from an Aramaic original that cannot be reconstructed as a whole because of the fragmentary condition of the Aramaic MSS. Overall, I have attempted to present all the major textual evidence in the commentary and apparatus, so that the reader can see where there is evidence in the Aramaic or in one of the versions that diverges from the translation that I present.

0.4. Some Hermeneutical and Theological Observations

A few aspects of 1 Enoch have increasingly impressed me during the writing of this commentary. I summarize them here to provide both a partial framework for reading the text and its commentary and some points of reflection for theologians, preachers, and the interpreters of other Jewish and Christian texts.

0.4.1. The Universal Embrace of Religious Concern

Different from most Jewish and Christian apocalyptists, the authors of 1 Enoch are interested not simply in history and eschatology, but in the whole of the created world. Time and space and the realms of spirit and matter are seen from a religious dimension (all of it is God's), and, conversely, the inspired sage speaks in God's behalf through explicit reference to the whole creation. Thus theology is not simply *Heilsgeschichte* and moral exhortation that exclude the created realm with its material substance and dynamic forces. In a way that is reminiscent of Genesis 1–3, Job, the sapiential psalms, and Second Isaiah, the Enochic corpus draws on some

of the mythic sources of Israelite religion that have largely been lost or submerged in the historically oriented texts that constitute the largest part of the Hebrew Bible. A *Sachkritik* (quality judgment) that sees in these dominating canonical texts the timeless heart of Israelite religion begs the historical question.⁶ In its own time, 1 Enoch was for some people a viable religious document, and it can be defined as “noncanonical” only after the canonical decisions were made.

0.4.2. The Text in Its Physical Environment

The specific references to the geographic and topographic context of certain parts of 1 Enoch (see Excur-sus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16) indicate that location was important for these authors. While this specificity is often taken for granted in biblical narrative texts, it is unusual in an apocalypse. As one travels around the environs of Mount Hermon, however, one is struck by the extent to which this massif dominates the landscape from every direction. How did it impinge on the consciousness of the peoples who lived in the area and knew its myths? These mythic associations, explic-ated in 1 Enoch 6–16, suggest more generally that inter-preters should give more thought to the physical environments in which story and, especially, myth arose and to the ways in which these environments and their inhabitants interacted.

Most biblical exegesis has arisen in the halls of urban academia under the influence of the systematic cate-gories of European philosophy and theology and the his-tory of ideas. Rarely have exegetes imagined how these texts may have resonated from and within the open physical environments in which they were generated and transmitted.⁷ The important contributions of the social scientific methods that emphasize institutions and the dynamics of interpersonal and intergroup relationships need also to be aware of relevant aspects of physical environment, as these can be determined by archeology and by geographical and topographical considerations.⁸

<p>6 See Michael E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century,” <i>CBQ</i> 40 (1978) 483–92.</p> <p>7 For a discussion of the ways in which modern humanity has become insensitive to many aspects of our environment, see Thomas Moore, <i>The Re-Enchantment of Everyday Life</i> (New York: Harper-</p>	<p>Collins, 1996). It would be surprising if exegetes were exempt from this insensitivity.</p> <p>8 For an example of how one can attend to matters like this, see Douglas E. Oakman, <i>Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Time</i> (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986) 17–35. For a popular but suggestive overview</p>
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0.4.3. This-Worldly Apocalypticism

A spatial dualism between this world and heaven and a temporal dualism between this age and the age to come are important components of the worldview of 1 Enoch (4.1.2.1–2). But for several of the Enochic authors, who took their cue from Second and Third Isaiah, future salvation would be realized in a new Jerusalem, situated on a renewed earth (10:16–11:2; 25:3–27:5; 51:4–5). Mainstream Christian theology, dismissing such views as “millennialism,” has emphasized that “heaven is my home,” often to the detriment of the environment and many of the physical aspects of human existence.⁹

0.4.4. Reading Apocalyptic Eschatology in Its Historical Context

Religious persecution and social oppression are the matrices for much of the apocalyptic speculation in 1 Enoch and its sister apocalypses. Though cosmic speculation derives from other sources and contexts, the dualisms in 1 Enoch that look to another world and hope for a better day are driven by the dismal state of affairs here and now. The hope that God and the angels will intervene derives from the frustration of impotent people unable to change their circumstances, and its corollary is the belief that one’s oppressors are personifications or operatives of demonic powers. Out of this context, the apocalypticist speaks in solidarity with his oppressed people.

Yet, over the centuries, apocalyptic eschatology and other-worldly hopes have been taken over by the oppressors and their associates and used as a means to control the oppressed. This outsider’s use of apocalyptic religion as an “opiate” of the people is an historical distortion of the impulse that arose *among* the oppressed as their own religious expression and hope. Similarly, from an historical perspective, apocalyptic eschatology is out of place in societies where changes are possible by and in behalf of the oppressed.

0.4.5. Divine Justice and the Human Impulse toward Vengeance and Hatred

I have learned to read 1 Enoch with a good deal of

ambivalence. It is difficult not to be touched by the human anguish that resonates through the poignant poetry of texts like the prayer in chap. 9 and the lament in 103:9–15. Empathy and, indeed, sympathy are appropriate responses to suffering that is exacerbated by a profound sense of injustice and the absence of God, and cries for divine retribution are understandable and hardly open to criticism by the fair-minded outsider. Doubtless, they often preserved sanity.

Yet the fact remains that the appeals to holy warfare, articulated in the Pentateuch, dramatized in the Book of Joshua, and gleefully eschatologized in the Epistle of Enoch (see comm. on 95:3), the Qumran War Scroll, and the NT Book of Revelation, have haunted the history of Western religious humanity. If cries for divine justice are understandable and even cathartic in the apocalyptic literature of the impotent oppressed, they can bring on chaos and profound injustice when the impotent oppressed come to power in the certain conviction that they are the righteous and chosen. Anger easily turns to hatred when the zealous justice prized in the apocalyptic tradition is enshrined as the sole reigning virtue. Biblical religion and its successors in the Christian and the rabbinic tradition depict a God who measures with compassion as well as justice and calls on human beings to do the same.

0.4.6. Some Unusual Theological Formulations

The Enochic texts offer some theological surprises to the thoughtful reader who is sensitive both to what is there and to what is not there. Although a concern with human conduct runs from cover to cover, the mode of moral instruction in the corpus is sapiential rather than set in the form of commandments and laws. This suggests that the forms of Jewish religion were more diverse in this respect than much conventional scholarly wisdom would have it, and it warns against stereotypes of “legalism.”

There are also some interesting soteriological silences in the texts. These authors can get along without a viable sacrificial cult in Jerusalem and do not employ

from an anthropological point of view, see Brian Leigh Molyneux, *The Sacred Earth: Spirits of the Landscape, Ancient Alignments and Sacred Sites, Creation and Fertility* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995).

9 See briefly George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The God of the Bible in a Nuclear Age?” *Currents in Theology and Mission* 11 (1984) 213–24. The topic is worthy of a major historical project.

the major soteriological terminology that is so central in textbooks on OT and NT theology: forgiveness, reconciliation, justification, expiation, and the like. Enoch's is a soteriology of knowledge—divinely revealed wisdom about the workings of the cosmos and the course and end of history. One can see here the roots of gnostic speculation, but also of the soteriology of the synoptic

source "Q," the Fourth Gospel, and the eucharistic prayers of the *Didache*. All in all, the Enochic texts offer real promise for persons interested in tracking the theological diversity of Judaism in the Hellenistic period and of Christianity of the first few centuries of the Common Era.

1.0. A Short Account of the Book

The primary topic of the traditions contained in 1 Enoch is the coming judgment in which God will adjudicate the injustices that characterize life as the authors and their readers experience it. The certainty of that judgment is guaranteed by the authors' claims that their texts are a body of tradition that Enoch received as revelation. The contents of this revelation include compilations of astronomical law, which the wicked have violated; predictions of the future; and visions of the hidden places in the cosmos, where the devices of judgment stand ready and, in some cases, are already operative.

Although the Enochic material is in many ways distinctive and different from the late texts of the Hebrew Bible (except Daniel) and from much of the Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period, it represents a blend of the prophetic and sapiential streams in biblical tradition, which have also flowed together, though in different ways, in such Jewish texts as Tobit and Sirach. The sages responsible for the composition and compilation of the Enochic traditions appear to have had an exclusivistic religious mentality, believing that divine blessing would be limited to a relatively small proportion of Israelites whose righteousness would enable them to survive the judgment. Paradoxically, they also envisioned salvation for those Gentiles who would turn to the worship and law of the God of heaven. The Enochic writings seem to have been written to encourage and, perhaps, engender the righteousness they celebrate. Whoever their original readers may have been, the texts were preserved in the library of the Essene community at Qumran and shaped the religious thinking of the Qumranites and of important sectors of the early Christian community (see §§6.2.6 and 6.3). 1 Enoch has five major divisions or books and two appendices. In addition, the Qumran MSS. include fragments of a set of Enochic traditions about the giants, the progeny of the watchers.

1.1. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)

The nucleus of this book is a set of anonymous narrative traditions in chaps. 6–11, which describe the revolt by

the heavenly watchers that leads to evil on earth, and which foretells God's judgment, allegedly at the time of the flood, in reality at the time of the end. The narrative is interpreted in chaps. 12–16, an account of Enoch's heavenly commissioning as the prophet of judgment. Chapters 17–19 and 20–36 are dual accounts of Enoch's cosmic journeys, in which he sees, especially, the places of divine judgment, thus providing locative reinforcement for the predictions made elsewhere in the book. The Book of the Watchers is introduced in chaps. 1–5 by an oracle of judgment. The earliest traditions in the book may predate the Hellenistic period, and the book as a whole was completed by the middle of the third century B.C.E.

1.2. The Book of Parables (Chaps. 37–71)

This section, which will be treated in volume 2 of this commentary, appears to be the latest of the Enochic texts and probably dates to the late first century B.C.E. Its early chapters imitate the beginning of the Book of the Watchers, and substantial parts of it recount Enoch's cosmic journeys and present descriptions of the astronomical phenomena that parallel chaps. 72–82.¹ The major and unique component in these chapters, however, is a series of heavenly tableaux that portray the judgment and the events leading up to it. Presiding over the judgment is a heavenly figure known variously as Righteous One, Elect One, Anointed One, and Son of Man. This vice-regent of God, whose description is a composite of features drawn from Daniel 7 and from biblical texts about the Davidic king and the Servant of the Lord, was a prototype for NT speculation about the Son of Man, although the precise relationship between the Gospel texts and the Parables is uncertain.²

1.3. The Book of the Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82)

This compilation and abridgement of astronomical, cosmological, and calendrical lore and law (which will be treated in volume 2 of this commentary) has its roots in the Persian period and is probably the oldest of the

1 Pending vol. 2 of this commentary, see the treatment by George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981) 214–21. On the imitation of

the Book of the Watchers, see *ibid.*, 216.
2 George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6:137–50.

Enochic traditions.³ It is instruction that establishes the authority of a solar calendar, attributing its veracity to revelations that Enoch received while touring the cosmos and, mainly, the heavens themselves in the company of Uriel the interpreting angel. A longer form of at least parts of this material circulated at Qumran on separate mss. In the Ethiopic version, it has been incorporated into the corpus to document the authority of the allusions and citations that are made in other parts of the collection.

1.4. The Dream Visions (Chaps. 83–90)

Enoch recounts to his son Methuselah two dream visions that he saw before his marriage. In the first, as a youth, he foresaw the world's destruction in the deluge (chaps. 83–84). The second is an extensive allegory depicting the history of the world from the creation of Adam to the judgment, which is expected in the Hellenistic period. In its present form, the latter vision dates to time of Judas Maccabeus (ca. 165 B.C.E.), although a prior form *may* date to the end of the third century or beginning of the second century.

1.5. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105)

An editorial section (chap. 91) leads to a lengthy exhortative document that purports to be an epistle written by Enoch for his children and, especially, his spiritual descendants, the righteous of the latter days. Different from the Book of the Watchers, it is an explicit appeal for the righteous to stand fast as they wait for the judgment whose reality is guaranteed by the revelations that Enoch received according to the earlier parts of the corpus. The Epistle was composed in the second century B.C.E.

1.6. The Birth of Noah (Chaps. 106–107)

According to this narrative, Noah's miraculous birth foreshadowed his role as the preserver of the human race. Placed at the end of the corpus, the story promises salvation for the righteous, who will survive the great judgment that was prefigured in the deluge.

1.7. Another Book of Enoch (Chap. 108)

This appendix to the corpus alludes to earlier journey traditions and provides a last word that assures the salvation of the righteous and the damnation of the sinners.

1.8. The Book of Giants

We cannot be certain about the full content, date, and provenance of this set of narratives about the giants born to the watchers and the women, because the material is extant only in fragmentary Qumran Aramaic mss. and in a later version preserved in Manichaean texts (see §6.3.3.3). In at least one ms. these traditions were part of a larger corpus of Enochic writings (see §3.1.4.1). The narratives are an expansion of material in 1 Enoch 6–16 (see Excursus: The Book of Giants and 1 Enoch).

3 See briefly idem, *Jewish Literature*, 47–48; and for some select bibliography, see §7.4.3.2.4.

2.0. Texts and Manuscripts

The recent editions of 1 Enoch by Knibb and Uhlig provide detailed discussions of the textual history of 1 Enoch and its component parts.¹ The present section updates these discussions, fills in some lacunae, and provides information otherwise necessary for the purposes of this commentary.

2.1. Aramaic Texts

2.1.1. Aramaic the Original Language?

Since the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch was first introduced to the West at the beginning of the nineteenth century, scholars have almost universally acknowledged that the Ethiopic version derives from a Greek translation of a Semitic original, although they have debated whether that original was in Hebrew or Aramaic.² The discovery of the Qumran Aramaic Enoch mss. makes it virtually certain that Aramaic was the language in which chaps. 1–36, the Book of Giants, and chaps. 72–107 were composed, although the authors may have drawn on some Hebrew sources.³ Whether the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71) and chap. 108 were composed in Hebrew

or Aramaic is less certain, since no Aramaic fragments of either section were found at Qumran.⁴

2.1.2. Manuscripts

The Qumran Aramaic Enoch fragments divide into three groups. Seven mss. preserve various parts of chaps. 1–36, 85–90, and 91–107. Four mss. contain only the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82) and related calendrical material. Nine Aramaic mss. contain parts of the Book of Giants, hitherto known only from Manichaean sources. Since all of the fragments have been published, it is necessary here only to summarize the relevant information.⁵

2.1.2.1. 1 Enoch 1–36, 85–107

4QEn^a (4Q201); DSSC, 80; Milik, *Enoch*, 140–63; Stuckenbruck, DJD 36:3–7.

Fragments from five of six columns containing 1 Enoch 1–10 and perhaps 12. Milik dates the ms. to the first half of the second century B.C.E.,⁶ but suggests that aspects of its orthography and the confusion of letters may indicate that it was copied from a ms. “dating from the third century at the very least.”⁷

1 Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 2:1–46; Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ 5/6; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984) 470–91.

2 For a summary see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch: Translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text, and edited with the introduction notes and indexes of the first edition wholly recast enlarged and rewritten; together with a reprint from the editor's text of the Greek fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912) lvii. For his own extensive discussion, see *ibid.*, lvii–lxx.

3 Throughout his edition, Milik assumes that Aramaic was the original language (J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976] *passim*); Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:6–7) also considers an Aramaic original “most probable.” The Hebrew etymologies in chap. 6, however, need not indicate a Hebrew source (Milik, *Enoch*, 214–16). Whether 1Q19 is a fragment of a source of 1 Enoch 6–11 (Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:7 n. 2) or a translation of the same (Milik, *Enoch*, 59–60) is uncertain. For the latter possibility, cf. 4Q200, a Hebrew ms. of Tobit that is most likely a translation of an Aramaic original (Milik, *ibid.*, 59; and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran

Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 [1995] 665–72).

4 For a detailed discussion of evidence that indicates a Hebrew original of chaps. 37–71, see Charles, *Enoch*, lxi–lxxviii. Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:7) leaves the question open.

5 The editio princeps for most of the fragments from the first two groups was Milik, *Enoch*. This material was integrated by Knibb into his edition, *Enoch*, 2:6–15. The mss. of the Book of Giants were published by Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997). The previously unpublished fragments of the Book of the Luminaries have been published by E. J. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martínez in DJD 36, and the fragments of the Book of Giants are appearing in new editions by Stuckenbruck (DJD 36), and Émile Puech (DJD 31:9–115).

6 Milik, *Enoch*, 140.

7 *Ibid.*, 141.

4QEn^b (4Q202); DSSC, 80-81; Milik, *Enoch*, 164-78.

Fragments from four of six columns containing 1 Enoch 5-10 and 14. Many of the fragments are very small, containing only (parts of) a word or two, whose placement is uncertain. Milik dates the hand to the middle of the second century B.C.E.⁸ Its orthography is "classical" and relatively "full," and the careless original has been corrected by the same scribe against a better ms., perhaps one similar to 4QEn^a.⁹

4QEn^c (4Q204); DSSC, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 178-217.

Fragments from eleven of an indeterminate number of columns. Extant fragments include parts of chaps. 1-6, 10, 13-15, 18, 31-32, 35-36, together with 89, 104-107, and the Book of Giants. Milik dates the fine and careful hand to a "professional and skillful scribe" from the last third of the first century B.C.E.¹⁰

4QEn^d (4Q205); DSSC, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 217-25.

Fragments from five columns that contain parts of chaps. 22, 25-27, and 89. On the basis of physical arrangement and orthography, Milik concludes that this is a more or less contemporary copy of 4QEn^c.¹¹

4QEn^e (4Q206); DSSC, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 225-44.

Fragments from eight columns that contain parts of chaps. 20-22, 28-29, 31-34, as well as 88-89 and a fragment of the Book of Giants. Milik dates the ms. to the first half of the first century B.C.E.¹²

4QEn^f (4Q207); DSSC, 81; Milik, *Enoch*, 244-45.

A single fragment containing parts of five lines preserving a bit of 86:1-3. Milik dates it to 150-125 B.C.E.¹³

4QEn^g (4Q212); DSSC, 82; Milik, *Enoch*, 245-72.

Fragments of five columns (only two letters from col. 1) corresponding to 91:10-94:2. Cross dates the semi-

cursive script 50-1 B.C.E.; Milik prefers the middle of the century.¹⁴

2.1.2.2. The Book of the Luminaries (Chaps. 72-82)

4QEnastr^a (4Q208); DSSC, 81; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, DJD 36:104-31.

Fragments from several columns of the first leaf of the scroll. They contain a calendar that synchronizes the movements of the sun and the moon, a résumé of which is found in 73:1-74:9.¹⁵ Milik likens the script to one identified by Cross as 175-125 B.C.E., but dates it to the late third or early second century B.C.E. on the basis of similarities to other scripts that Cross places in the third or early second century.¹⁶

4QEnastr^b (4Q209); DSSC, 81-82; Milik, *Enoch*, 274, 287-89, 293-96; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, DJD 36:132-71.

Fragments from several columns, containing parts of the "synchronistic calendar," as well as material corresponding to 1 Enoch 76-79 and 82. Milik dates the Herodian hand to the early years of the first century C.E.¹⁷

4QEnastr^c (4Q210); DSSC, 82; Milik, *Enoch*, 287-88, 292.

Fragments from three passages in two columns, corresponding to 1 Enoch 76 and 78. Milik dates the late Hasmonean hand to the middle of the first century B.C.E.¹⁸

4QEnastr^d (4Q211); DSSC, 82; Milik, *Enoch*, 296-97.

Fragments of three columns near the end of the scroll, containing material about the season of winter, which belonged at the end of a long section on the seasons, which has been apocopated in 1 Enoch and ends abruptly at 82:20. Milik dates the ms. to the second half of the first century B.C.E.¹⁹

2.1.2.3. The Book of Giants

Stuckenbruck identifies nine mss. of the Book of Giants.

8 Ibid., 164.

9 Ibid., 164-65.

10 Ibid., 178-79.

11 Ibid., 5, 217.

12 Ibid., 225.

13 Ibid., 244.

14 Frank M. Cross Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in G. Ernest Wright, ed., *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell*

Albright (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961) fig. 5, line 5; Milik, *Enoch*, 246.

15 Milik, *Enoch*, 273.

16 Ibid., citing Cross, "Development," 137.

17 Milik, *Enoch*, 273-74.

18 Ibid., 274.

19 Ibid., 274.

*1QGiants^a (1Q23); DSSC, 21; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 43–59; idem, DJD 36:49–66.*

Thirty-one fragments, only one of which contains more than one or two words.

*1QGiants^b (1Q24); DSSC, 21–22; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 59–63; idem, DJD 36:67–72; DJD 31:19–47.*

Eight small fragments.

*2QGiants (2Q26); DSSC, 36; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 63–66; idem, DJD 36:73–75.*

One fragment with a few words from four lines.

*4QGiants^a (4Q203); DSSC, 81; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 66–100; idem, DJD 36:8–41; Puech, DJD 31:17–18.*

Thirteen fragments, one preserving a good part of thirteen lines, some others containing several words from several lines. Milik believes this was part of 4QEn^c and dates it in the last third of the first century B.C.E. (see above).

*4QGiants^b (4Q530); DSSC, 140; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 100–141; Puech, DJD 31:19–47.*

Twenty fragments containing a fair amount of text. Cross suggests a date 100–50 B.C.E.²⁰

*4QGiants^c (4Q531); DSSC, 140; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 141–77; Puech, DJD 31:49–94.*

Substantial amount of text preserved on forty-eight fragments, some of considerable size. According to Stuckenbruck, the script combines features of both early and mid-to-late Herodian hands, that is, 30 B.C.E.–50 C.E.

*4QGiants^d (4Q532); DSSC, 140; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 178–85; Puech, DJD 31:95–104.*

Six fragments with little continuous text.

*4QGiants^e (4Q556); DSSC, 143; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 185–91; Puech, DJD 31:105–11 (as 4Q533).*

Seven small fragments with little continuous text

*4QGiants^f (4Q206 2–3); DSSC, 81; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*,*

191–96; idem, DJD 36:42–48; Puech, DJD 31:111–15 (as 4Q533).

Three small fragments, originally published as part of 4QGiants^e, which Milik believes were part of 4QEn^c and which he dates to the first half of the first century B.C.E.

*6QGiants (6Q8); DSSC, 152; Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 196–213; idem, DJD 36:76–94.*

Thirty-three papyrus fragments, one preserving a good part of five lines of text. Cross suggests a date 50–1 B.C.E.²¹

The precise codicological relationship of the Book of Giants to the mss. of the Enochic corpus remains uncertain in my view. Although Milik is correct in assigning 4QGiants^a to the same ms. as 4QEn^c,²² there is no hard evidence as to where it might have been located on the ms., and as I argue below, there is warrant for expecting and believing that the account of Enoch's cosmic journeys had an ending that described his return to earth (§3.1.2.2).

2.1.3. Implications

The manuscript data summarized here suggest that the Qumran Scrolls provide a significant body of material for the textual criticism of 1 Enoch. Milik claims that 50 percent of the Book of the Watchers is covered, 30 percent of the Astronomical Book, 26 percent of the Book of Dreams, and 18 percent of the Epistle of Enoch.²³ In fact, as Knibb has calculated, the preserved text covers the equivalent of only 196 of the 1,062 verses of the Ethiopic text (one-fifth), and if one counts actual preserved letters, it preserves considerably less than one-fifth of the text.²⁴ Nonetheless, as I shall indicate below (§2.8), the Aramaic fragments are of invaluable text-critical help for sections of 1 Enoch where the Aramaic is substantially preserved. In addition, the fragments help us to reconstruct the literary shape of the early stages of the Enochic tradition (see §3.1.1–3). They also indicate the considerable importance of the Enoch material for the Qumran community (see §6.2.6).

20 Cross, "Development," 148, fig. 4, line 3.

21 Ibid., 149, fig. 4, line 6.

22 See the discussion, pro and con, in Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 67–68.

23 Milik, *Enoch*, 5.

24 Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:12.

2.2. Greek Version

Approximately 28 percent of 1 Enoch has been preserved in fragmentary texts of a Greek translation of the Aramaic original.²⁵

2.2.1. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)

2.2.1.1. The Akhmim Manuscript (Codex Panopolitanus)

This Greek ms. of the fifth or sixth century C.E. was discovered in 1886/87 in a grave in the Coptic cemetery at Akhmim (Panopolis), Egypt, and was published in editions by Bouriant (1872)²⁶ and Lods (1872, 1873).²⁷ It contains incomplete texts of the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter*, followed by the text of 1 Enoch 19:3 (ἀνθρώπων)—21:9 (εἶπεν), and then, without even the break of a space, by another complete text of 1 Enoch 1:1–32:6a. The inclusion of the Book of the Watchers and of the two Petrine writings in one codex is not surprising, given the evident relationships between the two traditions (see §6.3.6.4) and the texts' common interest in journeys to the realm of the dead. Perhaps the codex was compiled and deposited in the grave by analogy to

the Egyptian practice of burying a copy of the Book of the Dead.²⁸

The incomplete text of 19:3–21:9 is almost identical with the corresponding part of the following, fuller text of the Book of the Watchers. Agreements, often in error, between these Greek texts and the Ethiopic version over against the Greek fragments of Syncellus (see §2.2.1.2) indicate that Ⲯ^a and Ⲯ derive from a common archetype.²⁹ This ms., however, has its own unique readings, both longer and shorter than Ⲯ.³⁰ In general, however, it corresponds quite closely to Ⲯ and the corresponding material preserved in Ⲯ^s.

2.2.1.2. The Chronography of George Syncellus

Some fragments of the Book of the Watchers have also been preserved in the Ἐκλογή Χρονογραφίας of George Syncellus, composed at the beginning of the ninth century C.E., on the basis of the fifth-century chronographic works by Pandorus and Annianus.³¹ The preserved sections of 1 Enoch in Ⲯ^s are: 6:1–9:4; 8:4–10:14; 15:8–16:1 (ed. Dindorf, 20–23, 42–46, 46–47).³² One section has no precise parallel in 1 Enoch.³³

25 I count roughly 705 lines of the 2,476 lines of the edition of R. H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch* (Anecdota Oxoniensis; Oxford: Clarendon, 1906), although the percentage should be estimated a little lower, given the shortness of the lines of the Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 92–105), as these are formatted in Charles's edition. Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:20) estimates a somewhat higher percentage, counting Greek text for 366 of the 1,062 verses in the Ethiopic text.

26 U. Bouriant, "Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch," *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* 9/1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892) 91–147.

27 For Adolphe Lods's edition, see idem, *Le Livre d'Hénoch: Fragments Grecs découverts à Akhmim (Haute-Égypte); publiés avec les variantes du texte Éthiopien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892). For the plates and a set of corrections of Bouriant's edition, see idem, "L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre avec le texte grec du Livre d'Énoch," in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire: sous la direction de M. U. Bouriant* 9/3 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893) 217–35 and plates xi–xxxiii. See also the detailed discussion by August Dillmann, "Über den neugefundenen griechischen Text

des Henoch-Buches," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 51 (1892) 1039–54; 53 (1892) 1079–92. For a critical edition of the text of Ⲯ^a en face with Ⲯ and in synopsis with Ⲯ^s, see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 2–75; for a handy edition of the Greek texts, see Matthew Black, ed., *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 5–36.

28 For codicological issues relating to the Akhmim ms., see Milik, *Enoch*, 70–71. On the rationale for the collection, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Two Enochic Manuscripts: Unstudied Evidence for Egyptian Christianity," in H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin, eds., *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins* (Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1991) 252–54.

29 For a detailed discussion see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xiii–xvi.

30 See, e.g., 3:1–5:1; 1:8b; 5:8.

31 For Syncellus's use of these sources see William Adler, *Time Immemorial* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989) 132–231.

32 W. Dindorf, ed., *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus CP*

These fragments, which Scaliger first called to the attention of scholars in 1658,³⁴ provided the only textual evidence for 1 Enoch in the West before the publication of the Ethiopic version and the only substantial piece of text of the Greek Enoch before the publication of the Akhmim ms. (see §2.2.3).

Overall, the text preserved by Syncellus is superior to that of the Akhmim ms., but it has its own unique incorrect readings as well as additions that reflect the interests of the chronographer(s).³⁵

2.2.2. Fragments of the Book of the Luminaries and the Animal Vision

Fragments 3 and 1 of the fourth-century Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2069, published by Hunt in 1927,³⁶ have been identified by Milik as containing bits of 1 Enoch 77:7–78:1; 78:8; 85:10–86:2; 87:1–3.³⁷

2.2.3. An Excerpt from the Animal Vision (Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1809)

A Greek text of 1 Enoch 89:42–49 was written into the margins of an eleventh-century tachygraphic manuscript discovered by Mai in the Vatican Library and published

by him in 1844.³⁸ Gildemeister deciphered the text and published it together with some comments in 1855.³⁹ The text is introduced as “An excerpt from the book of Enoch” (ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐνώχ βιβλίου χρησίμους), is followed by some brief comments identifying some of the animals in the vision, and concludes with the remark that the vision described human history in this (symbolic) manner from Adam to the consummation (συντέλεια).

2.2.4. The Epistle of Enoch (Chester Beatty–Michigan Papyrus)

The preserved leaves of this fourth-century Greek papyrus codex contain the text of 1 Enoch 97:6–107:3, together with all but the last few lines of the *Homily on the Passion* by Melito of Sardis, and three fragments of a Pseudo-Ezekiel text.⁴⁰ An estimate of the original size of the codex suggests that it contained the whole of the Epistle of Enoch plus the story of Noah's birth (chaps. 91 or 92–107).⁴¹ The collection of three texts may have been assembled to serve a polemical or apologetic purpose.⁴² Bonner published the Enoch text with copious notes in 1937,⁴³ and the plates followed in 1941 in

(Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 1; Bonn, 1829).

33 For this text see Milik (*Enoch*, 317–19), who ascribes it to the Book of Giants.

34 Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Thesaurus Temporum*, Eusebii Pamphylīi Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi chronicorum canonum Omnimodae Historiae Libri Duo interprete Hieronymo (2d ed.; Amsterdam: Joannis Jansson, 1658) 404–5. The fragments of Syncellus were later published by Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (2 vols.; 2d ed.; Hamburg: Felgines, 1722) 1:179–99. See Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:16 n. 4.

35 Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 158–231.

36 A. S. Hunt, ed., “2069. Apocalyptic Fragment,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part 17* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1927) 6–8.

37 J. T. Milik, “Fragments grecs du livre d'Hénoch (P. Oxy. xvii 2069),” *Chronique d'Égypte* 46 (1971) 321–43. Although these fragments attest two successive sections of 1 Enoch, Milik (ibid.) argues that they derive from two separate codices. If this is correct, they tell us nothing certain about the shape of the Greek Enoch in the fourth century.

38 A. Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae* (Rome: Typis Sacri Consilii propagando christiano homini, 1844)

2:xi and facing plate.

39 J. Gildemeister, “Ein Fragment des griechischen Henoch,” *ZDMG* 9 (1855) 621–24. See also Michael Gitlbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809* (fasc. 1; Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse 28/2; Vienna: Gerold, 1878) 16, 32, 55–57, 92–93, and plate XI.

40 For a description of the ms., see Campell Bonner, ed., *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1937; repr. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968) 4–12; idem., *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis with Some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel* (SD 12; London: Christophers, 1940) 5–8; and Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, fasc. 8, *Enoch and Melito* (London: Walker, 1941) 5–7. Additional fragments have been identified by Albert Pietersma, “New Greek Fragments of Biblical Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library,” *BASP* 24 (1987) 40–45.

41 See Nickelsburg, “Two Enochic Manuscripts,” 255; and Pietersma, “New Greek Fragments, 44–45.

42 Nickelsburg, “Two Enochic Manuscripts,” 255–59.

43 Bonner, *Enoch*.

Kenyon's edition with an introduction.⁴⁴ Important comments on the text followed in articles by Jeremias, Torrey, and Zuntz.⁴⁵

The product of a careless scribe, this papyrus is marred by more than three dozen omissions, often sizable ones, many of them caused by homoioteleuton.⁴⁶ Otherwise, aside from a few corruptions (usually of single words) and a number of spelling errors, it appears to be quite reliable in the material it reproduces.⁴⁷ At one point (98:4-5) it contains an extensive double reading that indicates somewhere in the tradition behind this ms. a collation against a second ms. that may have had independent access to the Aramaic.⁴⁸

2.2.5. Date and Provenance

Although the Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus provides a fourth-century terminus ad quem for the Greek translation of at least the Epistle of Enoch, the wide usage of the Book of the Watchers by the Greek and Latin fathers of the second to fourth centuries indicates a much earlier date for at least the Book of the Watchers, and the writings of Tertullian suggest that he knew a large part of the corpus (see §6.3.2.6-16). References to the work in Greek in the *Epistle of Barnabas* indicate 135-38 C.E. as a terminus ad quem (see §6.3.2.3), and the quotation of 1:9 in Jude 14-15 and the use of Enochic material in Revelation indicate that the translation was in place by

the end of the first century (see §6.2.7-8). Parallels in the Wisdom of Solomon (see §6.2.7) suggest that the Greek is the product of a Jewish translator who worked before the turn of the era. In such a case, its provenance would have been circles that found compatibility between sapiential and apocalyptic traditions (see §§5.1.1.2-3, 6.2.7).⁴⁹

2.3. Latin Quotations and References to 1 Enoch

Several quotations of 1 Enoch and references or allusions to its contents have been preserved in the Latin language. A ninth-century Latin ms. includes an extract from the story of Noah's birth (106:1-18) in a collection of four passages about the "great sins of great sinners and their great punishments."⁵⁰ Pseudo-Cyprian (*Ad Novatianum*) quotes 1:9 (see §6.3.11), and in *De idol.* 4, Tertullian quotes 99:6-7, ascribing the text to Enoch the prophet (see §6.3.2.9). Other Latin fathers allude to the story of the watchers or its motifs (see §6.3.2.8, 10, 16, 17). While these quotations and allusions might attest a Latin version of the Book of Enoch,⁵¹ the evidence is slim and far from compelling.⁵²

44 Kenyon, *Papyri*.

45 Joachim Jeremias, "Beobachtungen zu neutestamentlichen Stellen an Hand des neugefundenen griechischen Henoch-Textes," *ZNW* 38 (1939) 115-24; idem, "Ein neuer Textfund: Das Henochfragment der Chester Beatty-Papyri," *TBI* 18 (1939) 145-46; Charles C. Torrey, "Notes on the Greek Texts of Enoch," *JAOS* 62 (1942) 52-60; G. Zuntz, "Notes on the Greek Enoch," *JBL* 61 (1942) 193-204; idem, "The Greek Text of Enoch 102:1-3," *JBL* 63 (1944) 53-54; idem, "Enoch on the Last Judgment," *JTS* 45 (1944) 161-70.

46 See, e.g., 97:8-9, 10; 98:10, 12; 99:8, 16; 101:9; 103:5, 6, 13, 15; 104:2-5; and all of 105:1-2. For a detailed discussion of these short readings, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch 97-104: A Study of the Greek and Ethiopic Texts," in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Armenian and Biblical Studies* (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976) 112-35.

47 For a textual comparison of the ms. and the parallel Ethiopic tradition, see *ibid.*, 90-156.

48 *Ibid.*, 113-17.

49 According to James Barr ("Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch I, II," *JSS* 23 [1978] 184-98; 24 [1979] 179-92), the translation probably belongs "to the same general stage and stratum as the LXX translation of Daniel" (*JSS* 24 [1979], 191). The possibility that 7Q4 1-2 preserves a remnant of a Grk. ms. of the Epistle of Enoch has been argued by G.-Wilhelm Nebe, "Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation," *RevQ* 13 (1988 = *Mémorial Jean Carmignac*) 629-33; and Émile Puech, "Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 1 = 1 Henoch 103 et 105," *RB* (1996) 592-600; idem, "Sept fragments de la Lettre d'Hénoch (I Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7QHén gr)," *RevQ* 19 (1997-98) 313-23. While this identification would allow us to date the Grk. translation to at least the turn of the era, the fragments are, in my view, too small to allow a certain identification.

50 For details see Milik, *Enoch*, 80-81.

51 Thus Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:21.

2.4. A Coptic Fragment of the Apocalypse of Weeks

The fragment of a two-columned sixth/seventh-century Coptic ms., discovered in 1939, preserves the text of a small part of the Apocalypse of Weeks, 93:3b-4a + 5ab (recto) and 6c-7a + 8cd (verso).⁵³ Whether the ms. contained only an extract from 1 Enoch, viz., the Apocalypse, or the whole Epistle is uncertain.⁵⁴ A verbatim correspondence between the Coptic and the Aramaic of 93:3c against the Ethiopic indicates that the C has blurred a faithful Greek rendering of its Aramaic archetype (see 93:3, textual note b).

2.5. A Syriac Excerpt from the Book of the Watchers

A Syriac text of 1 Enoch 6:1-6 is found in *Chronicle* 1.4 of the twelfth-century Jacobite patriarch Michael the Syrian, where it is ascribed to the chronographer Annianus (see §2.2.1.2).⁵⁵ Its text often agrees with C^a against C^b C (see textual notes to 6:1-6). Brock argues that Michael took the extract either from a Syriac translation of Annianus or a Syriac chronicle that drew on Annianus.⁵⁶

2.6. The Ethiopic Version of 1 Enoch

The corpus that we know as 1 Enoch (chaps. 1–108) is extant in its entirety only in an Ethiopic (Ge'ez) version that was translated from a Greek translation of the Ara-

maic original between the fourth and sixth centuries.⁵⁷ The translation was part of the larger project of translating the Old and New Testaments. Along with the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Book of Enoch* was accorded canonical status in the Ethiopian Bible (see §6.3.7.1–2).

Postulating a Greek textual basis for the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch requires some qualification. First, we have no Greek text or fragments for the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71) and the final appendix to the corpus (chap. 108). Thus there is no hard evidence that the Ethiopic of these chapters was not translated directly from a Semitic text (Hebrew or Aramaic).⁵⁸ Indeed, Ullendorff and Knibb have argued that the Ethiopic version knows both Aramaic and Greek versions of the text, although they leave open the question as to what extent the Ethiopic is dependent on the Aramaic and the Greek. Was the text translated from Aramaic and revised against the Greek, or was it translated from Greek and revised against an Aramaic text?⁵⁹ VanderKam has argued, however, that the textual confusions between the Greek and the Ethiopic are more “economically” explained as having taken place on the Greek than on the Ethiopic level.⁶⁰ In this commentary I have postulated an Aramaic → Greek → Ethiopic chain of transmission, partly because of the close correspondence in word order between the Greek and Ethiopic and also because of readings in the Ethiopic that must

52 For details see Milik, *Enoch*, 78–81. Concerning Augustine's references to the Enochic literature, which Milik does not mention, see §6.3.2.22.

53 For the publication with an Italian translation and comments, see Sergio Donadoni, “Un frammento della versione copta del ‘Libro di Enoch,’” *AcOr* 25 (1960) 197–202. For a Latin translation see Milik, *Enoch*, 81–82.

54 Donadoni (“Frammento,” 202) and Milik (*Enoch*, 82) suggest that the codex contained only the Epistle.

55 S. P. Brock, “A Fragment of Enoch (6:1-6) in Syriac,” *JTS* 19 (1968) 626–31.

56 *Ibid.*, 629.

57 For this date see Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy*

1967 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:21–22.

58 Conversely, since there are no Aramaic fragments of these chapters, there is no hard evidence that they were not composed in Greek and then translated into Ethiopic.

59 Edward Ullendorff, “An Aramaic ‘Vorlage’ of the Ethiopic Text of Enoch?” *Atti de convegno internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma 2–4 aprile 1959)* (Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, quaderni 48; Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960) 259–67; *idem*, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, 61–62; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:27–46.

60 James C. VanderKam, “The Textual Base for the Ethiopic Translation of 1 Enoch,” in D. M. Golomb, ed., *Working with No Data: Studies in Semitic and*

have derived from a corrupt Greek text.⁶¹ In at least one case it appears that a Greek scribe had access to either an Aramaic text or another Greek text that had access to the Aramaic.⁶²

At this writing I am aware of forty-nine pre-1900 Ethiopic mss. of 1 Enoch. The majority of these mss. contain other books of the Bible and place Enoch either with the Prophets or before Job.⁶³ Table 1 lists all mss. cited in the editions of Charles, Knibb, Uhlig, and Tiller, as well as other pre-1900 mss. in the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library collection.⁶⁴

As table 1 demonstrates, a thousand years separate the fourth- to sixth-century translation of 1 Enoch from our earliest extant mss. of the translation. Of the forty-nine mss. listed, only six can be dated to the sixteenth century or earlier (g/g', q, u, T⁹, 1768, 2080), and only six others to the seventeenth century (t, z, 4437, 6281, British & Foreign Bible Society, and Pontifical Biblical Institute).

Since the edition of the Ethiopic by Flemming (1902),⁶⁵ which was based on twenty-six mss., scholarly consensus has divided the mss. into two groups, designated as I and II or α and β (Charles and in this com-

mentary).⁶⁶ Manuscripts of the α group include g, m, q, t, u, T⁹, 1768, 2080, 6281, all of which can be dated to the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century.⁶⁷ The mss. of the second group, which date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are the product of scholarly recensional activity.

Uhlig summarizes the history of the text as follows.⁶⁸ (1) At the end of the thirteenth century, the biblical text was marked by lacunae, many substantial variants, and paraphrase with a tendency toward simplification. Although no ms. of 1 Enoch derives from this period, T⁹ does provide some witness to it in variants that distinguish it from other mss. of the α group. (2) The mss. of the α group derive from a series of recensions in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. ms. 2080 may reflect an early recension, while the others are the product of fifteenth-century recension. Subgroupings within this group include: t, u, 6281; u, 2080; T⁹, q; and gmt. (3) The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century recensional process that produced the mss. of the β group emended difficult passages, filled omissions, and corrected grammatical mistakes.⁶⁹

Egyptian Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 247–62.

61 See, e.g., 22:2, n. d; 98:15, n. a; 99:2, n. a; 100:3, n. a; 103:7, n. b.

62 See the textual notes to 98:4–5.

63 Hans S. Fuhs, “Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Henoch: Ein Beitrag zur Apokalyptikforschung der Gegenwart,” *BN* 8 (1979) 42. For details see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xvii–xxi. For the recognition of Enoch as a prophet, see Uhlig, *Henoch*, 470. The juxtaposition with Job may reflect a recognition of 1 Enoch’s sapiential content (see §5.1.1.3–4).

64 My inconsistent sigla reflect the history of this commentary: I used the lower-case letters for the mss. used by Charles; T⁹ for Tana 9; and catalog numbers for the mss. in the Hill Ethiopic Monastic Manuscript Library (EMML). The information in table 1 has been collated from the editions of Charles, Knibb, Uhlig, and Tiller (*Commentary*). There is general agreement on the dating of the mss. Where there is disagreement, I have followed Knibb’s dating, when he utilizes the mss. The dates for the mss. of the EMML are taken from their catalogs (*CEM*). In the case of a few mss., I have taken dates kindly provided in private correspondence (February 2000) by Dr. Getatchew Haile of the EMML. The discussion of the Ethiopic version that follows is

greatly indebted to the excellent, detailed discussions by Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:1–6, 21–37) and Uhlig (*Henoch*, 470–91).

65 Johannes Flemming, *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text* (= TU n.s. 7.1/22.1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902). Three prior editions had appeared: Richard Laurence, *Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1838), which was based on mss. a; August Dillmann, *Liber Henoch, Aethiopice, ad quinque codicum fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1851), a critical edition based on mss. a, b, c, d, e; and R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch: Translated from Dillmann’s Ethiopic Text, emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), a translation that added ten new mss. to the textual base (fgg’ hiklmno).

66 Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xvii–xxiv; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:21–37; Uhlig, *Henoch*, 470–91.

67 Both Flemming and Charles included gmqtu in their first group. Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:23) added T⁹ to it. Uhlig (*Henoch*, 489) included 1768, 2080, and 6281.

68 Uhlig, *Henoch*, 488–90; for more details see the discussion by Fuhs, “Übersetzung,” 36–56.

69 Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:31.

Table 1

<i>My Sigla</i>	<i>Library/Number</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Century</i>	<i>Content</i>	<i>Charles</i>	<i>Knibb</i>	<i>Uhlig</i>	<i>Tiller</i>
a	Bodleian Or. 531	Oxford	18	1-105	a	Bodl 4	Ox 1	a
b	Bodleian Bruce 74	Oxford	18	1-98	b	Bodl 5	Ox 2	b
c	Frankfurt Orient Rüppell II 1	Frankfurt	18	1-98	c	Frankfurt ms.	Fr	c
d	Curzon 55 =BL Or. 8822	London	18(?)	1-102	d	Curzon 55	Lo1	d
e	Curzon 56 =BL Or. 8823	London	18(?)	1-108	e	Curzon 56	Lo2	e
f	BL Add. 24185	London	19	1-106	f	BM Add. 24185	Lo3	f
g	BL Or. 485	London	16 early	1-108	g	BM 485	Lo4	g
g'	BL Or. 485a	London	16 early	97:6b-108:10	,g	BM 485 ^a	Lo4(2)	-
h	BL Or. 484	London	18	1-108	h	BM 484	Lo5	h
i	BL Or. 486	London	18	60:13b-108:15	i	BM 486	Lo6	i
k	BL Or. 490	London	18	1-107	k	BM 490	Lo7	k
l	BL Add. 24990	London	18	1-108	l	BM Add. 24990	Lo8	l
m	BL Or. 491	London	18	1-108	m	BM 491	Lo9	m
n	BL Or. 492	London	18	1-87	n	BM 492	Lo10	n
o	BL Or. 499	London	18	1-106	o	BM 499	Lo11	o
p	Rylands Library Eth. 23	Manchester	18	1-108	p	Ryl	Ma	p
q	Berlin Orient	Berlin	16	1-108	q	Berl	Be	q
	Petermann II, Nachtrag 29							
r	Abbadian 16	Paris	19	1-77	r	Abb 16	Pa1	-
s	Abbadian 30	Paris	18	1-108	s	Abb 30	Pa2	-
t	Abbadian 35	Paris	17 end	1-108	t	Abb 35	Pa3	t
u	Abbadian 55	Paris	15-16	1-108	u	Abb 55	Pa4	u
v	Abbadian 99	Paris	19	1-108	v	Abb 99	Pa5	v
w	Abbadian 197	Paris	19	1-98	w	Abb 197	Pa6	w
x	Vatican Étiop. 71	Vatican City	18	1-108	x	Vat 71	Va1	x
y	Munich Äthiop. 30	Munich	18	1-108	y	Munich 30	Mü	y
z	Paris Éthiop. 50 (114)	Paris	17	1-108	z	Paris 114	Pa7	-
z ^b	Paris Éthiop. 32 (49)	Paris	18	1-108	z ^b	Paris 32	Pa8	-
a'	Princeton Eth. 2	Princeton	18-19	1-108	,a	Garrett ms.	Pr	,a
	=Garrett Coll. Dep. 1468							
b'	Westenholz	Hamburg	18	1-106	,b	Westenholz ms.	Ha	,b
	=Hamburg Orient 271a							
Ca	Univ. Lib. Add. 1570	Cambridge	1588-89	1-108	-	-	Ca	-
T ⁹	Lake Tana 9	Kebran	15	1-108	-	Tana 9	TS	aa
Ull	Edward Ullendorff		18 early	1-108	-	Ull	Ull	ab
Va2	Cerulli 75	Vatican City	1931-32	1-108	-	-	Va2	-
Va3	Cerulli 110	Vatican City	1921-22	1-108	-	-	Va3	-
Va4	Cerulli 131	Vatican City	19	1-108	-	-	Va4	-
	EMML 36	(Collegeville)	18-19					
1768	EMML 1768	Hayq Estifānos	15-16	1-108	-	-	Co1	bk
2080	EMML 2080	Hayq Estifānos	15-16	1-108	-	-	Co2	bn
4437	EMML 4437	(Collegeville)	17-18	1-108	-	-	Co3	bs
4750	EMML 4750	(Collegeville)	18	1-108	-	-	Co4	bt
6281	EMML 6281	(Collegeville)	17	1-108	-	-	Co5	bv
	EMML 6686	(Collegeville)	17-18					
	EMML 6706	(Collegeville)	18					
	EMML 6930	(Collegeville)	18					
6974	EMML 6974	(Collegeville)	18		-	-		bw
	EMML 7103	(Collegeville)	18					
7584	EMML 7584	(Collegeville)	18		-	-		by
	British & Foreign Bible Society	London	17(?)	1-108	-	-	Lo12	-
	Pontifical Biblical Inst.	Rome	17-18	2:3-108:15	-	-	Ro	-
	Banco A 2, II							

2.7. The Textual Base for This Commentary

Recent editions and translations of 1 Enoch have followed two different paradigms in establishing their textual bases: Knibb and Isaac based their translations on a single ms., while Uhlig created his own eclectic text. Knibb took the most daring tack. Arguing that mss. of the late β group often preserved old readings, he placed his critical apparatus of all major variants beneath a photo reproduction of the eighteenth-century ms. e, which he translated and annotated with references to the Ethiopic variants and the Greek and Aramaic evidence.⁷⁰ Isaac went in the opposite direction by translating the oldest extant Ethiopic ms., T⁹, and referring to the Ethiopic variants and the Aramaic and Greek in the notes.⁷¹ The value of the two editions is their presentation of, respectively, an underrated and a very old text. The disadvantage of the procedure is its presentation of a text or translation that includes readings demonstrably inferior to those contained in other mss., whether Ethiopic, Greek, or Aramaic. To avoid this problem, Uhlig offered a translation based on an eclectic text composed of what he considered to be the best readings from the whole corpus of Ethiopic, Greek, and Aramaic evidence.⁷² The obvious risk in this approach lies in the validity of the editor's judgment in choosing any given reading.

In a critical commentary, however, one *must* take this risk, interpreting what is arguably the earliest recoverable form of the text in any given passage. Although my translation and the text that it presupposes were initially created independently of Uhlig's edition, in general my appraisal of the textual traditions agrees with that of Uhlig.⁷³ There are three issues.

1. The form of the Aramaic preserved in the Qumran fragments does not provide a text-critical *Vorlage* for the Greek and Ethiopic versions, although it stands chronologically close to that *Vorlage*.

2. The present form of the Greek is not the *Vorlage* for the Ethiopic version. In the case of the Book of the Watchers, the texts of the Akhmim ms. and George Syncellus offer variant readings. Apart from these, at times the extant Greek is inferior to the Greek *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic.

3. The Ethiopic ms. evidence is even more complex. Even where it speaks with one voice, the text sometimes reflects corruption within the Ethiopic tradition or its Greek *Vorlage*. Moreover, because the Ethiopic tradition has undergone a long process of transmission, corruption, correction, and recension, one must frequently choose among ms. variants.

In arriving at the text presupposed in my translation, I have employed the following principles.

The Greek (and Ethiopic)

1. Where the evidence of Θ^s and Θ^a splits, I tend to favor Θ^s .⁷⁴ Since Θ^a and \mathcal{E} agree with one another in common errors and thus reflect a common Greek archetype, when Θ^s agrees with \mathcal{E} against Θ^a , I favor the reading of Θ^s \mathcal{E} , and when Θ^s agrees with Θ^a against \mathcal{E} , I follow the reading of Θ^a .⁷⁵ Occasionally, however I follow Θ^a \mathcal{E} against Θ^s .⁷⁶

2. The mss. of the Greek version (Θ^a Θ^s Θ^{Val} \mathcal{E}^{CB}) and the *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic ($*\mathcal{E}^E$) are, in principle, of equal value. Variants between the Greek and Ethiopic evidence must be evaluated by several criteria:

a. The characteristics of a given ms. or tradition, for example, a tendency toward omission.⁷⁷

b. The possibility of an inner-Ethiopic corruption, which can be easily emended to agree to the extant Greek text.⁷⁸

c. The possibility of a corruption on the Greek level in either the Greek ms. or $*\mathcal{E}^E$.⁷⁹

70 Ibid., 28–37.

71 Ephraim Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983–85) 1:10–12.

72 Uhlig, *Enoch*, 470–91, esp. 483–91.

73 Ibid., 486–87.

74 See Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xiii–xiv; thus also Uhlig, *Enoch*, 486.

75 See Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xiv–xv. For example, see comm. on 10:4–6.

76 See, e.g., 8:1 (n. a) and 8:3 (n. a).

77 On this tendency in Θ^s , see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xv, and, e.g., 3:1–5:1; 1:8b; 5:8; on \mathcal{E}^{CB} , see above, n. 46; on ms. u, see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xxiv.

78 See, e.g., 97:9 (n. b), 10 (n. a); 98:12 (n. d); 99:5 (n. g).

79 See, e.g., 99:2 (n. a); 100:3 (n. a), 7 (n. b).

The Ethiopic

Where there is not a Greek text to provide a control, the choice among variants in the Ethiopic MSS. is often difficult. I have not been able to construct a stemma of Ethiopic MSS., and I know of no such stemma constructed on the basis of common errors that demonstrate the placement of individual MSS. up or down the text-critical tree. In my view there has been too much contamination among MSS. This situation leaves it to the editor's own judgment to choose among readings on the basis of some established and defined criteria. My criteria are as follows:

1. Readings from the α group are to be preferred to those in the β group.
2. Among the former, one should give weight to the older MSS. (T⁹, 2080, g) and especially note the coinciding testimony of several old MSS.
3. There are exceptions to these two criteria. One of the oldest α MSS., u, is notorious for its omissions and should never be trusted in a short reading.⁸⁰ In the Epistle, where Greek evidence is available, t, a late MS. of the α group, has the highest rate of coincidence with Θ^{CB} , and the β group is not far behind. When t and β agree, they coincide with Θ^{CB} far more often than they diverge from it.⁸¹ I have taken seriously such agreement in readings that have no corresponding Greek text. Furthermore, the coincidence of the β MSS. with the Greek, against gmqu, should warn us away from a facile dismissal of the β group as late.⁸²

The Aramaic Fragments

The Aramaic fragments are of mixed value in constructing a critical text.

1. In the many places where they coincide with the Greek and/or Ethiopic, they strengthen our confidence

in those versions, both at those particular places and more generally.⁸³

2. Where they differ from the Greek and/or Ethiopic, one is hard pressed to make a final judgment.⁸⁴ In one case the Aramaic reading is clearly a corruption of the Aramaic *Vorlage* of $\Theta^a * \Theta^E$ (see 5:4, textual n. b, \square for \square). In another instance, literary considerations recommend a short Aramaic reading over $\Theta^a \Theta$; one could, however, support the reading of the versions by postulating an omission and subsequent misplacement (see comm. on 5:3). In other cases, where one might be inclined to prefer the Aramaic to the reading of the versions, the text has broken off in a lacuna. Milik often deals with this problem by reconstructing text in the lacunae, or indeed around fragments of uncertain placement, but this is a very uncertain procedure.⁸⁵ In these cases I have translated the text of the version(s) and commented ad locum on the text-critical problem and its implications.

When all is said and done, I have selected the readings that make the most sense after weighing a variety of considerations and criteria, and I have indicated the ambiguities and given the reasons for my choices. Some of these considerations and criteria are as follows.

1. I have no predisposition to consider a longer reading as expansionistic or a shorter reading as abbreviated, compressed, or apocopated. The scale may be tipped by the possibility of an evident case of dittography or of omission by parablepsis due to homoiarchton or homoioteleuton, or by literary considerations.

2. In borderline cases, I enclose the longer reading in braces { }.

3. The reading whose presence in the text is more difficult to explain is to be preferred to the reading that appears to ease such a difficulty. But a reading that can

80 See above, n. 77.

81 See Nickelsburg, "Enoch 97-104," 153-54.

82 Matthew Black (*Apocalypse*, 424-25) criticizes my conclusions about t, β , but I think he misses my point. Only in three readings does another MS. (a single one) have a right reading against t, β (and all the other MSS.). Six times the combination t, β is correct against all other MSS. Many more times it is correct along with other MSS. This adds up to a high score for the reliability of these MSS., and it suggests that the β group cannot simply be dismissed as secondary.

83 See Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:12-13.

84 For the divergence of 4QEn⁸ and the fragments of the Book of the Luminaries from the Ethiopic, see *ibid.*, 2:13. On 4QEn⁸ see comm. on 91:7c-9; 92:1; 93:11-14.

85 See, e.g., the comments of Michael Sokoloff, "Notes on the Aramaic Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4," *Maarav* 1 (1978-79) 197-98; and the review of Milik by James Barr in *JTS* 29 (1978) 517-30. See esp. Milik's reconstructions of 4QEn^b (*Enoch*, 165-78), and for two examples, 7:1, textual note a; 7:2, n. c.

be interpreted in its context is to be preferred to a reading that is clearly corrupt or appears to be opaque. One should not constitute a text that includes all of the more obscure readings.

4. Emendation is a last resort, to be employed only when a text is opaque or clearly corrupt and when one can find a feasible and explicable alternative. I enclose such emendations in angle brackets < >. Where such an alternative cannot be found I have marked the corrupt word(s) with daggers † †.

The sources of the readings I ascribe to the various mss. are mixed. For the Qumran Aramaic mss., I have used the plates in Milik's edition, comparing them in places with some photographs provided by the Shrine of the Book. For the Greek of the Akhmim ms. and the Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus, I have used the published plates of Bouriant and Kenyon.⁸⁶ For the Ethiopic, I have relied on the editions of Charles, Knibb, Uhlig, and Tiller,⁸⁷ including such variants as seemed relevant and important. For some readings I have consulted some of the microfilm reproductions at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. For the rest of the fragmentary mss. or quotations, I have relied on the published editions of their editors.⁸⁸

2.8. The Translation as It Relates to the Textual Situation

This complexity of the textual evidence bears on the character of the translation. Obviously one translates the words and phrases that one determines belong to the

text. But how does one translate a text that is 100 percent extant only in a secondary translation (Ethiopic), and how does one deal with the primary translation (Greek) that is extant for only 25 percent of the text, and how does one treat the remnants of the original text in Aramaic contained on the very fragmentary pieces from Qumran?

In general I have adopted these procedures to deal with such difficulties.

1. Where the Greek is extant and appears to preserve a text that is the same or better than the Ethiopic, I have translated that text, being as respectful as possible to its nuances.

2. Where the Greek is not extant or the Ethiopic appears to preserve the better text, I have translated the Ethiopic with a view toward expressing the nuances of what would have been its Greek *Vorlage*, to the extent that the Greek preserved elsewhere allows for establishing what would have been the vocabulary used.

3. Where the Aramaic is extant and coincides with the Greek and/or Ethiopic, I translate in a way that expresses the nuances of the Aramaic. However, I avoid replacing the extant texts of the versions with partial Aramaic readings, much less reconstructions of the lacunae. In some cases a comparison of the versions and the extant Aramaic in one place may support a particular translation elsewhere where the Aramaic is not extant. Although I have avoided placing those Aramaic nuances in my translation, I sometimes refer to them in the commentary.⁸⁹

86 Lods, "Évangile"; Kenyon, *Papyri*.

87 Charles, *Eth. Enoch*; Knibb, *Enoch*; Uhlig, *Henoch*; and Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

88 See nn. 36–39, 53, 55. For Syncellus and the Latin fragment, I have consulted Charles, *Eth. Enoch*.

89 See, e.g., the excursus on "The Watchers and Holy

Ones" at 1:2–3, but my translation "holy angels" at 20:1–8; 21:5, 9; 22:3; 23:4; 26:4; 27:2; 32:6; 33:3, following Ⲅⲉ where no Aramaic text exists, although it is tempting to read "watchers and holy ones."

3.0. 1 Enoch as a Literary Composition

3.1. Literary History of the Corpus

The traditions and documents collected in 1 Enoch were accumulated in stages. This section will suggest an explanation for the literary logic that presided over the developing corpus of Enochic traditions.

3.1.1. The Manuscript Evidence

3.1.1.1. The Ethiopic Version

Although only twenty-nine of the forty-five mss. of the Ethiopic version cataloged by Uhlig contain all 108 chapters (so divided by Dillmann),¹ there is no doubt that the Ethiopic archetype contained all of these 108 chapters. According to a broad consensus, these 108 chapters divide into the seven major literary units described above in §1.0.

3.1.1.2. The Greek Manuscripts

Each of the two major Greek texts of 1 Enoch preserves the largest part of one of the seven divisions (see §2.2). The Akhmim Codex contains 1:1–32:6, almost all of the Book of the Watchers. The Chester Beatty–Michigan Papyrus, of which the first seven leaves (fourteen pages) have been lost, contains two component sections, i.e., most of the Epistle (97:6–104:13) and the story of Noah's birth (chaps. 106–107). Other Greek testimonies are in the form of quotations or excerpts, which tell us nothing about the content and extent of the Greek ms. traditions available (§2.2.1.2, 2.2.2, 2.2.3).

3.1.1.3. The Qumran Aramaic Manuscripts

Table 2 tabulates the more complex Aramaic codicological evidence with a view toward the literary analysis that follows.²

In addition to these fragments, Milik identified fragments of several mss. of an Enochic Book of Giants not contained in 1 Enoch (see §§1.8, 2.1.2.3),³ and he showed that one group of the Qumran fragments (4QEnGiants^a) “formed part of the same scroll as that of 4QEn^c.”⁴

Two facts in this Aramaic codicological evidence are important for the literary history of the Enoch traditions. First, no part of the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71) has been preserved on any Qumran ms. Second, in the preserved fragments, the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82) is always written on separate mss. that contain no other part of 1 Enoch.

3.1.2. Literary Macrostructure

3.1.2.1. A Pentateuch?

The fivefold structure of 1 Enoch 1–105 led G. H. Dix and then J. T. Milik to posit the intentional creation of an Enochic Pentateuch, modeled on the Mosaic writings.⁵ According to Milik, who compares 4QEn^c with 1 Enoch, this Pentateuch was written on two scrolls. The Book of the Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Dream Visions, and the Epistle were written in that order on one scroll, and, because of its size, book 4, the astro-

Table 2

ms.	1–5	6–11	12–16	17–19	20–36	37–71	72–82	83–90	91	92	93	94:1–4	94:5ff.	104:10–105:2	106–107	108
a	x	x	?													
b	x	x	?													
c	x	x	x	?	x			x						x		x
d					x			x								
e				?	x			x								
f								x								
g									x	x	x	x				
As ^{tabcd}							x									

1 For Uhlig's catalog see Uhlig, *Enoch*, 473–75. For the division see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, xviii.

2 Milik, *Enoch*, 6.

3 Ibid., 310–39.

4 Ibid., 310; cf. also 58, 183.

5 G. H. Dix, “The Enochic Pentateuch,” *JTS* 27 (1925–1926) 29–42; Milik, *Enoch*, 58, 77–78, 183–84.

nomical document, was written on a separate scroll. Later, the Book of Parables replaced the Book of Giants, perhaps because of the latter's popularity among the Manichaeans. Thus 1 Enoch attained its present content and order.

3.1.2.2. A Testament

The hypothesis of Dix and Milik has not found wide acceptance, and Milik in particular has been convincingly refuted by Greenfield and Stone.⁶ Nonetheless, some of the evidence presented by Dix and Milik is suggestive. Chapter 91 does bear a significant resemblance to the last chapters of Deuteronomy.⁷ Moreover, Milik correctly notes that 4QEn^c contains fragments of four of the seven components of 1 Enoch, most likely in the same order⁸ as in 1 Enoch (the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Vision, the Epistle, the story of Noah's birth). 4QEn^c ends with the conclusion of the Epistle, followed after a vacant line by the Noah story. Earlier, where we can trace the continuity, a fragment of chaps. 6–11, the story of the fall of the watchers, is followed by the beginning of chaps. 12–16, the commissioning of Enoch. It is likely that the fragments of the introduction (chaps. 1–5), the journeys of Enoch (represented by parts of chaps. 30–36), and at least the second dream vision (chap. 89) stood in relation to chaps. 6–16 where they now stand in 1 Enoch.⁸ The location of the Book of Giants in this ms. is uncertain.

A comparison of 1 Enoch with the Qumran mss., especially 4QEn^c, indicates the following: (1) There was a time in the literary history of the Enochic corpus when the manuscript tradition did not include the Book of Parables. This absence underscores the strangeness of the Parables' present placement in 1 Enoch. The book intrudes between chaps. 33–36 (esp. 33:2-4)—with their mention of Enoch's time with Uriel—and chaps. 72–82, which comprise the detailed record of the same event. (2) The division of the Enochic material between two sets of Qumran mss. containing, respectively, the Book of the Luminaries and the rest of the material, seems to

indicate that the juxtaposition of chaps. 33–36 and 72–82 suggested by 1 Enoch was itself secondary. 4QEn^c indicates a collection that included the Book of the Watchers, the Dream Visions, the Epistle, and the Book of Giants. The vacat between chaps. 105 and 106–107 suggests that the Noah story was a separate unit appended to the Epistle.

A clue to the rationale for such a tripartite work can be found, in part, in the fuller text of these sections preserved in 1 Enoch and the Greek mss. of these sections. Both in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-3) and in the final major section of the Epistle (103:1-2; 104:1) the authority of Enoch's message resides in his claimed knowledge of the heavenly realm. This claim presupposes the celestial journeys that are documented in chaps. 12–36.

More precisely, however, the references to Enoch's viewing of the heavenly tablets (93:1-3; 103:1-4; 104:1) recall a section of narrative that is presently embedded in the Book of the Luminaries (81:1-4).⁹ Chapter 91 also directs us to this passage and, indeed, to the whole narrative section in 81:1–82:4ab. In 91:1-2 Enoch commands Methuselah to summon his brothers, so that they may all be recipients of the instruction with which Enoch will "testify" to them. In chaps. 81–82 an unnamed heavenly figure shows Enoch the tablets containing a record of all the deeds of humanity. Then seven (or three) holy ones bring Enoch to earth and command him to instruct Methuselah and to "testify" to all his sons for one year before they remove him permanently from the earth. Enoch then speaks to Methuselah and refers to the books of wisdom that Enoch has given to him, which are to be transmitted to Methuselah's sons and, through them, to all generations until eternity.

Not only does 81:1–82:4ab look like a first part of the narrative in chap. 91, it is linked with the Epistle (chaps. 92–105), and it provides a link between the Epistle and the Book of the Watchers. On the one hand, Enoch's viewing of the tablets is the presupposition of 93:1-3,

6 Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," *HTR* 70 (1977) 51–65; see also Deborah Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch," *VT* 33 (1983) 16–19.

7 Dix, "Pentateuch," 31; Milik, *Enoch*, 183–84.

8 Dimant's ("Biography," 17) skepticism on this point

seems unnecessary.

9 The following paragraphs summarize the more extensive discussion below in the comm. on chaps. 81–82.

103:1-2, and 104:1, as well as other texts that refer to the heavenly record of human deeds (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). On the other hand, the angels' escorting of Enoch to earth and their command that he instruct and testify to his sons tie that instruction and testimony to the Book of the Watchers and, specifically, to those parts in which the seven archangels escorted Enoch through the universe. They command him to instruct on the basis of the visions that he has seen and they have interpreted. Moreover, it is likely that 81:1-3 is actually a remnant of a seventh vision, under the tutelage of the angel Remiel, which has been dropped from the journey account in chaps. 20-36, which presently records six visions: 21:1-10; 22; 23:1-24:1; 24:2-25:7; 26:1-27:5; 28:1-32:6 (see comm. on 81:1-2).

If we include 81:1-82:4ab, the three parts represented in 4QEn^c form a literary unity that has the character of a testament. A narrative section about Enoch's past activity leads to a farewell scene in which the father instructs his sons on ethical and eschatological matters that are related, in part, to the content of the narrative.¹⁰

Although 81:5-82:4ab constitutes a narrative bridge between the Book of the Watchers and the instructional parts of 1 Enoch (positing 81:1-4 as part of the Books of the Watchers), it remains to be seen at what point this narrative was added. First, it can be shown that the passage as a whole—no parts of which have been found among the Aramaic fragments of the Book of the Luminaries—is a foreign body in the Book of the Luminaries. Second, precisely the features that are not at home in the Book of the Luminaries have counterparts in the Book of the Watchers, in chap. 91, and in the Epistle. Thus 81:1-82:4 is bound to these sections formally, thematically, and by narrative logic.

If 81:5-82:4ab is not at home in the Book of the Luminaries, was this narrative bridge added to the developing collection of Enochic traditions before the Book of the Luminaries was added, at the same time, or later?¹¹ The first of these is the most likely alternative. As 4QEn^g indicates, chap. 91 was prefixed to chaps. 92ff. already in the Aramaic tradition of the first century B.C.E., at a time when the Book of the Luminaries was copied on MSS. sep-

arate from the rest of the Enochic corpus. Without 81:5-82:4ab, however, chap. 91 has no narrative preparation for the sudden appearance of Methuselah, there is no narrative to bridge Enoch's ascent to heaven and his testamentary discourse to the children, and there is no narrative preparation for Enoch's reference to the heavenly tablets. 81:5-82:4ab provides all of these. Were this section added at the same time as chaps. 72-82, one would expect a connection closer to 72-82 than to 91ff. Were it added afterward, one would have expected it to have been inserted before chap. 72.

The evidence of 4QEn^c read in the light of the Ethiopic tradition indicates that the basic content and literary shape of 1 Enoch derive from a collection of writings that were structured as an Enochic testament. Maximally this included: the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36 + a fuller form of 81:1-4); a narrative describing Enoch's return to earth (something close to 81:5-82:3); the Dream Visions (chaps. 83-85); a continuation of the narrative begun in 81:5-82:4ab (chap. 91); the Epistle (chaps. 92-105); a concluding narrative about the birth of Noah (chaps. 106-107).

Moving tentatively, we may attempt to reconstruct this document more specifically and to suggest an earlier form of it. The first problem that prompts this analysis concerns the narrative about Noah's birth in chaps. 106-107. Its position at the end of the corpus suggests it is an addition, and the vacat in 4QEn^c indicates that that scribe recognized it as a separate unit. In 8^{CB} the scribe has placed the title *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΝΩΧ* ("The Epistle of Enoch") after chap. 107. The designation is more appropriate after chap. 105, which forms a reprise of themes introduced in the superscription in chap. 92. If the title reflects ancient tradition, it may be another indicator that chaps. 106-107 are an intrusive addition. Finally, there is a problem in narrative logic. Although in the fiction of our suggested testament Enoch narrates events that have taken place *before* he leaves his family for the last time, the story in chaps. 106-107 takes place *after* Enoch has left, for Methuselah must visit him at the ends of the earth.

A second problem concerns the Dream Visions. In the present form of 1 Enoch, chaps. 83-84 + 85-90 are

10 On these component parts of the genre testament, see comm. on 81-82, § Literary Form.

11 For example, VanderKam, *Enoch*, 78, 106-9.

introduced as a unit (83:1-2). As part of his instruction, Enoch narrates to Methuselah two dream visions that he had seen before his marriage. Whether 4QEn^c contained *both* of these is uncertain. No Aramaic ms. preserves any part of the first vision.¹² However, the second Dream Vision, which was contained in 4QEn^c, creates a number of literary problems in its context in 1 Enoch. (1) Within the narrative framework of 81:5–82:4ab + 91, chaps. 85–90 (and 83–90 as a whole) constitute a massive digression in the narrative line. (2) A number of parallels exist between the contents of chaps. 85–90 and the rest of what I have called Enoch’s testament. That is, within the context of a narrative, this account of Enoch’s dream vision recapitulates important aspects of that narrative, as well as the order of events in that narrative. In his dream Enoch sees: the rebellion of the watchers and its consequences described in chaps. 6–11 (86:1–89:1); his translation to paradise (see comm. on 87:2-4); the intercession of the archangels described in chap. 9—here transferred from primordial to eschatological times (89:70-71, 76-77; 90:14, 17); and his return to earth in 81:5-10 (90:31). In addition, according to 90:41, the content of the dream parallels the content of the heavenly tablets that he viewed in 81:1-2; and in both cases he responds by blessing God (81:3; 90:40). While this kind of duplication of the whole of the narrative within a part of the narrative could be original to the testament, it is better seen as a parallel tradition that has been incorporated into the testament. (See also Introduction to chaps. 85–90, Genre §4.b). (3) When it is read after the massive recitation of history in chaps. 85–90, Enoch’s command in 91:1 that Methuselah assemble his brothers, “so that I may show you everything that will happen to you forever,” is anticlimatic, to say the least. All he does is recite two brief historical summaries (91:5-9 and 93:1-10 + 91:11-17). The command and promise make more sense if one assumes that chaps. 85–90 have not preceded. (4) The Apocalypse of Weeks, in particular (93:1-10 + 91:11-17), with its reference to the heavenly tablets, is an especially appropriate fulfillment of 91:1 based on the narrative in 81:1-4.

As I discuss in detail in Excursus: The Literary Unity, there is some uncertainty as to the extent to which

chaps. 92–105 were present in the original form of the Enochic testament.¹³ The narrative in chap. 91 is followed by a superscription in 92:1, which, in its Ethiopic form, anticipates an *inclusio* at 105:1-2. This technique of presenting in the course of a narrative a title for what follows is paralleled at 14:1. The difficulty here is that the title and introduction of Enoch’s Epistle (chap. 92) are followed by a piece of narrative (93:1-3a)—which belongs to the *setting* of Enoch’s Epistle, *not to its contents*. Similarly, the two-ways instruction in 94:1-4 continues the narrative in chap. 91 (vv 3-4, 18-19). If one brackets the superscription to the Epistle and its introduction in 92:1 + 2-5 and the body of the Epistle in 94:6–104:9, one finds in 104:10 an appropriate continuation of 94:5: “For I know that sinners will tempt men to do harm to wisdom. . . . And now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and copy the words of truth. . . .” Chapter 105, which now forms the *inclusio* to the Epistle, may well have existed *prior* to the Epistle. In summary, the original form of the Enochic testament could well have existed without what is now the introduction and body of the Epistle.

The early chapters of 1 Enoch also present some problems that relate to the early shape of the Enochic collection. The myth about the rebellion of Shemihazah and his associates (chaps. 6–11) is clearly presupposed in the chapters that follow. Moreover, its present placement is firmly established in all extant Aramaic mss. Nonetheless, we may speculate whether chaps. 6–11 were present in the first form of the Enochic testament. The book as we have it begins with an Enochic superscription and an oracle about the final judgment that Enoch utters as the first of many past tense actions that run through much of the book. This introduction is followed without transition by chaps. 6–11, which narrate events that took place, we are told, during the lifetime of Enoch’s father. This fact notwithstanding, 12:1-2 tells us that “Before these things” Enoch had been taken to be with the watchers and holy ones. This editorial transition leads to the action that constitutes the primary narrative in the book: Enoch’s mission to the watchers, his ascent to heaven, his journeys through the universe (12:3–36:4). Without chaps. 6–11 we have a work that is from start to

12 Milik, *Enoch*, 41.

13 See also, independent of my work, Gabriele Boccacini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the*

Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 104–13.

finish Enochic and that narrates the prophet's call close to the beginning of the text, as is often the case in biblical books. More precisely, the order of the first chapters approximates the form of Isaiah 1–6: superscription, oracle, call.

3.1.3. The Development of the Corpus

3.1.3.1. Development Resulting in a Testament

With these variants in mind, we may trace the development of the tradition as follows. Vying for chronological priority are the Book of the Luminaries ascribed to Enoch and the paraphrase of Genesis 6 that recounts the rebellion of the Shemihazah and his associates. The Book of the Luminaries may date back into the Persian period. The myth of the watchers seems to respond to the wars of the Diadochoi, but may build on an earlier form that reflected Semitic myths at home in the area of Mount Hermon. In either case, the two myths about Enoch's ascent and the angelic rebellion provided the basis for the subsequent tradition.

Chapters 12–16 are an Enochic reworking of the Shemihazah myth, according to which Enoch ascended to heaven and was commissioned as a prophet of doom to the sinful watchers.

Chapters 17–19 develop this ascent narrative and combine it with the lore about Enoch's cosmological and astronomical revelations. Enoch hears the divine sentence against the watchers after he travels through the cosmos—with its many spectacles—to the divine throne, which is located not in heaven but at the mountain in the northwest.

Enoch's journey in chaps. 20–36 duplicates the journey in 17–19, but in reverse direction, taking the seer from the northwest to the eastern reaches of the universe. The content of the original journey account has been expanded with references to the eschatological fate of human beings and not just that of the rebel watchers.

Since this interest in human eschatology is the focus of the oracle in chaps. 1–5, it is likely that this unit was composed as an introduction for an Enochic work that included the *second* journey (see comm. on chaps. 1–5). This introduction (including the superscription)—with its allusions to Deuteronomy 33—interpreted the Enochic collection as a testament that paralleled the last words of Moses.

It is uncertain whether the collection first introduced

by chaps. 1–5 coincided with the Book of the Watchers (including a fuller form of 81:1–3 and with or without chaps. 6–11) or whether it included also some of the testamentary material in 81:5–82:3 and 91, 94, 104–105. The codicological evidence is indecisive. There is no real proof (only an argument from silence) for Milik's claim that 4QEn^a and 4QEn^b contained only the Book of the Watchers, or that the archetype of \mathcal{G}^a included only chaps. 1–36. Similarly, as the analysis above suggests, it is unlikely that 4QEn^g, or at least its archetype, began with 91:1. If the Book of the Watchers did exist as a separate document, paleographical analysis of 4QEn^{ab} and the content of chaps. 85–90 suggest the pre-Maccabean decades as a terminus ante quem for the existence of such a work, including the whole of chaps. 6–11 (with the material about Asael). Other considerations press such a terminus back a couple of decades.

If, indeed, the Book of the Watchers did exist as a separate document with its own oracular introduction, it was soon supplemented so as to constitute a full-blown Enochic testament: 1–5 (+ 6–11) + 12–33 or 36 + 81:1–82:4 + 91 + at least some parts of 92–105. Although, strictly speaking, this work had a testamentary form, it was held together loosely by a narrative continuity set in the past tense. Enoch began to bless the righteous in the oracle about the coming judgment. The narrative continues in the first person singular. In a flashback Enoch tells how he came to be associated with the holy watchers. He then narrates his activities with the fallen watchers, his ascent to heaven, his journeys through the universe, his return to earth, and the command he received to instruct his children. From 82:1 on he presents that instruction, speaking in the present tense and admonishing Methuselah and his brothers about their obligations and the transmission of his instruction to future generations. The date for such a testament can be set in the pre-Maccabean period. As I have suggested, chaps. 85–90 appear to know a form of the Enochic tradition that includes Enoch's ascent and descent and his viewing the deeds of humanity.

The Enochic testament thus outlined was then expanded to include Enoch's instruction in the Dream Visions, or at least chaps. 85–90. Since *Jub.* 4:18–20 describes Enoch's writings as “a testimony” and also refers to chaps. 85–90 and the Apocalypse of Weeks (see comm. on chaps. 81–82), we can date the expanded

testament to ca. 175 or 150 B.C.E.—depending on one’s dating of *Jubilees* and the Animal Vision (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Date).

At some point in these decades, the testament came to include the whole of chaps. 92–105. Although the Chester Beatty papyrus indicates that these chapters were copied as a separate document—at least in Greek translation—they were not composed as an isolated document. At a number of points they presuppose knowledge of, and make reference to, the contents of chaps. 1–36 and 81 (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105 §1.4). Their function was to provide a particular kind of content for Enoch’s instruction and testimony.

The account of Noah’s birth (chaps. 106–107) was composed before the middle of the first century B.C.E. (see comm. on chaps. 106–107). Subsequently, an editor added it to the Enochic collection in order to refer to the birth of a hero who was construed as the prototype of the righteous who would survive the great judgment and renew humanity in the new age. Thus the end of the composite document brought one back to the typology in chaps. 6–11 (see comm. on 10:1–2). The compositional and redactional process that led to the compilation of traditions in 4QEn^c—which the present commentary volume treats—concluded before the turn of the era when 4QEn^b (attesting the connection of chaps. 91, 92, 93, and 94) and 4QEn^c (attesting the connection of chaps. 104–105 and 106–107) had been copied.

3.1.3.2. From ■ Testament to 1 Enoch

The steps that led from the collection attested in 4QEn^c to the prototype of the Ethiopic 1 Enoch were roughly as follows. (1) The lengthy Book of the Luminaries attested in the Qumran Aramaic fragments was compressed and inserted after chap. 36 in order to document the instruction that is alluded to in 33:3–4 and partly summarized in chaps. 34–36. In the process of this insertion, or at some other point, a remnant of the end of the Book of the Watchers (cf. 81:1–3) and the testamentary narrative in 81:1–82:4 came to be embedded in the Book of the Luminaries. (2) The Book of Parables was inserted after chap. 36 and before chap. 72, probably because the Parables contain many overlaps with the traditions in chaps. 1–36. (3) “Another book that Enoch wrote for Methuselah and those who would come after him and keep the Law in the latter days” was added to the end of the collection.

3.2. Function of the Enochic Corpus

Ascertaining the function of a pseudepigraphic work is problematic because on the theoretical level, at least, one must distinguish between the fictional author of the text and its real author(s). In the case of 1 Enoch, however, there are significant parallels between the functions ascribed to Enoch and those ascribed to the wise of the end time (the real author’s own time). The recurrence of key words and phrases underscores the parallels.

Of primary importance are passages that identify end-time wisdom with Enochic wisdom and draw parallels between the eschatological transmission of this wisdom and its primordial transmission.

In 81:6 the angels command Enoch to transmit the content of his visions to his children. He is to “give” his “commands,” to “teach” and “testify” to his sons, and to “write” his books. Enoch then describes this activity to his son Methuselah (82:1–2). He has “revealed” all this material to him and has “given” him books, which he is to “give to the generations of eternity.” Moreover,

Wisdom I have also given to you and to your sons, and to those
who will be your sons,
that they may give (it) to all the generations until eternity.
(82:2)

In 91:1–9 Methuselah “summons” his brothers, and Enoch repeats the process (v 3):

Hear, O sons of Enoch, every word of your father,
and listen aright to the voice of my mouth;
for I testify to you and speak to you, my beloved.
Love the truth and walk in it.

In vv 18–19 Enoch again exhorts his sons to “hear” him and “walk in the paths of righteousness” and avoid “the paths of violence.”

The conclusion of the Epistle moves from ancient times to the end time, when the process will be repeated (104:12–13):

to the righteous and pious and wise
my books will be given for the joy of righteousness and much
wisdom;
Indeed, to them the books will be given,
and they will believe in them,
and in them all the righteous will rejoice and be glad,
to learn from them all the paths of truth.

There is another step (105:1-2), which again recapitulates the initial transmission. The righteous and pious and wise are to “summon and testify against the sons of earth in their wisdom” and to instruct them, so that they can walk in “the paths of truth.”

These texts indicate a three-stage repetitive scenario: (1) Enoch “testifies” to his sons by “giving” to them the “wisdom” contained in his books, and he exhorts them to “listen” to him, that is, to obey by walking in the right way mapped out in those books. (2) In the end time, Enoch’s books and their “wisdom” “will be given” to the righteous and wise, so that they too can walk in the right way. (3) They in turn will “testify” as Enoch did, by transmitting his “wisdom” to “sons of earth” as this was anticipated in 82:2. Through this three-stage scenario, the author identifies his teaching as the “wisdom” first revealed to Enoch, and his teaching activity as a testimony that now recapitulates Enoch’s first transmission of that wisdom to his sons.

The major difference between the first transmission of Enoch’s wisdom and its latter-day transmission is the historical context of the latter. According to 104:10, Enoch’s wisdom will be transmitted at a time when sinners “will alter . . . the words of truth and pervert many and lie.” This dualistic counterposing of truth and its perversion is essential to the Enochic myth and to the description of the end time explicit or implied in several levels in the tradition.

The contrast is evident in the Apocalypse of Weeks. This author posits a typology between the time of the flood and the end time (93:4, 10; 91:11-14). “Violence” and “deceit” characterize both times, and in both of them divine judgment falls on the wicked, while a minority is saved. The description of the end time is more detailed than that of the flood. After the exile, in the seventh week, a perverse generation will arise. In contrast to them,

the chosen will be chosen,
as witnesses of righteousness, . . .
to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge. (93:10)

As executors of judgment, they will uproot “violence” and “deceit.” In the ninth week, “righteous judgment will be revealed to all the sons of the whole earth,” and when the wicked have been destroyed, “all humankind will look to the path of eternal righteousness.”

The contrast between those who pervert and the cho-

sen who are the recipients of wisdom appears also in the oracle in chaps. 1–5. Nature’s unaltering obedience to divine law (2:1–5:3) is a foil against which the seer sets his indictment of the sinners (5:4; cf. 1:9):

you have not stood firm nor acted according to his
commandments;
but you have turned aside, you have spoken proud and hard
words with your unclean mouth against his majesty.

Within this context, the author anticipates the end time (5:8):

Then wisdom will be given to all the chosen . . .
and they will sin no more through godlessness or pride.
In the enlightened man there will be light,
and in the wise man, understanding.
And they will transgress no more,
nor will they sin all the days of their life.

Although the text does not say so explicitly, the reference to “godlessness or pride” parallels 1:9 and suggests that the giving of wisdom will lead certain sinners to the righteousness that will save them (see comm. on 5:8-9).

Thus far I have cited texts that belong to what I have described as the initial stage of the Enochic testament (§3.1.3.1). Before drawing conclusions about the specific function of that testament, I note a few other passages in the Epistle that reflect a similar pattern. Even if this section was penned at a slightly later date, the similarity in pattern may indicate that we are dealing with traditional material with a similar function.

Of special importance is the section 98:9–99:10. The key passages tell us that in the end time there will be those who:

do not listen to the wise (98:9)
annul the words of the righteous (98:14)
write lying words and words of error,
and lead many astray with their lies (98:15)
. . . change the words of truth,
and pervert the eternal covenant. (99:2)

In contrast to them will be those:

who listen to the words of the wise,
and learn to do the commandments of the Most High;
and walk in the paths of his righteousness,
and do not err with the erring. (99:10)

Repeatedly mentioned in these passages are: “the wise,” whose possession of wisdom makes them parallel to Enoch; those who listen to the wise and thus learn the right way, as Enoch’s sons did; and unlike them, those who do not listen the words of the wise, or who pervert or annul the commandments. Underscored throughout

are the counterposition of truth and error and the characterization of this error as perversion and altering of the truth. Crucial are the results of these opposing attitudes: obedience or disobedience of God's commandments, which lead respectively to salvation or damnation.

The texts just cited offer some indication of the viewpoint of the Enochic authors and the function of their literature. Pervasive is the conviction that these authors live in bad times, which are characterized by violence, but also by errant teaching that perverts the meaning of divine law. This state of affairs parallels the situation before the flood, and now, as then, divine judgment will fall on the evildoers and perverse teachers.

Those who offer this assessment of the situation maintain that their view is based on divinely revealed wisdom. With respect both to their claim to know what is God's will and law and to their warning that certain judgment awaits those who disagree with them, they present themselves as "the wise." Their function is crucial in God's scheme of things, for what God has revealed to them they testify to others so that the latter might be saved. Thus the eschatological proclamation of the revealed truth about God's law and judgment is an integral and essential feature of the end time.

The function of the Enochic myth that is embodied in this literature is related to this viewpoint. The myth asserts that our piety and interpretation of divine law are Enoch's, our books are his, and our wisdom is what was revealed to him. More precisely, the story about Enoch's ascent to heaven, his visions, and his transmission of wisdom to his children functions as a foundation myth that legitimates as revealed wisdom the teaching of the community that speaks and writes in his name. Although it is presented as a narrative about what happened in primordial times, it is an assertion about the presence of wisdom in the teaching of the sages. It identifies this teaching as salvific revelation.

The function of the earliest form of the Enochic testament is to assert and proclaim this myth. The testament is noteworthy for the paucity of its specific statements about the content of divine law. Enoch's visions assert the certainty of the coming judgment and its consequences. Enoch has seen the places of blessing and punishment. The testamentary sections, strictly speaking, assert the revelatory character of Enoch's teaching (it is

wisdom) and certain consequences of behavior that is in accord with, or in defiance of, this wisdom. But the specific contents of that teaching about the law are all but taken for granted (see §4.2.5.3). This suggests that the function of the work is to assert the revelatory character of a body of teaching whose contents are otherwise known to the readers of the testament.

These contents are partly known to us from other Enochic documents that later came to be incorporated into the corpus that had been formed as a testament. Chief among these contents is the astronomical teaching at first contained in a separate writing—though summarized in 1 Enoch 33–36—and later incorporated in compressed form as chaps. 72–82. Also part of this teaching may have been particular interpretations of the Mosaic Torah whose specific nuances are no longer known to us. Remnants of these interpretations may be preserved in parts of the *Book of Jubilees*. Others may be presumed in attitudes about the temple and priesthood presupposed in chaps. 12–16. Eschatological teaching also played a role and came to be emphasized especially, though not exclusively, in later additions to the testament. The Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90) and the Apocalypse of Weeks attest speculation about the time of the judgment and its place in God's timetable for the history of the world. Related to these are the early beliefs about postmortem retribution attested in chaps. 22, 100, and 102:4–104:8.

The last-mentioned passage constitutes the climax of the Epistle that has reshaped the testament: (a) as a polemic against the claims of the powerful and violent, who deny the possibility of divine justice; and (b) as an admonition that the victimized righteous not lapse into the evil way or despair of divine vindication and vengeance. The specific details in its woes expand the assertion that Enochic teaching is true into a description of the behavior that falls under divine judgment, according to that teaching (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1.1).

3.3. Literary Microstructures

3.3.1. Genres and Forms

The expanded revelatory testament ascribed to Enoch serves as a literary framework for large and small sub-units that have been shaped in the pattern of literary genres attested in other Israelite and non-Israelite litera-

ture. In comparison to earlier exemplars, the Enochic forms are often more elaborate and have features drawn from other forms and genres. Conversely, 1 Enoch provides the earliest evidence of new developments in genres that will become staples in subsequent Jewish and Christian literature. With few exceptions (see §3.3.1.1, 9), the individual forms and genres in 1 Enoch, like their testamentary framework, imply or explicitly claim to be revelatory. In some cases they imitate models from the biblical prophetic books.

3.3.1.1. Rewritten Biblical Narrative

As we have seen above (§3.1.3.1), the story of the watchers and the women (chaps. 6–11) is the mythic core for the rest of the corpus except the astronomical material. It is also significant because it is one of the oldest preserved examples of a form of biblical exposition that interprets a narrative by retelling it in an elaborated form (see comm. on chaps. 6–11). Its purpose is to expound sacred tradition so that it speaks to contemporary times and issues.¹⁴ In its present form, the elaboration of Gen 6:1–4 in 1 Enoch 6–11 reflects several moves. First, the Hebrew story is retold in Aramaic. Second, the mythic core about divine-human mating has been supplemented by a second myth or pair of myths about another heavenly rebellion that involved the revelation of forbidden secrets. The material about Asael, moreover, has been imported from the Greek myth of Prometheus, or some Near Eastern version of it. Third, the brief mythic fragment in Gen 6:1–4 has been welded to the story of the flood and its aftermath (Gen 6:5–9:17) in such a way that God's judgment is directed not against humanity but against the giants' sins against humanity. In the process the ancient judgment and the restoration of the earth become prototypes of the final judgment and the new creation, which is described in language drawn from other biblical texts, notably Isaiah 65. Thus the rewritten form of the biblical text has two dimensions. It has become an eschatologically colored myth; a story about the origins of evil in primordial

times is, in reality, an explanation of the author's time, which is situated at the threshold of the end time, its judgment, and the new age.

Later examples of rewritten biblical narrative, composed variously in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, include: the *Book of Jubilees*, the Genesis Apocryphon, the *Testament of Moses*, some of the narratives in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Book of Biblical Antiquities* (Pseudo-Philo), Josephus's *Antiquities*, and the *Books of Adam and Eve*.¹⁵ The *Testament of Moses* is a rewritten form of Deuteronomy 31–33, which, like the present example, has been given an eschatological spin.¹⁶ Some of the stories in *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* preserve early elaborations of individual biblical texts.¹⁷ But *Jubilees*, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Pseudo-Philo indicate a developing tendency to rewrite long stretches of biblical text with a particular tendency, which is often an explication of the moral virtues and vices of the characters. *Jubilees* presages the two aspects of rabbinic exegesis by combining narrative elaboration with legal specification. Further down the trajectory, the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan will interpolate what is sometimes a fairly literal Aramaic translation of the text with traditional narrative elaborations like those found in some of the aforementioned texts.¹⁸ The tendency to interpret a core text by drawing on other biblical texts will become prominent in a wide range of exegetical texts, for example, the Qumranic *pešarim* and the rabbinic commentaries.

One may debate whether the author of the core narrative in 1 Enoch 6–11 considered Gen 6:1–4 to be authoritative Scripture, although the conflation of Torah and Prophets attested in Sirach may point in that direction. Later recastings of long stretches of narrative text reflect the developing canonical authority of the Torah, Prophets, and Writings—texts we know as the *Tanakh*. The elaboration of sacred narrative tradition is also paralleled in the development of the NT gospel

14 For this contemporization of the biblical text as a characteristic of "midrash," see Renée Block, "Midrash," *DBSup* 5:1266.

15 On these texts see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded," in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia:

Fortress Press, 1984) 89–156.

16 Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 80–81.

17 For the presence of earlier tradition in *Jubilees*, see below, §6.2.3.2–3; and Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 99.

18 On these early traditions see Phillip Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," *ABD* 6:322.

tradition. Stories about Jesus were elaborated in oral tradition, and then material from Mark was recast by Matthew and Luke. Later apocryphal Gospels tend to conflate the canonical Gospels.

3.3.1.2. A Prophetic Call Narrative

1 Enoch 12–16 is a clear example of the shaping force of genre. The story of the watchers and the women is embodied in a text that has been cast in the form of a biblical call narrative (see comm. on 14:8–16:4). Enoch is summoned to heaven before the divine throne. He reacts in terror before the theophany. After he is reassured by the exhortation “fear not,” he is commissioned to return to earth and deliver to the watchers the oracle of judgment that he has heard from the mouth of God.

The account of the throne vision is especially reminiscent of Ezekiel 1–2, with a few details paralleled in Isaiah 6. It diverges from Ezekiel 1–2 in that Enoch ascends to heaven, rather than the throne chariot descending to earth, and this journey up through the heavenly palace and temple seems to reflect the prophet’s journey to Mount Zion in Ezekiel 40–48.

Chapters 12–16 give the anonymous story in chaps. 6–11 an Enochic identity, and the embodying of the story in the form of a prophetic commissioning lends authority to the corpus, just as biblical narratives of prophetic commissioning authenticated the contents of the prophetic message contained in the respective book. Thus the author of chaps. 12–16 identifies 1 Enoch’s predictions of the judgment as a word of God that must come to pass. Of course, the judgment oracle has already been spoken in the divine commissioning of the four holy ones in chaps. 10–11. However, chaps. 12–16 identify Enoch as the primordial prophet who heard the word of judgment. This is but one element in the broader context of the whole book, where the ascent to heaven gives Enoch access to a range of other revelations to be transmitted to the chosen of the end time. The embodying of the Enochic tradition in the form of a heavenly commissioning culminates in the book’s latest component, the Book of Parables. Recasting material from the Book of the Watchers, this author recounts Enoch’s ascent to heaven and his visions of the events

leading up to and including the judgment, as this will be executed by the Chosen One. A final stratum in the book retells the story of Enoch’s heavenly commissioning (chap. 71); the prophet of judgment has been commissioned as the Son of Man, the agent of that judgment.

Accounts of heavenly ascents are shaped in different ways in the Jewish and Christian traditions. In Daniel 10–12 an angel appears to Daniel, predicts events in Israel’s future up to the eschaton, and commissions Daniel to seal up the book in which he has written the divine message (12:4). In the *Testament of Levi*, Levi ascends to heaven and is commissioned both as high priest and as the executor of judgment against Shechem. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Abraham ascends to God’s throne, is commissioned as Israel’s patriarch, and like Enoch is given revelations about Israel’s future. The *Life of Adam and Eve* 25–28 is a parody of the other texts; Adam ascends to the throne room to hear the oracle of his own judgment. Jewish mystical texts are also anchored in Ezekiel 1–2, but lack the motif of prophetic call or the claim to have received revelations about the future.

The form of the prophetic commissioning shapes most of the NT accounts of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus. Matthew 28:16–20 construes Jesus as the exalted Son of Man, and the three accounts of Jesus’ commissioning of the apostle Paul find their closest parallels in 1 Enoch 14–16.¹⁹ The Book of Revelation as a whole is shaped as the commissioning of John to write an account of the revelation he received while in heaven. While the framing material in chaps. 1 and 22 recalls the commissioning framework of Daniel 10–12, John’s ascent to heaven and visions of events related to the coming judgment most closely parallel Enoch’s ascent and visions in the Book of Parables.

3.3.1.3. Cosmic Journeys

The shaping power of genre appears again in chaps. 17–19, which recast Enoch’s account of his journey to the heavenly throne room (chaps. 12–16) into a narrative about his journey to the mountain throne of God and to the places of punishment for the watchers and

19 See Benjamin J. Hubbard, *The Matthean Redaction of a Primitive Apostolic Commissioning* (SBLDS 19; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974); and Johannes

Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM, 1959) 30–31.

rebel stars that lie beyond it. Here, instead of hearing an oracle about the judgment, he sees the places where that judgment will be enacted. A second form of this journey tradition (chaps. 21–36) adds visits to the mountain of the dead and the places where righteous and sinful humans will experience reward and punishment. The closest analogy to chaps. 17–19 is the *Nekyia*, an account of journeys to the realm of the dead found in Hellenic and Hellenistic texts (see comm. on chaps. 17–19). Revelation is essential to both of Enoch's journey accounts, because he sees parts of the cosmos that are hidden from mortal eyes and because these visions are interpreted by an accompanying angel. Other accounts of Enoch's revelatory journeys to the places of judgment occur in the Book of Parables, notably in chaps. 40, 52–54, and 60–61.

The accounts of Enoch's cosmic journeys are the fountainhead of a long tradition that is embodied and developed in Jewish and Christian apocalypses that continue to be written through late Roman, Byzantine, and medieval times.²⁰ The best known of these is Dante's *Divine Comedy*, with its tours of Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven in the interpreting company of Virgil and Beatrice.

The astronomical sections of 1 Enoch present a special form of the cosmic journey account. The revelatory character is especially evident in chaps. 72–82, because the detailed information about the structure and functioning of the celestial sphere, which could conceivably stand on its own, is presented as a report of his journey in the company of Uriel the angel, who interpreted and commented on the phenomena that Enoch saw (72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4). The other occurrences of this astronomical material, while they report the contents of Enochic journey visions, do not focus on the presence and activity of such an angel (note the change of subject between 17:4 and 5; cf. also chaps. 41–44, 59, and 60:11–22).

The revelatory claims attached to this Enochic material are not pro forma and perfunctory. Enoch's penetration into the hidden recesses of the cosmos and the angelic explanations of his visions underscore the valid-

ity of other parts of 1 Enoch's predictions of the coming judgment. Chapters 72–82 further form the basis for correct calendrical practice, and the validity of that teaching is authenticated by Enoch's claim to have seen the phenomena and heard their explication by a heavenly messenger.

3.3.1.4. A Prophetic Oracle

The introduction to 1 Enoch (chaps. 1–5) is a prophetic oracle of judgment, which develops the late tendency evidenced in Third Isaiah to predict both condemnation and salvation.²¹ A new development in the Enochic form of the oracle is its inclusion of a long section of wisdom teaching about the orderly conduct of the nonanimate cosmos (2:1–5:3). Examples of this type of wisdom material in nonoracular contexts (Sirach 43; *Ps. Sol.* 18:10–12; 1 Enoch 82:15–20) attest its independence of the prophetic tradition and indicate the mixed form of the oracle here. Its inclusion in the oracle, however, indicates a compatibility between prophetic and sapiential material and a tendency in the latter to present nature as a medium of divine revelation.

The revelatory character of the oracle is evident not only in its imitation of a prophetic form, but also in its generous use of biblical prophetic wording (see comm. ad loc.). The introduction (1:2–3b) imitates the oracles of Balaam (cf. esp. Num 24:15–17). The description of the theophany (1:3c–7:9) is a pastiche of words and expressions from Deut 33:1–2, Mic 1:3–4, and Isa 66:15–16. Other material in 5:5–9 draws on Isa 65:9–22. Thus, although the author claims that Enoch wrote these words millennia before the appearance of the biblical prophets, the form, language, and rhetoric evoke a prophetic ambience for the book from its first lines.

Among Jewish texts, this particular assemblage of prophetic materials recurs in *T. Mos.* 10:3–8, a work whose recasting of Deuteronomy 30–33 provides a more appropriate (i.e., Mosaic) setting for some of the material in this text. This work, partly from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,²² appears to preserve in chap. 10 a

20 On these later apocalypses see Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

21 See Hanson, *Dawn*, 106–8.

22 On this date see the articles by Collins and Nickelsburg in Nickelsburg, ed., *Studies on the Testament of Moses* (SBLSCS 4; Cambridge, Mass.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973) 15–43.

traditional conflation of Deuteronomy 33 and other prophetic texts that the author of 1 Enoch 1–5 also used (see comm. on 1:3c–4).

3.3.1.5. Dream Visions

The notion that dreams could predict the future (i.e., reveal what is hidden) was widespread in antiquity and finds its earliest biblical expression in the Joseph story (Gen 37:5–10; 40:1–41:49).²³ Joseph was both the recipient of a dream and the inspired interpreter of his and other persons' predictive dreams. The divine source of the dreams and of Joseph's mantic powers is evident not only in the fulfillment of his interpretations but also in the narrator's explicit commentary (Gen 41:16, 39). A similar set of options appears in the Book of Daniel. In chaps. 2 and 4 Daniel is the inspired interpreter of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams (2:20–24, 47; 4:5 [8]), and in chap. 7 he sees a dream vision, which is interpreted for him by one of the holy ones in the vision (vv 15–18, 23–27).

Two sections in 1 Enoch claim to transmit the contents of revelatory dream visions. The earlier of these is the account of Enoch's heavenly commissioning (13:7–16:4). His ascent, which distinguishes this commissioning from its prophetic prototypes, occurs in a dream vision (14:1–2; cf. 13:7–8). Although the vision is not predictive like those in Genesis and Daniel, its throne vision and oracle of judgment parallel Daniel 7, where Daniel in his dream sees the judgment process and interacts with one of the heavenly courtiers.

Chapters 83–84 and 85–90 are introduced at 83:1–2 as two dream visions, which Enoch saw (cf. 83:3a, 6; 85:1), the one when he was a child, the other before he was married (83:2d; 85:3). Both are predictive like their biblical parallels, and each follows a different model. In the first, the young Enoch sees a vision of cosmic destruction, and his grandfather Mahalalel interprets the dream with reference to the flood. Like chaps. 14–16 and Daniel 7, it is a vision of judgment. The content of the second dream vision (chaps. 85–90) is sufficiently clear that it requires no interpreter. In it “all the deeds of humanity were shown to” Enoch “in their order” (90:41). Specifically, he sees an animal allegory that plays out the history of humanity (mainly Israel) from Adam to the eschaton. In common with the other two Enochic texts

and the Danielic texts, the vision culminates in God's judgment.

Like most of the other forms that have been discussed in this section, Enoch's dream visions validate the Enochic authors' claims to revelation. The dream vision in chaps. 14–16 imitates the prophetic commissioning form. In the other two dreams, the events of history, which unfolded after the fictive author's time, authenticate the truth of the dreams that allegedly predicted them. Moreover, it is in its use of dream visions that the Enochic corpus most closely parallels the Book of Daniel and 4 *Ezra* (see §5.3). This reliance on revelatory dream visions finds a notable exception in 99:8, which warns that such visions can be deceptive—perhaps reflecting differences among visionaries of different persuasions, but what these were we cannot now divine.

3.3.1.6. Historical Reviews

The Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90) exemplifies the mixed character of Enochic genres. First, its narrative brackets (85:1–3a; 90:39–42) identify it as a revelatory, predictive dream vision. Second, it rewrites biblical narrative, both summarizing events from Genesis 1 to *Ezra–Nehemiah* and describing Israel's history by means of imagery drawn from *Ezekiel* 34. Third, this recasting of biblical narrative takes the form of a particular kind of historical review that recounts the history of humanity in its order (90:41), with its latter part organized into four distinct periods of time (89:59–90:19). The Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17) is a second example of a revealed recitation of history that is structured into specific periods. Its historical recitation is based on Enoch's “vision of heaven,” his audition of “the words of the watchers and holy ones,” and his reading of “the heavenly tablets” (93:2). The allusion is to 81:1–2, where an angel commands Enoch to read the heavenly tablets, which contain “all the deeds of humanity.” Thus we have two texts that purport to summarize the structured history of humanity, which Enoch learned in a vision. A comparison of these texts with Daniel 2, 7, 8, 9, and 10–12 indicates that they constitute a single category, which we might call the revealed summary of history. The periodizing of this history is explicit in the two Enochic texts and in Daniel 2 and 7 with their four-king-

23 For a study of dreams in Jewish and NT texts in the context of their counterparts in the ancient Near

East, the literature of the Hebrew Bible, and Greek and Roman antiquity, see Frances Lynn Flannery-

dom schemes. In all cases the information is revealed, although the mode of revelation differs. In Daniel 2 Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream. In chap. 7 Daniel has a dream vision that an angel interprets. Chapter 8 recounts a vision, though not in a dream, that a holy one interprets (vv 13-14). In chap. 9, after Daniel meditates on a verse of Scripture and confesses the sins of the people, Gabriel expounds the passage within a review of structured history. In chaps. 10-12 an angel appears and recounts to Daniel, while he is awake and standing up, the course of history from the fall of Persia to the eschaton, reciting information that has already been inscribed in a heavenly "book of truth" (10:21).²⁴ The common elements in all of these texts are the following. The contents are the recitation of a long stretch of history that leads to the end time. The means is a vision—either a dream (Daniel 2, 7; 1 Enoch 85-90), a waking symbolic vision (Daniel 8), an ascent to heaven (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-19), or the appearance of an angel (Daniel 9, 10-12). The information is divinely revealed. While the structuring of history is not explicit in Daniel 9 and 10-12, a sense of order is implicit in the claim that one could accurately predict future events that would take place over a long period of time. Thus a kind of deterministic view of history lies behind all of these texts even if a given author does not appeal to the existence of a heavenly book of human deeds or a set of heavenly tablets.

Although the Hebrew Bible preserves many predictions about individual future events, reviews of long stretches of history are rare. The closest analogy is the inspired Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32), which predicts, though obscurely, the course of Israel's history according to the Deuteronomic scheme of sin-punishment-salvation. The fuller Deuteronomic scheme (sin-punishment-repentance-salvation), sometimes explicitly based on Deuteronomy 28-33, appears with some frequency in Jewish texts of the Greco-Roman period.²⁵ Another analogy to the form of historical review occurs

in the Book of Tobit. In 14:4-7 Tobit's recitation of the future history of Israel recalls the Apocalypse of Weeks and asserts that these events, which had been predicted by the prophets, must take place "in their times."²⁶ Thus the notion of revelation is tied not only to the inspiration of the speaker but to the prior inspired prediction of God's prophets. This approximates Daniel 9, where future history unfolds the secret truth of Jeremiah's prediction of seventy (weeks of) years.

In summary, Enoch's dream visions express a widely held deterministic view of history and embody in the form of the (dream) vision the notion that one can gain access to the content, structure, and time frame of that history through revelation or inspiration. The Book of Tobit works from the prophetic Scriptures, and Daniel 9 provides a bridge between the scriptural source and a visionary interpretation. Ideas about heavenly tablets radicalize the notion by tracing the source back from scripture written by inspired humans to heavenly tablets carved by angels or even God.

3.3.1.7. An Epistle

Chapters 92-105 are shaped as an epistle (see Introduction to chaps. 92-105, §1b) that Enoch wrote in primordial antiquity to "all my sons who will dwell upon the earth and to the last generations who will observe truth and peace" (92:1). The idea that Enoch wrote for the generations of the end time appears already in the superscriptions of the Book of the Watchers (1:1, 2-3) and the Book of Parables (37:2-3). It is probably also implied in the superscriptions of the dream visions (83:1; 85:1-2) and in the body of the Book of the Luminaries (76:14), since Methuselah, the recipient of Enoch's revelations, is to transmit them, so that they will be available in the end time (82:1-3; 91:1-3; 104:12-105:2). Chapters 92-105 differ from the other parts of 1 Enoch in their pervasive use of the second person plural direct address. The reader has a sense of being spoken to that is by and large lacking in the rest of the corpus. Although the prophet's letter in Jer 29:1-23, its

Dailey, "Standing at the Heads of Dreamers: A Study of Dreams in Antiquity" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa, May 2000).

24 Ibid., 310-12, which notes, however, some similarities to dream visions.

25 See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 61-62, 80-81, 110-11, 118-19, 204-5.

26 Idem, "Tobit and Enoch: Distant Cousins with a Recognizable Resemblance," in David Lull, ed., *SBLSP 27* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 60-61.

pseudepigraphic counterpart preserved in the Apocrypha, and the pseudepigraphic epistle of Baruch in 2 Baruch 78–86 provide examples of inspired prophetic dispatches, the revelatory claims of 1 Enoch 92–105 do not lie in the text’s epistolary form, but in the alleged experience of the putative author. These claims are explicit in the Apocalypse of Weeks and are implicit in the forms to be discussed in the next section, and in the author’s implicit and explicit appeals to Enoch’s cosmic journeys in 93:2; 93:11–14; 98:7–8; 102:4–103:4; 104:1. Thus, while Enoch’s words in chaps. 92–105 are not *formally* constituted as an apocalypse, they assume an apocalyptic character through their appeal to the visionary material in the Book of the Watchers to which they have been attached.

3.3.1.8. Forms within the Epistle of Enoch: Woes, Exhortations, Descriptions of the Future, a Beatitude, and Revelatory Formulas

The Epistle of Enoch is made up primarily of three forms that appear with some frequency in the biblical prophetic corpus (Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1.1–3). Although they contain no explicit claims to revelation, like the use of the oracle and prophetic commissioning form, they create a prophetic ambience for readers familiar with the prophets. Like most of the rest of 1 Enoch, their orientation is eschatological, and their focus is on the certainty of the coming judgment. The long strings of woes, although they are shorter than their prophetic counterparts, announce the certainty of divine judgment on the sinners who perpetrate the deeds described in their first lines. The exhortations, usually prefaced with the words “Fear not,” recall the oracles of Second Isaiah and the pentateuchal exhortations to holy war. Sprinkled among these two forms are descriptions of events associated with the coming judgment, which are introduced with the typical prophetic formula “in those days.”

The occasional use of the woe form in a wisdom text like Sirach (2:12–14; 41:8–9) is consonant with that author’s use of prophetic forms and is one example of how the “wisdom tradition” has become a locus for the ongoing life of the prophetic tradition (see §5.1.1.3). A well-known literary form in biblical wisdom texts is the

beatitude, one type of which declares a person “happy” (אֲשִׁרִי/μακάριος) because of blessings that result from one’s present upright behavior. This type of macarism is, therefore, the positive counterpart of the woe, a fact that is emphasized in one section of Enoch’s Epistle, which begins with a woe (98:9) and ends with a beatitude on the same topic (99:10). A set of paired eschatological beatitudes and woes appears in Jesus’ Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:20–26), and both woes and beatitudes occur in the Book of Revelation.²⁷

The Epistle’s claim to revelation appears in a set of formulas that denote the imparting of information: “Know,” “Be it known,” “I say to you,” “I show [or ‘make known’] to you.” Although these are not technical terms for the transmission of divinely revealed knowledge, they underscore the process of transmitting information that, in context, is revelation. This is sometimes explicit (91:1; 93:2). In a few cases an oath formula underscores the certainty of revealed information (103:1; 104:1).

3.3.1.9. Prayers

Two related prayers in chaps. 9 and 84 bring our literary survey into the liturgical realm. In 9:4–11 the four holy ones relay the prayer of the righteous dead, stopping short of an actual petition. Enoch’s prayer in 84:2–6 imitates 9:4–11, but carries the prayer to its petitionary conclusion. The form and rhetoric of these two prayers are paralleled in Jewish texts from the Greco-Roman period (see Excursus: Jewish Prayers of Petition).

3.3.1.10. Doxologies

An interest in liturgical prayer is indicated also by the first person narrative references to Enoch’s praise of God, which are sprinkled through the Book of the Watchers—at its beginning (12:3), at its conclusion (81:3, 10), and at the end of several of the visions in his second journey account (22:14; 25:7; 27:5; 36:4). Similar references appear at the end of the two dream visions (83:11, which leads to the prayer in chap. 84; 90:40). The verb “bless” (εὐλογέω, *baraka*) implies the common introductory prayer formula בָּרַךְ אֱתָהּ, בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה (“Blessed are you”), and the titles given to God in these brief doxological references parallel those in contemporary Jewish prayers (see esp. comm. on 12:3). The juxtaposition of

27 Beatitudes: Rev 1:3; 14:13; 16:15; 19:9; 20:6; 22:7, 14. Woes: Rev 8:13; 9:12; 11:14; 12:12; 18:10, 16, 19.

these doxological references with visionary material may well indicate actual practice.

3.3.2. Poetry in 1 Enoch

R. H. Charles was the first modern commentator to recognize the extent to which the text of 1 Enoch is cast in verse form.²⁸ (Unfortunately, the poetic character of the text is not indicated in the Ethiopic mss., the two mss. of its Greek *Vorlage*, or the Qumran mss. of the Aramaic original—to judge from the fragments.) Charles's insight, however, has not greatly influenced subsequent editions. Modern editors since Charles—with the exception of Black and, in a few chapters, Isaac—have followed the ancient scribal practice of presenting the text in running full lines, with no indication of the text's poetic form. Yet, as Charles observed correctly, a recognition of the poetic structure greatly helps the interpretation of the text, and it is necessary for an appreciation of the authors as literary creators. The comments that follow are only suggestive of what needs to be worked out in a much more detailed study.

3.3.2.1. Parallelism and Prosodic Structure

Parallelism is the basic structuring device in Enochic poetry, and one can easily discern it even in the Greek and Ethiopic versions. The forms of this parallelism are similar to their biblical counterparts.²⁹ Two lines in synonymous parallelism contain the same idea (often expressed in the same syntax), sometimes with minor variations (62:9; 104:10). Often a second synonymous line will extend or explicate an element in the first line (1:3c-4; 10:10bβ). Carrying the process one step further, such an element may be explicated into a whole line that is not syntactically parallel to the first (25:5bc; 96:4cd). In what was traditionally called synthetic parallelism, a second line may make explicit a consequence implicit in the first line (25:6ab). The woes in the Epistle employ a particular kind of this parallelism. A second line describes the punishment that follows the behavior described in the first line (98:13–14). Longer passages present what I call progressive parallelism, where later lines or stichs unfold what precedes them (10:5; 14:8; 83:3-4, 7-9; 102:4-5). Two lines or stichs in antithetical parallelism state two opposite ideas or the (grammatically) positive and nega-

tive forms of a single idea (1:8; 14:6; 91:19; 94:1bcd, 3b-5b). Various kinds of parallelism may be combined in a single passage (25:4d-6; 99:10ab and cd). Frequently word pairs that are synonymous (91:3bc), complementary (12:2; 102:4), or antithetical (14:9) are at the heart of parallel lines. Syntax may be the same in two parallel lines (1:3c-4a), it may be chiasmic (12:2), or it may be artfully complex (14:8).

Enoch's parallelism is expressed in the text's mini-units, which are usually of two or three lines, although units of four or five lines are also attested (e.g., 10:16; 12:18; 15:3; 38:5-6). Occasionally one finds a long, complex unit. For example, in 1:9, lines b, c, and d carry forward in synonymous parallelism the statement in line a, and they subsume the synonymously parallel lines e and f.

Groups of mini-units constitute strophes. Some of these strophes are composed completely of distichs or tristichs (1:2-3b), perhaps concluding with a longer unit that brings the unit to closure by creating a rhythmic retarding effect (e.g., 1:3c-7, 8-9). Just as often, one finds mixed strophes of units of various length in regular or irregular order (chaps. 9–10). Strophes may be yoked in related or complementary pairs (e.g., 10:16-19; 10:20–11:2), and they may also be components of larger parallel units (94:6–104:8). In 5:5-9 the author alternates strophes about the sinners and the righteous, concluding the section with a pair of strophes about the righteous.

Paired strophes and multiple pairs should perhaps be construed as extensions of the principle of parallelism. More detailed investigation might reveal that repetition is an important part of the structure of 1 Enoch and perhaps of other contemporary poetry, and this in turn might be related to the oral roots and context of the material.

The use of *inclusio*—ending as one begins, or returning to pick up an earlier idea—is an important structuring device of the Enochic authors. A matching woe and beatitude frame 98:8–99:10. The Epistle concludes with motifs introduced in its introduction (92:1-3; 104:12–105:2). A particularly sophisticated use of the device occurs in a set of interlocking repetitions in chaps. 1–5.

28 Charles, *Enoch*, xii.

29 On parallelism in the Hebrew Bible, see Adele Berlin, "Parallelism," *ABD* 5:155–62. For detailed discussion see James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical*

Poetry: Parallelism and Its History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); and Robert J. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

Thus 1:9 picks up 1:3b-7; 5:4 repeats 1:9ef, and the two frame the prose section in 2:1–5:3; the alternating strophes in 5:5-9 echo the two strophes in 1:8-9. This set of verses is a particularly good example of how structure, content, and form complement one another. Chapters 1–5 focus on the motifs of condemnation and salvation, which are embodied in a prophetic judgment oracle, which is enhanced by the alternating strophes about the sinners and the righteous.

For the student of biblical poetry, the line lengths in 1 Enoch are unexpectedly irregular, and some of them are excessively long. But a study of the Hebrew original of the Qumran *Hodayot* by Arlis Ehlen indicates that line lengths in Semitic poetry in the Greco-Roman period could vary greatly in the same composition.³⁰ Although the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch provides a retranslation of the Greek into a Semitic language, our lack of access to lengthy sections of the Aramaic original makes any attempt to reconstruct the poetic meter a speculative venture.³¹

On occasion it is difficult to distinguish between poetry and prose in 1 Enoch. The prose section in 2:1–5:2, with its short, sometimes parallel, clauses can almost be cast into poetic form. The introduction to Enoch's second dream vision (85:1-2), with its parallel clauses, is close to poetry. Cf. also 21:1-5.

3.3.2.2. Literary Devices

The use of a catchword (*Stichwort*) or catch phrase is a form of repetition that need not involve parallelism, but that provides a continuous thread through a stretch of text (5:5-9, “days”/“years”; 94:6–100:9, “day”). The device is well known from contemporary wisdom poetry like Sirach (21:11–22:18).

Metaphor is frequent in 1 Enoch, and authors combine metaphorical and literal meaning in parallel passages (10:16 || 18-19; 94:6 || 7; 99:12 || 13 || 14). These examples are another form of repetition. Enochic authors also use similes (96:2), though less frequently than metaphors.

Irony is a favorite device of the author of the Epistle. The irony sometimes lies in what we might term the principle of equivalent recompense, and its use is facilitated through the use of metaphor.

Woe to you who drink *water* from every *fountain*;
for quickly you will be repaid, and cease and *dry up*,
because you have forsaken the *fountain* of life. (96:6)

A similar form of irony occurs in 97:7-10. The wealthy brag about how they spend their bounty, pouring it out like water. The author refutes them by alluding to the fact that eventually the bucket of the wicked will be empty. In a more powerful form of irony (100:10-13), the author of the Epistle exhorts the rich to use their wealth to bribe the rain, dew, clouds, and mist to break the drought that has come as punishment for their sins.

Wordplay, alliteration, assonance, and chiasm are difficult to detect in secondary and tertiary versions since they are inherent to the original language of the text. Nonetheless, there is some evidence that the Enochic authors employed these devices. The claim that the rulers' refusal to receive the complaint of the righteous may have been expressed in an Aramaic wordplay on the root קבל (see comm. on 103:14-15). The wordplay is not simply a clever linguistic twist, but expresses the impropriety of the conduct; the language itself indicates that complaints are to be received.³² Similarly, the Aramaic of 99:9 may well have used alliteration to underscore the propriety of the sinners' destruction (אכר) as punishment for their works made of stone (עבר, אבן) (see comm. on 99:8-9). A retroversion of 95:1-2 (see comm.) also suggests an instance of alliteration. Assonance is especially difficult to verify, since one must posit both the consonants and the vowels of the text. See, however, the comm. on 14:8. In order to identify chiasm, one must posit that the word order of the secondary or tertiary version reproduces that of the original. Examples of chiasm in the *Ethiopic text* appear in 62:2cd, 98:3bc/de, and 103:1ab.

30 Arlis J. Ehlen, “The Poetic Structure of a Hodayah from Qumran: An Analysis of Grammatical, Semantic, and Auditory Correspondence in 1 QH 3:19-30” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970).

31 On the problems of doing a metrical analysis of Hebrew verse in this period, see John Strugnell, DJD 34:7.

32 For a possible similar linguistic usage in an Aramaic wordplay behind a Greek text, cf. John 8:34: πᾶς ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν δουλὸς ἐστὶν τῆς ἁμαρτίας = כּוֹל עֹבֵד חַטָּא עֹבֵד חַטָּא הוּא.

4.0. Worldview and Religious Thought

4.1. The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality

Despite its length, diversity, and complexity, the Enochic corpus is a consciously shaped compilation of traditions and texts that developed from and built on one another (see §3.1.3). As a result, its component parts have numerous points of commonality (in addition to their Enochic ascription), and these recurring motifs, emphases, and interests are often structured into its diverse literary forms. From these we may identify a set of unifying elements. The source of these elements in Israelite and non-Israelite religion and culture and their ongoing life in Judaism and Christianity will be discussed later in this introduction (§§5.1, 6.2–3). Briefly stated, they present a dualistic view of reality that is bridged by the salvific, life-giving revelations that the corpus presents in the name of Enoch.

4.1.1. The Focal Point: The Coming Judgment

The oracle that introduces the collection sets the tone for what follows, announcing God's coming judgment and its consequences: blessings for the righteous and curses for the sinners (chaps. 1–5). All the major sections of 1 Enoch and many of their component parts either provide background for this theme or elaborate on it and give it prominence (see §4.2.4.1).

The mythic materials conflated in chaps. 6–11 constitute a narrative that begins with an explanation of the origins of certain kinds of evil in the world and ends by anticipating its eradication on a purified earth among a righteous humanity.

The same counterposition of evil and judgment appears in the account of Enoch's call (chaps. 12–16), which focuses on the nature of the angelic sin and announces the divine verdict. The myth of angelic rebellion and a companion myth about rebel stars are essential to the account of Enoch's first journey (chaps. 17–19), where the goal of the journey and the climax of the narrative are the places of punishment for angels and stars.

The account of Enoch's second journey also structures the notion of sin and punishment into its literary form, and extends it to include human as well as angelic sin (chaps. 21–32). At each station of the journey, Enoch's interpreted vision relates to angelic sin or to human sin or righteousness and their consequences in

the judgment (cf. also chap. 108). Chapter 33 alludes to Enoch's celestial journeys, which were recounted in the astronomical material that is presently summarized in the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82). While chaps. 33–36 and 72–82 present this material almost exclusively in the form of "scientific" data, it also serves as a point of reference for human error (2:1–5:4; 80:2–8) and divine punishment (100:10–101:9).

Human activity and its consequences and judgment are the exclusive subject matter of chaps. 91–105. The counterposition of sin or righteousness and its punishment or reward is structured into the literary forms that constitute the Epistle (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1). The author focuses on sin and its punishment in the great judgment. The admonitions to righteous conduct and promises of reward stand in the context of their alternatives; the author either depicts the righteous as the victims of sinners or warns them to avoid sinful ways.

The temporal aspect of sin (mainly) and righteous conduct, as well as the results of such behavior, are recounted from creation to the judgment in the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90) and in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17). Chapters 83–84 and 106–107 are narratives about humanity's sin and Noah's righteousness and their judgment at the time of the flood.

The Parables of Enoch (chaps. 37–71) are a separate compilation of major elements of the Enochic tradition: tours of the celestial phenomena, journeys to the terrestrial places of punishment, and stories about Noah and the flood. But the judgment motif appears mainly in Enoch's heavenly visions of the Chosen One, who will vindicate the righteous chosen and execute judgment on their powerful royal oppressors.

Thus scarcely a page in 1 Enoch is not in some sense related to the expectation of an impending judgment that will deal with human sin and righteousness and the angelic rebellions that are related to them.

4.1.2. Temporal and Spatial Dimensions

1 Enoch's view of reality, with its focus on the coming judgment, has both a temporal and a spatial dimension. It views the present situation in terms of the past and the future, and, alternatively, it sets the locus of human activity in relationship to the heavenly realm and the rest of the cosmos. This terminology, it should be empha-

sized, is analytical and does not imply that the Enochic authors distinguished between time and space. To the contrary, reality was for them an organic temporal-spatial unity.

4.1.2.1. Temporal Dimension

The temporal dimension in 1 Enoch is the most obvious to the reader of biblical literature. Divine and human activity takes place in past, present, and future. Major angelic rebellions, which occurred in *primordial time*, impinge upon the world as the authors know it in *their own time*. For the author of the Animal Vision, other angelic sin is also presently underway and evident in Israel's oppression by the nations. Human actions have present and future consequences. The righteous suffer *now* at the hands of the wicked. The present actions and attitudes of the righteous and wicked will be subject to scrutiny and retribution at God's future judgment, as will the actions of the rebellious angels. The juxtaposition of present and future is so frequent in 1 Enoch as to be commonplace. The temporal dimension is most obvious in the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks. These texts arrange events along an explicit temporal continuum that stretches from creation to the eschaton, and each author has a specific notion of when the judgment will occur.

This temporal dimension notwithstanding, the Enochic texts devote relatively little space to speculations about the *time* of the end. Perhaps the Enochic authors expected the judgment imminently. The body of the Epistle, in particular, expresses the idea explicitly at a number of points.¹ But the calculation and periodization that may undergird such an expectation are explicit only in the Animal Vision and Apocalypse of Weeks, which constitute only 13 percent of the text of 1 Enoch.

4.1.2.2. Spatial and Material Dimension

The Enochic authors had other interests as they composed their texts. For them, human and divine activity took place in a spatial and material dimension that is far more explicit and emphatically evident than the temporal dimension, in a world that could be experienced, at least in principle, by the five senses.

This spatial dimension, however, is rarely explicated with reference to specific geographic locations, and place-names are used only of sacred sites: Sinai (1:4; cf.

89:29); Hermon and its environs (6:5; 13:7, 9); and Jerusalem, though not by name (chaps. 26–27; cf. 25:5; 56:7; 89:50, 54–56, 66, 72–73; 90:26–36; 93:7–8, 13). Certainly the authors think of events as occurring in particular places, but it is mainly in the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks, with their recitation of Israelite history, that one clearly perceives the actions of identifiable people and nations.

The spatial dimension in 1 Enoch is present, rather, in the authors' cosmology and mythic geography, and in their references to the nonanimate aspects of creation. This dimension comprises mainly the places and things in these realms that Enoch sees, smells, hears, tastes, and feels, or to which the readers' attention is called. Cosmology is most evident in the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82). Here Enoch records what he saw when he visited the heavens and traveled across the vast extents of the terrestrial disk: the portals through which the sun, moon, and stars rise and set; the gates of the winds; the four quarters of the earth; its seven great mountains, rivers, and islands. Throughout, the account emphasizes the order of the creation. The cosmic and meteorological phenomena occur as they do because God has structured into the cosmos the places and devices that make possible their orderly functioning.

The cosmological traditions selectively gathered in chaps. 72–82 are presupposed and sometimes complemented elsewhere in 1 Enoch, especially in chaps. 1–36. Here the authors refer to the cosmological and astronomical traditions, enhance them with accounts of Enoch's journeys, and appeal to the readers' senses by elaborating the narratives with references to the spatial dimension and its components.

The introduction to the Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1–5) contrasts humanity's faithless disobedience with the orderly obedience that prevails among the heavenly bodies and in the changing of earth's seasons. The repeated introductory words, "observe" and "see," appeal to the empirical experience of nature. The luminaries in heaven, the clouds, dew, and rain, earth's heat and cold, and the foliage of its trees are the exemplary basis of the author's admonition.

The story of the watchers' rebellion refers both negatively and positively to the created realm (chaps. 6–11).

1 See 94:1, 6, 7; 95:6; 96:1, 6; 97:10; 98:16.

The watchers revealed forbidden information about the terrestrial world of plants and minerals and taught prognostication that was based on the movements of the celestial bodies. The deeds of the giants decimated the whole terrestrial realm: human beings, birds, beasts, creeping things, fish, and agricultural produce. In consequence, the earth lay polluted and moribund. Conversely, the author envisioned the future in terms of a purified earth, with woods and fields, where the fabulous fertility of wine, grain, and oil would nourish a renewed and multiplying humanity.

The account of Enoch's heavenly ascent and call is heavily embellished with references to the concrete, material, and experiential (esp. 14:8-18). He hears the summons of the clouds and winds and is sped along by shooting stars, lightning flashes, and winds. He sees and enters a heavenly palace constructed of the elements—fire and lightning flashes, hailstones and snow—and he experiences the heat and cold that emanate from them. These elements in the call narrative, combined with references to the seer's emotional state and physical reactions, constitute a powerfully sensual expression of a religious belief.

Chapters 17–19 reiterate and elaborate the message of chaps. 12–16: the rebel watchers (and the disobedient stars) are doomed to eternal punishment. But here this message is tied to the author's cosmology. The temporal dimension (judgment will take place) is reinforced by reference to the spatial dimension: Enoch travels to the edge of the earth, where he views the fiery places of punishment. Moreover, although the point of the journey account is to be found in the pair of interpreted visions that bring it to a climax, the seer documents his journey with a string of references to the terrestrial and celestial loci and phenomena that marked the course of the journey. Although the point of the section is eschatological, the medium of its expression is cosmological. Enoch's second journey account makes the same point in the same way (chaps. 21–32): cosmology undergirds eschatology. God has structured into the cosmos ("prepared") the places that guarantee the reality of the coming judgment and its rewards and punishments. Thus God's creation anticipated the judgment and serves as its instrument. More than in previous sections, one finds an appeal to the senses. Enoch *sees* the cosmic places and realia in detail and marvels over them. He *smells* the fra-

grance of the tree of life and the tree of wisdom and he alludes to the *eating* of their fruit. The account of the journey to the far east (chaps. 28–31) is a counterpart to chap. 17, spelled out in botanical rather than cosmological detail. The Book of the Watchers ends with a summarizing reference to the broader lore about Enoch's journeys through the heavenly sphere (chaps. 33–36).

The Book of the Watchers expounds its message about the coming judgment through a variety of literary forms (see §3.1.1–8). But all of these refer not simply to the future when judgment will happen, or to the past when rebellion took place; the temporality of the message is reinforced by repeated reference to the spatial realm and the material things that can be experienced by the senses.

This spatial dimension is also integral to the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71). The first and third parables include accounts of Enoch's celestial journeys (chaps. 41–44, 60). In the second parable, the book's central message of judgment—carried primarily by the heavenly tableaux that feature the Chosen One—is reinforced by accounts of journeys to the terrestrial places associated with judgment and punishment. Running through the book, moreover, are references to the "earth" or "land," which the kings and the mighty now possess, but which God will renew and transform into the locus of salvation after the judgment. This element recalls 10:16–11:2.

Enoch's Epistle comprises mainly the seer's alternating words of doom and promise, which juxtapose the present deeds of the sinners and the present circumstances of the righteous with their future punishment and reward. The cosmic dimension breaks through, however, at 100:10–102:3. The heavenly bodies and atmospheric forces witness humanity's deeds and enact God's judgment, and heaven and earth will quake and tremble at the final theophany.

The concluding chapter of the corpus blends the temporal and spatial dimensions of the Enochic message of judgment (chap. 108). A pair of paragraphs about the doom of the sinners and the blessedness of the righteous (vv 2-3, 7-10) enclose a brief account of Enoch's vision of the fiery place of punishment. The section and the corpus conclude with the promise that the judgment will send the wicked to the place "where the days and times are written for them" (vv 11-15).

4.1.2.3. Temporal Dualism

Several complementary kinds of dualism characterize 1 Enoch's construction of reality, with its temporal and spatial dimensions and its populations of divine and human characters. The temporal axis divides sharply between the present time, which will end with the judgment, and a new age that follows. The authors contrast this present time, which is evil or deficient, with a future that will bring healing and renewal. A plagued, polluted, and ravaged world will be healed, cleansed, and resown (chaps. 6–11). The time of demonic domination will end (chaps. 12–16; 19:1). Those who have suffered or been murdered will find sustenance in the fruit of the tree of life (25:5–6). The Israelite flock, devoured and dispersed by Gentile beasts and birds of prey, will be restored and gathered, and humanity, divided at the beginning, will be reunited as one people (chaps. 85–90). Most pervasively, this temporal dualism expresses the issue of divine justice. Life in the present is unjust, but in the future the great judgment will adjudicate this. The Epistle explicates this concern in the greatest detail (chaps. 92–105), with its descriptions of human sin and suffering (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2). In the present time, the sinners unjustly victimize the righteous and go unpunished. In the grave both experience the same fate. God will overcome all this in the future, by rewarding the righteous for their piety and compensating them for their suffering; the sinners receive their just deserts. The Parables make the same point but focus on the judgment itself and the events related to it.

4.1.2.4. Cosmic Dualism

The spatial dimension in 1 Enoch evinces a sharp dualism with vertical and horizontal aspects. Heaven is the realm of the divine and earth the habitation of humans. Disaster occurs when the realms are confounded (chaps. 6–16). The descent of the watchers pollutes the earth, which becomes the habitation of malevolent and destructive demons. Conversely, the decimated earth and the remnants of humanity will be delivered when the divine Judge and his faithful entourage descend from heaven to earth to execute judgment. Meanwhile, the mechanisms that will facilitate the judgment already exist and are operative in the heavenly realm (esp. 89:59–90:19; and 92–105 *passim*). Angels record human deeds and act as advocates in the divine throne room. The books containing the names and the rewards of the

righteous are a prominent reality in God's presence. The Chosen One stands before God and receives his commission as the agent of judgment (chaps. 37–71). Heaven is also the place of the personified luminaries and the elements. In contrast to most of earthbound humanity, they faithfully follow the commands that God instituted at creation, and when asked, they execute judgment on the wicked (esp. chaps. 2, 72–82).

1 Enoch's cosmic dualism has also a horizontal aspect. Enoch's journeys carry him across the face of the earth's disk. In places uninhabited by live mortals, God's will is done and the apparatus that will execute God's will stands ready (chaps. 17–36). On the mountain of the dead, the souls of the righteous and the sinners are separated. To the northwest stands the mountain where the divine Judge will descend and where presently the tree of life waits to be transplanted to the sanctuary. To the extreme northwest are the pits where the rebellious divine beings already suffer punishment. Far to the east is the original paradise, where wisdom is hidden. All in all, Enoch's journeys carry him to places in the cosmos that are removed from human habitation or hidden from human access, where God's created intent is potential or actualized.

4.1.2.5. Ontological Dualism between Divine and Human

Related to 1 Enoch's spatial dualism is the absolute distinction between divine beings and humans. In the case of God, this distinction is emphasized throughout the book by names that denote God's uniqueness and transcendence (see §4.2.1.1). This transcendence is underscored in the descriptions of the heavenly throne room, in the accounts of Enoch's call (chap. 14) and ascent (chap. 71), and in the references to the eschatological theophany (chap. 1; 102:1–3).

The heavenly entourage shares in God's separateness from humanity, as is indicated by their most frequent title, "the holy ones" (see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones). According to 15:1–16:1, the sin of the watchers consisted in their violation of the absolute distinction between spirit and flesh and their defilement of their holiness.

The disastrous consequences of this angelic rebellion are an integral part of a special aspect of the human-divine dualism, viz., the "demonic" victimization of humanity. According to chap. 8, angelic revelations lead

human beings astray. In chaps. 12–16 the ghosts of the dead giants, which have not been eradicated because they are spirit, constitute a realm of evil spirits who prey on humanity. The Animal Vision adds another nuance: the angelic shepherds are responsible for Israel's present victimization at the hands of the nations. Through all of this runs the notion that sin and evil are largely functions of a spirit realm that is at war with humanity.

**4.1.2.6. The Disaster of Life Here and Now:
At the Intersection of Several Dualisms**

According to 1 Enoch's worldview, then, humanity exists at the intersection of three kinds of dualism. One sees the human situation both as it is and in terms of what it is not. The present evil age awaits the time of adjudication, deliverance, and renewal. This world is the scene of sin, violence, victimization, and pollution and is separated from the heavenly and cosmic spheres, where God's will is done. Humanity here and now is the prey of evil spirits who oppose God and are foils to the holy ones in God's heavenly entourage. Thus the Enochic authors emphasize the disastrous character of human existence by means of dualistic comparisons that are made in temporal, spatial, and ontological terms.

4.1.3. Salvation in 1 Enoch: The Resolution of Its Dualisms

By its very structure, however, 1 Enoch's dualism optimistically allows for deliverance or salvation from the situation that is pessimistically described from a number of converging perspectives. Opposed to present injustice and disaster here are the future judgment and salvation that are poised in the beyond.

**4.1.3.1. Salvation in the Future, When God
Intervenes**

Most obviously, this deliverance lies in the future, at the time of the judgment and thereafter. To begin with, the conflict in the *divine* realm will be resolved, as only it can be, through direct divine intervention. God and the holy ones will exterminate their malevolent counterparts—the rebel watchers, the evil spirits, and the angelic shepherds. Additionally, the wicked *human* perpetrators of sin and oppression will be judged, removed from this world, and destroyed. Equally important, the defiled and moribund earth will be cleansed and revived. Above all, the new state of affairs will be universal and permanent. All evil, sin, and impurity will be removed from the whole earth, and all the children of the whole earth will

be righteous for all the generations of eternity (10:20–11:1; 91:16–17).

**4.1.3.2. Salvation in the Present: Bridging the
Dualisms through Revelation to the Community
of the Righteous and Chosen**

Although definitive salvation lies in the future, revelation transmitted *now* effects a significant resolution of the book's temporal, spatial, and ontological dualism. This revelation is a pervasive concept in 1 Enoch, and the notion is present in all of the book's component parts, whether it is ascribed to the ancient seer or to those living in the authors' own times.

In chaps. 1–5 Enoch cites his visions and their angelic interpretations (1:2), and the whole section takes the form of a prophetic oracle. Although the narrative in chaps. 6–11 is not presented as a revelation, in 10:1–3 the angel Sariel teaches Noah about the coming judgment and reveals the means that will save him from its destruction. In chaps. 12–16 Enoch ascends to heaven in order to receive an oracle of doom that he is to bring to the earth. In chaps. 17–19, 20–36, and 108, the function of Enoch's journeys is to receive saving revelation about the hidden world, and the Book of Parables as a whole is the revelation of such heavenly and cosmic journeys. Revelation takes a special form in chaps. 83–90, where Enoch's knowledge of the future, which he transmits to Methuselah, has come to him through dreams. Chapters 33–36 present astronomical lore that was gained in journeys through the cosmos in the company of an interpreting angel. The Epistle, alone of the major sections of 1 Enoch, does not describe Enoch receiving revealed knowledge, but it appeals to the things he has seen during his revelatory journeys (93:2, 11–14; 97:2, 7; 98:6; 103:1–2; 104:1, 7–8; cf. 81:1–4).

The salvific function of revelation is explicit in several key texts in 1 Enoch. In the Animal Vision the opening of the eyes of the blind lambs is a first step toward salvation (90:6). Both 5:8 and 93:10 foresee that “wisdom will be given to the chosen” of the end time, and 104:12–13 identify this with the Enochic books. In

each case the reception of wisdom is constitutive of salvation or life.²

Revelation bridges the book's dualism in several ways. Enoch's revelations about the celestial structures and the movements of the heavenly bodies are a torah that is foundational for correct calendrical observance (chaps. 72–82). His cosmological revelations in chaps. 17–19 and 21–32 present evidence that judgment is already being exacted and that the places of future judgment are ready for their tasks. His viewing of the heavenly tablets (81:1–4), his witnessing of angelic advocacy (89:59–90:19), and his visions of events in the heavenly courtroom (chaps. 37–71) assure the reader that the apparatus for the future judgment is already in operation. These revelations are salvific in function because they provide hope in a hopeless world, and because they encourage the righteous to stand fast against apostasy. This exhortative function is explicit in the Epistle, where Enoch's revelations are cited as the basis for his repeated admonitions that the righteous should not fear but be hopeful of vindication (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1, table 9). Similarly, in the introductory oracle, revelations support his promise of future blessing.

Thus the books of Enoch are a corpus of texts that guarantee future salvation on the basis of a present reality to which the seer had been privy and which he then revealed. That seer—in the book's fiction, Enoch of old; in reality the complement of authors who stand behind these texts—provides a bridge between opposing worlds, present and future, earthly and cosmic, human and divine. His revelations, written down, transmitted, and interpreted, constitute and regulate the community of the chosen and righteous. Although allegedly received in primordial antiquity, these revelations are promulgated in a present that stands on the threshold of the end time. Functionally, they are eschatological revelation. As the Animal Vision and Apocalypse of Weeks indicate, they are given at the end of the age (just as Noah

received revelation before the first judgment), and this eschatological character further enhances the assurance that the revelations offer. Definitive deliverance will take place soon.

In summary: We may properly use the term *apocalyptic* to characterize the texts in 1 Enoch, because the claim to revelation and the literary form that presents this claim are essential to its worldview, or construction of reality. The authors' revelations are the salvific means by which the readers bridge and overcome the dualisms that are the very nature of reality as they understand and experience it.³

4.2. God and Humanity

As the previous section has shown, it is inappropriate to isolate 1 Enoch's religious thought from the broader horizon of its authors' worldview. In the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, religion was an integral part of life and not a hermetically sealed compartment. For analytical purposes, however, it is useful to focus on these authors' beliefs about God and the interactions between God and human beings. In so doing, I avoid the term *theology* with its modern systematic connotations. Like their worldview in general, these authors' beliefs about God are often expressed in narrative rather than propositional form, and they can often stand in tension with one another, even in sections of the collection that come from the same author or from authors with a similar viewpoint.

4.2.1. God

4.2.1.1. God's Epithets

The names by which the Enochic authors refer to God are a first clue to their views about the Deity. Different from their use in much of the Hebrew Bible, the terms "God" and "Lord" in 1 Enoch are almost always elaborated with modifiers that emphasize God's transcendent character. Their frequent location in prayers and doxo-

2 See George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Revealed Wisdom as a Criterion for Inclusion and Exclusion: From Jewish Sectarianism to Early Christianity," in Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity* (SPSH; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985) 74–79.

3 For a similar approach, see the extension of the *Semeia* 14 definition of "apocalypse" in Adela Yarbro Collins, "Introduction: Early Christian Apocalypticism," *Semeia* 36 (1986) 7.

logical passages underscores the point (§3.3.1.9–10), as do the one-word (in Aramaic) epithets that appear with some frequency (Great One, Holy One, Most High). As table 3 indicates, there is some consistency of usage in the respective sections of 1 Enoch.

Table 3

<i>Chaps. 1–36; 81:1–82:3; 83–84; 92–105</i>				
Great One	God	Lord		
Great Holy One		Great Lord		
		Lord of majesty (greatness)		
Holy One				
Most High				
	God of (all) eternity	Lord of eternity		
He who lives for all ages	God of the Ages	Lord of the ages	King of the ages	
	God of gods	Lord of (all) lords	King of kings	
		Lord of kings		
Great Glory	God of glory	Lord of glory	Eternal King of glory	
		Lord of judgment		
		Lord of righteousness		
		Lord of heaven		
Creator		Lord of all creation of heaven		
<i>Chaps. 85–90</i>				
		Lord of the sheep		
<i>Chaps. 37–71</i>				
Head of Days		Lord of spirits		
<i>Chaps. 106–107</i>				
		Lord		
<i>Chap. 108</i>				
	God	Lord		

4.2.1.2. God as King and Lord

1 Enoch's principal metaphor for God is King, and transcendent holiness, glory, greatness, power, and justice dominate the authors' descriptions of God and statements about him. In addition to the titles "King," "Lord," and "the Great Holy One" or simply "the Great One," cognate terms like "kingship," "rule," and "reign," and "greatness" and "splendor" occur as frequent modifiers. That the Enochic authors think of God principally as king is also evident in the description of God seated on a throne in the heavenly palace (14:8–23) and having a mountain-size throne on which to sit when he descends

to visit the earth (18:8; 24:3; 25:3). Like his earthly counterparts, the heavenly King has an entourage of courtiers who utter his praises and do his bidding (see §4.2.2). Their number in the tens of thousands (14:22; 40:1) emphasizes the heavenly King's qualitative difference from his earthly counterparts. By depicting God as king, the Enochic authors provide their readers or audience with a familiar point of reference; they lived in a world that was ruled by earthly kings. At the same time, the terminology made it possible to assert God's status as the *unique* king. On the heavenly level, among the holy ones, he was the Great Holy One, the God of gods, and the Lord of spirits. On earth kings are subject to the heavenly King (9:4; 46:4–8), who is the ultimate sovereign, the King of kings and Lord of kings. Divine sovereignty also extends over the course of history. God knows all things before they happen (9:11; 39:11; 81:1–3) and determines the order of the ages in which they happen (81:3; 93:1–10; 91:11–17). Divine justice affects the events of history (see §4.2.4).

The titles "King of eternity" and "King of the ages" denote transcendence by indicating that God's kingship extends from of old through all ages and that he was the one who created and rules over the ages. He "has made all things" (9:5; 84:3) and continues to exercise power over the created elements. God's role as creator is also implied in 1 Enoch's many references to the spatial and material dimension (see §4.1.2.2). Chapters 2–5, 17–36, and 72–82 emphasize that God created the world as well as the ages, and that this nonhuman creation functions in obedience to the will of its Creator. This element in 1 Enoch's religious thought provides a notable complement to the time-oriented prophetic element that repeatedly appears in the book's eschatology and represents an important constituent in the ongoing life of Israel's sapiential tradition (see §5.1.1.3).

4.2.2. God's Heavenly Entourage

4.2.2.1. Titles

The titles applied to the heavenly courtiers and servants of the divine King designate their nature as divine beings—denizens of the heavenly rather than the earthly realm. They are "sons of heaven" (i.e., "sons of God")

[6:2]), “holy ones,” and “spirits.”⁴ The frequent term “watcher” (עִיר) appears to refer to their function (see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones). Although the Greek and Ethiopic translations frequently use the term “angel” (ἄγγελος, *mal’ak*), its Aramaic equivalent מלאכא does not occur in the preserved Qumran fragments, which use עִיר where the translations employ ἄγγελος and *mal’ak*.

4.2.2.2. Functions

The various strata of 1 Enoch ascribe a wide range of roles and activities to these heavenly beings, many of them appearing in more than one part of the collection. Most of these roles and activities have counterparts in human society.

The holy ones, in number 10,000 × 10,000, are, first of all, the courtiers of the Holy One, the heavenly King, who attend the enthroned Deity day and night (14:22–23). From a different point of view, at least some of them serve as priests in the heavenly sanctuary (15:3); thus Michael, one of the chief among their number, can serve as the eschatological high priest, who purifies the defiled earth (10:20–22). Not inconsonant with the role of priest is the holy ones’ duty to serve as a chorus that sings God’s praises (39:9–40:3).

In the broader realm of the cosmos, these divine beings are in charge of the heavenly bodies. In the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82), the account of Enoch’s journey through the heavens in the company of Uriel (“God’s light”), Enoch learns about the myriads of heavenly beings who oversee the functioning of the stars (82:11–20).⁵ A similar role may be indicated by the names of the rebel watchers, who teach humans how to prognosticate on the basis of the heavenly bodies and phenomena indicated by their names (6:7; 8:3; 69:6–21). The account of Enoch’s second journey and the onomasticon that precedes it attribute to the seven holy ones responsibility for various places and activities in the cosmos and, especially, on the terrestrial disk (chaps. 20–33).

Especially noteworthy is the complex set of roles ascribed to the holy ones as mediators between heaven

and earth. This mythology is central in all major parts of 1 Enoch except as it now stands the Book of the Luminaries. As God’s eyes on the earth, the holy ones witness human activity in its character as good or sinful conduct. They gather evidence or testimony that their Lord, the heavenly King, will use in the great judgment. For the most part, this evidence is said to be inscribed in heavenly books (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). Presenting a more dynamic scenario, chaps. 6–11 depict the four holy ones entering the presence of the heavenly king and making an oral plea in behalf of oppressed humanity. A combination of the holy ones’ roles as scribes and advocates appears in 90:14, 17; 99:3; and 104:1. This set of roles is, of course, juridical. The holy ones function as takers of testimony, advocates, and prosecuting attorneys. At the same time, however, their intercession may involve their role as priests in the heavenly temple (15:3).

If the holy ones’ functions as witnesses and intercessors indicate an earth-to-heaven direction, these heavenly beings also travel in the opposite direction, as is explicit in the last part of the narrative in chaps. 6–11. Sariel, though he is not called an angel (messenger), is sent to warn Noah about the flood, playing the role of an eschatological prophet (10:1–3). Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael are sent as a military force, to bind and imprison the watchers and provoke the giants into a war of mutual extinction (cf. 57:5). In the opening oracle of the collection, the eschatological theophany is a military sortie by the heavenly King and his army (1:3–7, 9). The Epistle ascribes a double military role to God’s heavenly army (100:4–5; 102:3). They will both round up the wicked and serve as a protective guard for the righteous (100:5). The angels’ military functions also have the character of judgment, as is clear from chap. 1, and the Parables ascribe other juridical functions to “the angels of punishment” (53:3–5; 54:1–6; 62:11; 63:1).

From this complex of roles emerges a picture of God the heavenly King, who administers the world through an immense array of agents, whose roles and activities imitate a variety of models derived mainly from royal

4 For “sons of heaven,” see 6:2. “Holy ones” is ubiquitous in the Book of the Watchers and frequent in the Book of Parables. “Spirit” is implied in the Parables’ title “Lord of spirits,” which is a variant of “Lord of hosts” (39:12).

5 Cf. also in the Parables 60:11–22; 69:15–25.

courts. In this picture God is infinitely majestic and separated from the human scene by layers of administrative agents. Yet, paradoxically, the bureaucracy is effective. There is order in the created world, human petitions get through to the King, and in good time the King responds favorably. Thus 1 Enoch's massive and complicated world of divine beings is not symptomatic of a theology that simply depicts God as increasingly remote—as is sometimes claimed of apocalyptic literature.⁶ Rather, it maintains the accessibility of a God whose majesty and distance from humanity are, at least in part, functions of a changing worldview that recognizes increasingly the immensity of the cosmos.⁷

4.2.2.3. Use of Proper Names

One of the most striking features of 1 Enoch's portrayal of the holy ones is its use of proper names. The earliest strata of the collection are our earliest evidence for such usage. Thus names are given to the four beings that surround the throne in Ezekiel 1–2 and, perhaps, the four horsemen who patrol the earth in Zechariah 1 (9:1; cf. 1 Enoch 40:2–10). By the time chaps. 20–33 are composed, the group of four has grown to seven, as it is in the book of Tobit (Tob 12:15). The application of names is much broader, however, as is evident in the lists of the leaders of the rebel watchers (1 Enoch 6:7; 8:1–3; 69:1–13) and the celestial leaders (82:13–20).

There are complex reasons for this tendency to name previously unnamed otherworldly beings. In general, however, it has the effect of reifying the heavenly world. If it does not give personalities to these beings,⁸ it does give definition and an increasing sense of reality to these beings—whether they be good or evil—concretizing their functions in their names, just as biblical narratives concretize the circumstances of a child's birth or an individual's life in that person's name or change of

name. The use of names is also a function of concrete narration. It is difficult to imagine how one would effectively narrate the myth in chaps. 6–11 without the use of names. Finally, it should be noted that the polytheistic religions of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East had long provided names for the members of their pantheons.

4.2.2.4. The Chosen One

The preeminent heavenly figure in the Book of Parables is known variously as “the Righteous One,” “the Chosen One,” and “Son of Man.” A full treatment of this figure is reserved for the second volume of this commentary. Since he epitomizes some of the tendencies observed in the previous paragraphs, however, a few comments are appropriate here.

With respect to his functions, the Chosen One parallels and supersedes the four holy ones of chaps. 6–11. Although these four holy ones are mentioned by name in chap. 40 (with Phanuel replacing Sariel) and retain some of their functions (cf. also chap. 47), the Chosen One uniquely assumes some of their roles and thus relegates them to the background. He is both the heavenly champion of the persecuted righteous and the executor of judgment against their enemies. In the latter respect, he moves beyond the four in the Book of the Watchers and assumes the role of judge, which the other sections of 1 Enoch reserve uniquely for God. This is evident in the description of his epiphany in 52:6 (cf. 1:3–7) and in chaps. 62–63, where he is seated on the divine throne of glory to execute judgment. Thus he brings to culmination the tendency in the earlier strata to attribute divine juridical functions to heavenly beings other than God.

The genealogy of this figure is clear with respect to his functions.⁹ He assumes titles and activities that biblical texts ascribe to the Davidic king, the earthly executor

6 See Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3d ed. by Hugo Gressmann; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1926) 316; Rudolf Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956) 61.

7 It would be worth pursuing this question in non-Jewish sources, particularly in the writings of the Greek philosophers and scientists of the Hellenistic period. On the changing cosmology, see briefly Luther H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 6–8.

8 Raphael in the Book of Tobit is an exception that is

appropriate to the text's novelistic form.

9 There is, of course, much debate about the origins of the figure of the son of man. See in detail Carsten Colpe, “*υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*,” *TDNT* 8 (1972) 408–19. On the Parables' use of material from the biblical texts, however, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Salvation without and with a Messiah: Developing Beliefs in Writings Ascribed to Enoch,” in Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 49–68.

of God's judgment (Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11), the Servant of YHWH, who takes on some of these royal functions in Second Isaiah, and Daniel's "one like a son of man," whom God enthrones and appoints as the eschatological king and sovereign over all the earth.

In Daniel the one like a son of man is the prince Michael or his equivalent.¹⁰ In the Parables the identity of this figure is more mysterious. He looks like an angel (46:1), but the language of 48:1-7 suggests that he shares some of the characteristics that Proverbs 8, Sirach 24, and 1 Baruch 4 ascribe to preexistent heavenly Wisdom. Here the issue must be left for the present. A mysterious heavenly figure assumes the functions that the Bible ascribed to the king and servant and that the earlier strata of 1 Enoch ascribed to several high holy ones and to God. This figure is not God, but his unique status and his assumption of the role of judge constitute a theological development that provides the raw material for at least one early strand of christology.¹¹ The Parables' secondary identification of the Chosen One as a glorified human (viz., Enoch himself, 71:13-71) may have further facilitated this christological identification of the figure.

4.2.3. Sin as Rebellion against the Divine King's Sovereignty

Sin is the violation of the divine King's sovereignty through worship of other divine beings, transgression of the divinely created cosmic order, or disobedience of the laws that regulate the human conduct toward God and one's fellow human beings. As a result of sin, the human and nonhuman creation are not as God intended, and this state of evil and unrighteousness places human and divine beings under the wrath of the divine King.

The Enochic corpus explains the origin and presence of sin and evil on earth in two ways: (1) sin and evil are the function of a primordial heavenly revolt whose results continue to victimize the human race; (2) responsibility for sin and evil lies with the human beings who transgress God's law. Each part of 1 Enoch has its own emphasis with respect to the origin of sin and evil and the particular sins that are of concern.

4.2.3.1. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1-36)

The myths that form the core of the Book of the Watchers provide an aetiology for sin and evil that attributes them to a heavenly rebellion against the divine King. The results of this rebellion are violence and bloodshed, sexual misconduct, and wrong religious practice (i.e., magic, prognostication by means of the created elements, and a polluted temple cult). Common to the various forms and developments of the myth of a heavenly revolt is the notion that heavenly beings have perverted the divinely created order.

In the imagery of the Shemihazah myth, the heavenly holy ones transgressed the divinely ordained boundary between flesh and spirit by taking human sexual partners (15:3-7). Violence and bloodshed resulted from this transgression, because the fathers bred their rebellious nature (spirit) into their giant offspring (see comm. on chaps. 6-11; 15:7b-10). The ontological consequence of this bloodshed is the earth's transformation into a state of impurity that is in need of ritual cleansing (10:20-22).

The second myth about the rebel watchers, which identifies the watcher Asael as the chief villain, employs a different model to describe the violation of God's sovereignty. The watchers transgressed the boundary between heaven and earth by revealing secrets that belonged in heaven (8:1; 9:6; 10:4-8). The revelation of metallurgy and mining enabled humans to fabricate weapons to shed blood, and cosmetics and jewelry for sexual seduction. Other revelations provided a means for earthlings to play God by (attempting to) learn of a future that was rightly hidden from them and to affect the course of events through "magical" manipulation (7:1; 8:2-3).

Chapters 12-16 retell the myth of heavenly rebellion in an account of Enoch's heavenly prophetic commissioning. The divine oracle describes the watchers as priests who have abandoned their stations in the heavenly temple and defiled themselves through intercourse with women. The charge is reminiscent of texts that polemicize against priestly transgressions of the codes of sexual purity (see comm. on 15:4-7a). This suggests that a myth of heavenly rebellion has become, in part, an

10 John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 310.

11 See George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6:137-50.

indictment of human sin, specifically, the defilement of the Jerusalem priesthood and its cult.

Although these stories are set in primordial times, they are statements about the world that their authors experienced. The earliest form of the myth of the watchers and the women is a covert description of present times, and the giants are stand-ins for the powerful of this world who, as agents of evil powers, wreak havoc on humanity and the rest of creation (see Introduction to chaps. 6–11, § Date and Setting). According to the second myth, the knowledge that promotes violence, promiscuity, and the occult is the residue of primordial rebellious revelation. In chaps. 12–16, on one level, the watchers' sin mirrors present priestly transgressions. On another level, the ghosts of the dead giants of primordial times, which are indestructible because they are spirit, constitute a world of demons who continue to plague humanity, leading them into sin and afflicting them with illness (15:8–16:1). In all cases the myths attribute human suffering and sin to the ongoing operation of a world of divine beings who have rebelled against God. The myths assert, deterministically on the one hand, that human beings are less the perpetrators than the victims of sin, which had its origin in the divine realm. On the other hand, they maintain that this sin and evil originated not with God's permission, but as the result of a rebellious conspiracy that was hatched behind God's back.

The final redaction of the Book of the Watchers de-emphasizes the importance of the heavenly rebellion by focusing on human responsibility for sin. Enoch's second journey depicts the places of reward and punishment for the righteous and the sinners (chaps. 22–27); and the introduction, which sets the tone for the book (chaps. 1–5), announces the coming of a great judgment on "all flesh." This stage of the book's composition adds to its repertoire of sins the speaking of proud and hard words from an impure mouth against God's greatness (1:9; 5:4; 27:2). This may refer to blasphemy, strictly speaking, to idolatry and the eating of idolatrous food, or to the consumption of blood and/or food forbidden by divine law. In any case, sin is a human violation of the majesty and glory of the heavenly King.

4.2.3.2. The Animal Vision (Chaps. 85–90)

Throughout its recounting of Israel's history, the Animal Vision also lays responsibility for sin on the humans who commit it. These sins include bloodshed, notably Cain's murder of Abel and the violence that led to the deluge. Cultic sins are also important: Israel's idolatry at Mount Sinai (89:32–33), the nation's worship of Baal at the time of Elijah (89:51–52), Manasseh's abominations (89:54), and the pollution of the cult after the return from exile (89:73–74). Alongside this human activity, the author focuses on the activity of the rebel watchers, who victimized humanity before the flood, and other rebellious heavenly beings who plague sinful Israel in the pre- and postexilic periods—albeit as agents of God's judgment.

4.2.3.3. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105)

The Epistle of Enoch emphasizes human sins and offers the most detailed catalog of the evils that an Enochic author condemns. Although the Epistle concedes that the watchers rebelled against God (91:15), it denies that lawlessness was sent to the earth and holds humans responsible for the ills it vividly portrays (98:4–8). These sins are of two kinds. Predominantly, the author is concerned about human violence against other human beings, notably the oppression of the lowly by the wealthy. In addition, the author focuses on sins committed directly against God. These include idolatry (99:6–9) but, more centrally, false interpretations of divine law by those who "lead many astray" (see Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). This activity is tantamount to idolatry (99:1), which fits well with the notion of sin as a violation of God's sovereignty. It also perverts God's truth expressed in the laws of "the eternal covenant" (99:2).

4.2.3.4. The Book of Parables (Chaps. 37–71)

The Book of Parables distinguishes between the righteous and chosen on the one hand and the sinners on the other, and portrays the former as victims of "the kings and the mighty." Additionally, it identifies Azazel as the chieftain of a rebellious host that leads humanity astray (54:6; 56:4). This latter idea is close to developing ideas about Satan, attested in 1 Enoch 12–16, the *Book of Jubilees*, some Qumranic texts, and parts of the NT.¹²

12 See, e.g., 15:11; *Jub.* 7:27; 10:7–12; 1QS 3:20–24; in the NT *passim*.

More than any other section of 1 Enoch, the Parables explicate the character of sin as rebellion against the divine sovereignty. As is indicated in chap. 46 in particular, this relates to the book's focus on the activity of the kings and the mighty. Their oppression of God's righteous and chosen is a direct affront against the one who has chosen them. It results from the failure of the rulers and the rich to acknowledge the sovereignty, and perhaps even the existence, of that God, and it reflects their faith in the gods they have made with their hands.

4.2.4. God ■ Judge and Savior

Because victimization at the hands of the sinners is a central problem, the authors of the various strata of 1 Enoch frequently depict God's activity in behalf of the righteous as deliverance or salvation from evil. Although the verb "save" occurs only fourteen times in the corpus with these connotations,¹³ the texts frequently portray this divine activity as the enacting of judgment, which is a function of God's status as King.

4.2.4.1. Judgment ■ the Restoration of Justice

The exercise of judgment was a major prerogative and function of kings in antiquity, and for the Enochic authors, enacting judgment was *the* major function of the heavenly King. Little in the collection's 108 chapters does not relate to a concern about the coming of the great final judgment. For these authors the world that God created and administered is in a state of crisis due to the massive presence of injustice. Under these circumstances, one can portray God as king and sovereign only if one posits a massive act of judgment that sets things right by bringing the world once more into conformity with the will of the heavenly king.

In biblical covenantal theology, divine judgment relates to the whole of human conduct; God bestows reward or blessing on the righteous and executes punishment or curses for the wicked. This dual notion of judgment as reward and punishment appears with some frequency in 1 Enoch; however, it usually appears within the context of the book's narrow focus on present injustice and the future restoration of justice. Thus reward is mainly God's deliverance and vindication of the suffering righteous—a common biblical motif.

According to the myths in the Book of the Watchers, the watchers' rebellion has caused the unjust victimization of the human race and, indeed, the whole created world. By sending Sarial, Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael to hide Noah from the deluge and destroy the rebel watchers and their violent progeny, God restores justice. In the code of the text, this involves the righteous of the author's time escaping the wrath of God's judgment and being rewarded for their righteousness by the blessings of a renewed earth (10:16-19). The final form of the Book of the Watchers begins by announcing the coming of the great judgment on all humanity, when the righteous and chosen will be blessed for their righteous deeds and the sinners will be punished for their lawless deeds and blasphemous words against God's majesty (chaps. 1-5).

The Epistle of Enoch also anticipates a great day of judgment, which has two aspects. The divine Judge delivers the righteous from the unjust oppression of the sinners and condemns their enemies for their lawless oppression of the righteous. In addition, God rewards the righteous for their faithful obedience of God's commandments and condemns the false teachers for perverting the eternal covenant. This process establishes justice by giving the righteous the good things they wrongly missed and the sinners have wrongly enjoyed and by delivering the sinners to an intensified form of the ills they have foisted on the righteous (see comm. on 102:4-103:4). Thus God restores the harmony and justice that are consonant with God's character as the divine King.

The coming judgment is focal throughout the Book of Parables, which feature a series of tableaux that depict heavenly realia and events leading up to the judgment. The drama in this text finds an appropriate climax in the great judgment (chaps. 62-63), when the rebellious kings and mighty are summoned to the great assize before the throne of God's anointed vice-regent, the Chosen One, who is also the champion of God's righteous and chosen. The sinners acknowledge God's sovereignty, but they are refused clemency and are delivered to the angels who administer the just punishment due

13 1:1; 48:7; 50:3; 51:2; 62:3; 89:52 (bis); 93:4; 99:10; 100:6; 102:1; 103:13; 106:16, 18.

their unjust actions. The righteous, in turn, enjoy God's blessing in the presence of the Chosen One.

4.2.4.2. Resurrection of the Dead

Resurrection is an aspect and function of the great judgment in all the major sections of 1 Enoch. According to chap. 22, the righteous and sinners are separated already in the realm of the dead. There Abel, the prototype and protagonist of the persecuted righteous, cries out against the injustice of their deaths. Experiencing their reward in a proleptic fashion, they anticipate a long life in Jerusalem (chap. 25). The sinners who escaped justice in their lives will be turned over to eternal torment. The Animal Vision envisions the resurrection for the Israelites put to death by the violent Gentiles as a return from the dispersion (90:32). The Epistle, recalling chap. 22, culminates with the promise that the righteous and pious who grieve in Sheol over the unjust circumstances of their deaths will be raised to divine blessing, while the wicked who died unrequited will descend to fiery torment (102:4–103:8). Chapter 108 sets a similar scene. In the Book of Parables resurrection is also associated with the judgment (chaps. 51 and 61).

4.2.4.3. The Locus of Final Divine Blessing

Although a common stereotype about apocalyptic literature posits heaven as the place of eternal life, most of the major sections of 1 Enoch—drawing on Isaiah 65–66 for their inspiration—envision a renewed earth and a restored Jerusalem as the setting for the long life that the righteous will enjoy after the judgment. In the Book of the Watchers, chaps. 6–11 describe healing and purification of the defiled earth, so that it can be again a place of lush fertility (10:7-8; 10:16–11:2). According to 25:3-6 the righteous, pious, and chosen will live a long and blissful life, free of torment and suffering, near the Jerusalem sanctuary. According to the book's introductory oracle, the righteous and chosen "will inherit the earth/land" (5:6-7). The last verses of the Animal Vision play out a similar scenario (90:20-38). The judgment takes place in "the pleasant land"; Jerusalem is rebuilt and becomes the home for the returned dispersion. In the Book of Parables, the judgment ends the time when the kings and the mighty possess the earth/land, and it initiates the era when the righteous and chosen will inherit it (for the formner see 38:4; 48:8; for the later, 45:4-5; 51:4-5). The Apocalypse of Weeks expresses the same viewpoint with an eye toward Isaiah's vision of a

new heaven and a new earth. The eschatological temple is built, the wicked are removed from the earth, and all humanity looks to the paths of righteousness (91:13-14). Then the watchers are judged, a new heaven appears, and the human race lives pious, righteous, and sinless lives (91:15-17).

Only the last part of the Epistle indicates a heavenly setting for eternal life. The souls or spirits of the righteous will come to life and experience great joy (103:1-4), and the portals of heaven will be opened to receive the righteous and pious into the presence of the angels (104:1-6).

4.2.4.4. A Profile of the Judgment?

My earlier statement that 1 Enoch's religious thought lacks consistency and defies systematization (§4.2) is perhaps nowhere as evident as in the corpus's descriptions of and statements about the great judgment. What is important and central is that God does act as judge to set the world right. The Enochic authors are not theologians but religious teachers and preachers who assert in many different ways and forms their belief in the faithfulness and justice of God, the vindicator and savior of the righteous.

The agent(s) of the judgment may be God (chaps. 1–5), a complement of holy ones (chaps. 10; 85–90), the angels of punishment (53:3-5; 54:1-6; 62:11; 63:1), the Chosen One (chaps. 37–70), the righteous (91:11-12; 95:3; 98:12), Enoch qua Son of Man (chap. 71), or the cosmic elements (100:10–101:9).

The nature of judgment and how it is enacted also vary. Chapter 10 depicts military action, but chapters 62–63 and 90:20-27 envision a formal assize before the divine throne. The introductory oracle (1:3-9) and the Epistle favor the former option (100:1-4; 102:1-3), with the righteous participating in the action (95:3; 98:12) and the sinners themselves cutting one another down (100:1-3).

How these various acts of judgment may have related to one another in sequence is difficult to say, and even to raise the question presumes a systematizing approach

that is alien to the text.¹⁴ An exception appears to be in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:10; 91:11-15), which presents a sequence of four judgments. This text raises in turn the broader question of chronology. Several passages in the Epistle seem to expect an imminent judgment (see above, n. 1). The logic of other parts of 1 Enoch suggests a similar view. The finality of this judgment is indicated by the typology between the flood, which ended a wicked age and ushered in a new creation, and the great judgment, which will accomplish this for the last time.¹⁵

4.2.5. Covenant, Torah, and Wisdom

In a wide-ranging, influential work E. P. Sanders has argued that “covenantal nomism” is the constitutive category for most Jewish religious thought in the Greco-Roman period.¹⁶ Although Sanders includes a discussion of 1 Enoch, in the present section I will argue that covenant is not a major category in 1 Enoch.

4.2.5.1. The Sinaitic Covenant and Torah

To judge from what the authors of 1 Enoch have written, the Sinaitic covenant and Torah were not of central importance for them. The only explicit reference to this covenant in the 108 chapters of 1 Enoch appears in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which mentions visions at Sinai and states that God made there “a covenant for all generations and a tabernacle” (93:6). The final redactor of the Book of the Watchers may allude to this covenant and Torah in 1:4, which locates God’s eschatological descent at Mount Sinai, perhaps indicating that God is coming to condemn the transgression of the Sinaitic covenant. Since God will judge “all flesh” (i.e., Jews and Gentiles), however, the Sinaitic covenant and Torah cannot be the only point of reference. It is uncertain whether the perversion of “the eternal covenant” mentioned in 99:2 refers to the transgression of the Mosaic Torah and hence the breaking of that covenant (see comm. on 99:2).

Beyond these references, 1 Enoch is remarkably silent on the Mosaic covenant and Torah. The Animal Vision is especially noteworthy in this respect. Its account of the events at Sinai includes the theophany and Israel’s idola-

try but makes no reference to the establishment of the covenant or the giving of the Torah (89:29-35). God had opened the eyes of the sheep (i.e., given them revelation) already at Marah (89:28), where, according to Exod 15:25-26, God made a statute and ordinance with Israel and promised not to punish them if they “listened to his commandments and observed all his statutes.”

Thus the general category of covenant seems not to be important for these authors. At the very least, the word is rare. In addition to 99:2, the Gk. *διαθήκη* occurs only at 106:13, where it refers to the watchers’ violation of the heavenly covenant (cf. 15:3-7). Other than in 93:6, 99:2, and 106:13, Eth. *ṣer’at* does not occur in 1 Enoch with the meaning “covenant” (cf. comm. on 93:4).

4.2.5.2. Revealed Wisdom: The Source and Criterion for Human Conduct

1 Enoch employs a different paradigm or set of categories as the primary means of embodying the double notion that God has revealed the divine will to humanity and will reward and punish right and wrong conduct. Law and its interpretation are embodied in the notion of revealed “wisdom.” The category is almost all-encompassing in 1 Enoch, appearing in the Book of the Watchers (5:8; 32:6) and the redactional bridge that joined it originally to the Epistle (82:1-3), the Epistle itself (92:1; 98:9; 99:10; 104:12) including the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:10), the Book of Parables (37:1-2), and possibly the Animal Vision, which construes law as revelation under the metaphor of opening Israel’s eyes (89:28; 90:6).

By using the epistemological term “wisdom” and emphasizing its receipt and transmission, the Enochic authors explicitly tie their soteriology to the possession of right knowledge. Actions are, of course, important, but they are possible only if one is rightly informed. The gaining of that information is pivotal for this sapiential-apocalyptic tradition.

Not surprisingly, the Enochic authors depict human conduct by means of language at home in the wisdom tradition—as this is attested in the Book of Proverbs, Sirach, Tobit, and the Qumran Community Rule (1QS) and *Mūsār* (4Q415-18). Central, especially to the paragnosis of the Epistle, is the metaphor of the two ways

14 See Introduction to chaps. 92-105, §2.1.

15 See chap. 10; 54:7-55:2; chaps. 65-67 and 85-90; 91:5-9; 93:1-10 and 91:11-17; 106:13-107:1.

16 E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977).

(91:4, 18-19; 92:3; 94:1-4; 99:10; 104:13; 105:2; 108:13).¹⁷ The commandments for right conduct and obedience to these commandments involve walking on the path of uprightness. By contrast, disobedience is construed as straying from the right path (5:4; 93:9; 99:10), walking on the path(s) of wickedness and violence, or perverting the truth (93:9; 99:2; 104:9). Within this frame of reference, the Epistle threatens punishment for wrong conduct in lengthy sets of woes that have many parallels in the prophetic corpus, but also appear in a wisdom text like Sirach.

4.2.5.3. Law and Order

The centrality of judgment in 1 Enoch implies a corpus or collection of laws and commandments that form the criteria for that judgment. The occasional use of the words *ἐντολή*, *te'ezāz*, and *šer'at* point in the same direction. Nonetheless, one looks in vain in 1 Enoch for formal parallels to the specific laws and commandments found in the Mosaic Pentateuch and the *Book of Jubilees*, or for references to issues like Sabbath observance, the honoring of one's parents, the rite of circumcision, and the full range of cultic laws.

These omissions notwithstanding, these authors repeatedly express concern about the violation of divine law. High on the list is calendrical practice. The Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72-82), although it is descriptive rather than prescriptive, lays out the "laws" (*te'ezāz*) that govern the movements of the heavenly bodies. In 82:4 the sentiment expressed in 99:10 is applied to right and wrong calendrical observance, and another passage criticizes the sinners' latter-day ignorance of these matters (80:2-8). The introductory oracle employs material from the last part of the Book of the Luminaries as the basis for the indictment to be presented at the great judgment (2:1-5:2).

Other important issues have been mentioned above (§4.2.3). In the Book of the Watchers, murder heads the list, and in the Epistle various forms of violence and oppression follow close behind. The story of the watchers' miscegenation and the references to the women's seduction of the holy ones (8:1) may indicate a special concern about human sexual promiscuity. In this connection, chaps. 12-16 appear to criticize some of the

Jerusalem priests for having violated laws about sexual purity (see comm. on chaps. 12-16, Provenance). A rare reference to a specific commandment appears in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which states that the postdiluvian law against shedding and consuming blood was instituted because of the actions of "sinners" (93:4). A similar issue surfaces in 98:11, which either alludes to specific laws about what is considered the consumption of blood or implies a command to practice vegetarianism. Whatever the specifics of law prevalent among the Enochic authors and their communities, a passage like 99:2 indicates that the violation of divine law was attributed not simply to Gentiles and gross sinners, but also to people who perverted the law, in the author's view, but claimed that they were not sinning. Strikingly, "violence" and "falsehood" (wrong teaching) are the two catchwords for sin in the Apocalypse of Weeks.

Pervading 1 Enoch's understanding of law, and reflecting its roots in the sapiential tradition, is a sense of cosmic order. Thus, while the Book of the Luminaries does not contain commandments to be observed by humans, it describes the "laws" and the order that the Creator has built into the structure of the cosmos to regulate the movements of the sun and moon, which along with the stars are responsible to their Lord. A similar notion is embodied in the heart of the collection's introductory oracle. In obedience to their Creator, heaven and earth and the seasons work with complete regularity, and the luminaries do not change their paths or transgress their order. Conversely, human disobedience is perversion and turning aside from God's order (5:4). Similarly, the indictment against the watchers' in 15:1-6 depicts their sin as a perversion of God's created order, involving the confusion of flesh and spirit (cf. 106:13-14). In the Epistle the notion of sin as perversion of divine order appears at two points. Among the oppressive rich, who have no knowledge or understanding, "men put on adornments as women and fair colors more than virgins" (98:1-3). More seriously, slavery violates that ordinance that God has decreed for humanity (98:4), and a woman's sin is punished by the infertility that violates the order of creation and God's first commandment of record (Gen 1:28).

17 On this subject see Excursus: The Two Ways.

4.2.5.4. The Myth of Wisdom's Descent

Essential to 1 Enoch's construal of law and its interpretation as wisdom is the belief that wisdom originated with God and that one can obtain it only through revelation. Hence one finds the repeated use of the verb "give," often in the passive voice (5:6; 82:1-3; 93:10; 104:12-13). For the Enochic authors, the process of revelation occurred when the primordial seer and sage Enoch ascended to heaven, received "wisdom," descended, wrote it in books, and gave these books to Methuselah and his sons for transmission to the latter generations (81:1-82:3; 104:12-13). Thus wisdom is both primordial and eschatological, and four of the book's five major sections refer explicitly to the eschatological transmission of this Enochic wisdom (1:2; 5:4; | 37:2 | 90:6 | 92:1; 93:10; 100:6; 104:12-13).

1 Enoch's use of the myth of the descent of wisdom takes up an idea that is present in Proverbs 8 and interpreted in Sirach 24 and 1 Baruch 4. The last two texts see the Mosaic Torah as the real presence of heavenly wisdom. In 1 Enoch this wisdom was received by Enoch when he ascended to heaven, and it now resides in the primordial sage's written corpus. This repeated identification of wisdom with the figure of Enoch, its transmitter, is the reverse side of 1 Enoch's paucity of references to the Mosaic Torah. Although it is not likely that the authors disregarded the content of the pentateuchal laws, they have leapfrogged Moses and identified Enoch as the primordial recipient of all heavenly wisdom. This devaluing of the character of Moses is evident at the very beginning of the corpus (1:1-9), which places in the mouth of Enoch a text that was modeled after the Blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33). Later, chaps. 91-93, with their testamentary setting and their double prediction of future events, recall events in Deuteronomy 30-32, draw on its language, and ascribe it to Enoch.

4.2.5.5. Wisdom ■ ■ Comprehensive Category

In a tradition where knowledge is central, one is not surprised to hear Enoch request to know "everything" and then claim to have this knowledge (25:2; 93:2). As many of the texts cited in the previous paragraphs indicate, Enoch's "wisdom" is a comprehensive category. It comprises revelations about: God's will expressed in commandments and laws; the coming judgment that will dispense rewards and punishments to those who have observed and disregarded the divine laws; and the struc-

ture of the cosmos (see §4.1.2.2) that is the arena and facilitator of this judgment.

Thus it is not by accident that the word "wisdom" recurs at key points in the Enochic corpus as a designation for the corpus itself. Although the word does not appear in chap. 1, the oracle is called by the wisdom term "parable," and the list of its content is drawn from sapiential traditions (2:1-5:3). In keeping with this, upon returning to earth, Enoch writes down his revelations, designating the books as "wisdom" (82:2-3). The same terminology frames the Epistle (92:1; 104:12). The incipit to the Book of Parables designates its contents as "the vision of wisdom" (37:1), and the introduction speaks of itself as "the beginning of the words of wisdom" (37:2-3). Moreover, in a key chapter (48) wisdom, which includes knowledge of the heavenly realm and the Chosen One, is a prime characteristic of the righteous—this in contrast to the denial of that realm by the kings and the mighty (45:1; 46:7) and their ignorance of the justice to be enacted by the Chosen One (62:1; 63:4). In keeping with this, chap. 42 preserves a little poem that deplores wisdom's absence on earth and the presence of its opposite, iniquity.

Finally, the centrality of wisdom is evident in the author's expressed concern about false wisdom and false revelation. The primordial sin of Asael and others like him was the revelation of bogus or forbidden secrets, and even if magic works, people have no right knowing the arcane arts. Taking a completely different tack, but operating with similar categories that are at the heart of his symbolic universe, the author of the Epistle rails against teachers "who lead many astray with their lies," that is, teaching that stands in opposition to Enoch's (see Introduction to chaps. 92-105, §2.0).

4.2.5.6. The Wisdom of the Chosen: 1 Enoch's Constitutive Category

Enoch's revealed wisdom is the possession of the righteous, who are often called "the chosen," and is essential to their identity. In the Apocalypse of Weeks Abraham is first chosen as "the plant of righteous judgment" (i.e., righteous law) and is the one from whom stems "the eternal plant of righteousness," Israel (93:5). Then the eschatological remnant of the "eternal plant of righteousness" are chosen and are given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge (93:10). Later, righteous law is "revealed to all the sons of the whole earth," and when wickedness

is removed, “all humanity will look to the path of eternal righteousness” (91:14). Thus revelation is universalized and becomes the source for the righteousness of the whole human race. This same pattern is evident in the rest of the Epistle. Enoch’s wisdom is written down for the righteous of the last generations (92:1). At that time, “the righteous, pious, and wise” receive his books, learn about the paths of truth, and teach “the sons of earth” (104:12–105:2).

This three-stage pattern appears already in the Book of the Watchers, where Noah takes the role that the Apocalypse of Weeks ascribes to Abraham. God sends Sariel to the righteous one to give him the revelation that saves from judgment, and he becomes the root of the plant that will bear seed “for all the generations of eternity” (10:1-3). His counterpart in the eschaton is “the plant of righteousness and truth,” which will escape the final judgment (10:16-17). After this “all the sons of men will become righteous” and turn to the worship of the true God (10:21).

The Animal Vision follows, in part, the example of chap. 10. Sariel teaches Noah a mystery, which leads him to build the ark (89:2). Abraham is barely mentioned (89:10). Revelation is given to Israel at Marah but has no lasting results (89:28-35). In the end time, some young lambs have their eyes opened and seek, vainly, to teach their elders (90:6). After the judgment, the Gentiles are converted (90:38).

Elsewhere 1 Enoch identifies the eschatological righteous as “the chosen,” who possess wisdom. In 5:8 this wisdom enables them never to sin again. In the Parables their wisdom includes revealed knowledge about the heavenly Chosen One and the judgment he will execute in their behalf (48:7; 63:7).

This survey demonstrates a common belief in an eschatological community whose members are chosen by God and have wisdom revealed to them. They can also be designated as “the pious,” those who stand in a right relationship with God, and as “the righteous,” who act rightly toward their fellow human beings. Thus 1 Enoch’s primary religious category is a notion of election, which is closely associated with the reception of revelation about God’s will for the righteous life and about the reward and punishment that follow from obedience and disobedience to this revealed law. The salient characteristics of the chosen are their possession of sav-

ing wisdom and their faithful obedience to its commandments. In the Epistle and the Parables, this obedience is in part a function of their trust in God’s promise to deliver from the oppression of the sinners (see the exhortations in the Epistle and, in the Parables, e.g., 48:6-7). The association of wisdom and righteous obedience with the commandments is pithily expressed in 99:10 (contrast 98:9):

And then blessed will be all who listen to the words of the wise,
and learn to do the commandments of the Most High;
and walk in the paths of his righteousness,
and do not err with the erring;
for they will be saved.

In short, the heart of the religion of 1 Enoch juxtaposes election, revealed wisdom, the right and wrong ways to respond to this wisdom, and God’s rewards and punishments for this conduct. Although all of the components of “covenantal nomism” are present in this scheme, the words “covenant” and “law” rarely appear and Enoch takes the place of Moses as the mediator of revelation. In addition, the presentation of this religion is dominated by a notion of revelation—the claim that the books of Enoch are the embodiment of God’s wisdom, which was received in primordial times and is being revealed in the eschaton to God’s chosen. Moreover, the content of the text focuses on human behavior (mainly sin), the eschatological judgment of this behavior, and the cosmology and time scheme that will facilitate this judgment. The specific laws and commandments that are the criteria for this judgment are not explicated by the authors.

4.2.5.7. The Interrelationship of Election and Revelation

How election takes place, according to 1 Enoch, and in what circumstances are not altogether clear. Classical texts from the Bible suggest that election is an act of pure divine grace. Genesis 12:1 states simply that God called Abraham from Chaldea, with no reason given for the choice. According to Ezekiel 16, the Israel chosen by God was an outcast. Jewish texts expounding the story of Abraham’s election complicate the process. According to *Jubilees* 12, Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 6-7), and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 1-9, God chooses Abram because he has rejected idolatry. In two cases, however, this rejection follows upon some considerable rumination over the matter, which may be the functional equivalent of divine

revelation (*Jub.* 12:2-5, 17-20; *Apoc. Abr.* 1:4; 3:1-2; 6:1-4). In such a case the act of grace is simply moved back one step. God gets Abraham to think about the matter; he rejects idolatry for worship of the true God, who then chooses him as patriarch of God's people. A similar notion underlies CD 1:7-12. God causes a shoot to sprout; they come to recognize their sin and seek God, who enhances this initial revelation by sending them a teacher to lead them in the path of righteousness. The notion recurs in CD 5:2-11 and in *Jub.* 23:26.

Common to all of these texts is the connection of grace with revelation and the role of revelation (sometimes construed as dawning realization) in choosing the patriarch or the nation or in constituting the eschatological remnant. It appears to be a useful model for understanding 1 Enoch's theology, even if the content, character, and origin of its revelation are unique.

4.2.5.8. The Chosen of Israel and the Nations

1 Enoch's view of election is, in a certain sense, exclusivistic; a notion that much of the Bible applies to the nation *as a whole* is here applied only to those who accept Enoch's version of law and wisdom.¹⁸ In contrast with this is the repeated "universalistic" assertion that Enoch's wisdom is to be made available to all humanity (see §4.2.5.6). The latter element has parallels in Gen 12:3 and some of the oracles of Second Isaiah, and its parallels in the NT will be discussed below (§6.3.1.9).

4.2.6. Forgiveness of Sin—A Minor Issue in 1 Enoch

1 Enoch is all but silent about the soteriological category of the forgiveness of sin. The idea appears only in 5:6-8: the chosen will be given wisdom, which will enable them not to sin anymore, and through God's mercy they will be forgiven their previous sins. Silence on this subject in the rest of the book (except 12:5) may be due to its black-and-white distinction between the righteous and the sinners. The former have responded to God's revelation, and in their status as the obedient righteous, they will escape God's wrath at the judgment. Specifying

whether they commit this sin or that is not the issue. The great conversion, enacted by a positive response to the revealed wisdom of Enoch, is an accomplished event of the past.

4.2.7. Temple and Cult in 1 Enoch

This attitude about forgiveness is crucial to 1 Enoch, because its authors generally take a dim view of the Jerusalem temple and its cult, which are of course crucial to covenantal notions about forgiveness. The real temple, according to chaps. 12–16, is the heavenly palace of the divine King. To judge from the account of Enoch's ascent, it is located in polar relationship not to Mount Zion (cf. Isaiah 6) but to Mount Hermon, which stands in proximity to the ancient holy place at Dan. The description of the heavenly rebellion in chap. 14 seems to reflect a concern about the cultic defilement of the priesthood due to sexual impurity. This interpretation is supported by a similar concern in the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks. According to the former, sacrifices offered at the Second Temple were polluted from the beginning (89:73-74), and the situation persisted to the author's time. More radically, the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks does not even mention the construction of the Second Temple. With this situation in mind and the Jerusalem cult's atoning powers thought to be neutralized, it is not surprising that the author of chaps. 6–11 depicts Michael as a heavenly, eschatological high priest commissioned to cleanse the polluted earth (10:20-22).

In none of these three sections of 1 Enoch, however, is the defilement of Jerusalem considered to be permanent. In the final form of the Book of the Watchers, the account of Enoch's second journey places Jerusalem and its "holy mountain" at the center of the earth (26:1-2). Here the tree of life will be transplanted after the great judgment (25:3-6). Located by what is variously called "the holy place," "the house of God, the King of eternity," and "the sanctuary," it will provide sustenance for

18 For Third Isaiah and Daniel as exceptions to this see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 20–22. On 1 Enoch's view of wisdom as a divisive element, see idem, "Revealed Wisdom." On the broader aspects of this issue, see idem, "Religious Exclusivism: A World View Governing Some Texts Found at Qumran," in Michael Becker and Wolfgang Fenske, eds., *Das*

Ende der Tage und die Gegenwart des Heils (AGJU 44; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 45–67.

the righteous, pious, and the chosen. In the Apocalypse of Weeks, after the second of four judgments, “the temple of the kingdom of the Great One will be built in the greatness of its glory for all the generations of eternity” (91:12-13). The Animal Vision takes a different tack. After the judgment, Jerusalem will be dismantled and a new Jerusalem built (90:28-29), which will be the home for all Israelites who survive the judgment and for the whole human race, which will be transformed to its primordial purity (90:30-36). Thus all three texts consider the Second Temple to be defunct, but they also envision a transformation of Jerusalem, either with a temple or without. Since the eschaton will bring a final end to sin and pollution (5:8; 10:20-22; 91:14), there will be no need for an atoning sacrificial cult. Jerusalem, with a temple or without, will be God’s dwelling. All of this is consonant with 1 Enoch’s cosmology, which asserts that God’s intention is permanently structured into the created universe.

4.2.8. Apocalyptic Eschatology and Eschatological Revelation

Any survey of 1 Enoch’s religious thought might be expected to discuss the book’s eschatology. I have reserved this discussion for the end for two reasons. One the one hand, since eschatology is a modern theological category, it should not govern a description of 1 Enoch’s religious thought. On the other hand, the term expresses a reality that permeates almost every aspect of 1 Enoch’s religion that has been described above. This includes the book’s “apocalyptic construction of reality” (§4.1), which justifies the term *apocalyptic eschatology*.

The great judgment that looms in almost every major section of 1 Enoch and many of its subsections (§§4.1.1, 4.2.4) is the *final* judgment, which will occur at the end of the old age and before the beginning of the new. This focal point in 1 Enoch’s religion brings to full expression the eschatological viewpoint that has been developing in the exilic and postexilic prophets, notably, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second and Third Isaiah, Deutero-Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi.¹⁹

The finality of the judgment in 1 Enoch is indicated in several ways: the typology of flood and judgment, each concluding a wicked age; the location of this judgment at the end of two recitations of human history; the assertion in these historical reviews and elsewhere that the judgment ushers in a new creation that will recapitulate and make permanent the divine intentions and the conditions that were essential to the first creation; the promise of a resurrection that transcends the finality of death.²⁰

The term *apocalyptic eschatology* can obscure rather than clarify the uniqueness of the eschatology of the apocalyptic writings. The mythic eschatology of Third Isaiah, because it anticipates the eschatology of apocalypses like 1 Enoch and Daniel, has been dubbed “apocalyptic,” even though Third Isaiah is not an apocalypse in the sense that these two works are.²¹ 1 Enoch, however, expresses its eschatology in revelatory forms like dream visions and interpreted journeys through the cosmos and up into heaven. Moreover, the text as a whole is presented in a self-conscious way as a document that is revealed wisdom, and this revealed wisdom is the essence of the text’s soteriology (see §§4.1, 4.2.5). Thus, while the prophets claimed to reveal how God would work out the divine will in the world’s future, the function of revelation and the forms in which it is presented in 1 Enoch justify using the term *apocalyptic* to distinguish this text’s eschatology from that of its canonical prophetic predecessors.

Conversely, it is useful to speak of the book’s eschatological revelation. Not only does this revelation describe and pertain to the eschaton, it is revealed at the eschaton and is constitutive of the community of the chosen who live in and survive its judgment (§4.2.5.6–7).

To summarize, although the term *eschatology* should be used with cautious awareness of its modern origins, in a real sense, together with the notion of revelation, it expresses the heart and essence of 1 Enoch’s religious thought. Indeed, the claim to present revealed wisdom and the consciousness of living in the end time (apocalyptic eschatology and the eschatological revelation that

19 See idem, “Eschatology (Early Jewish Literature),” *ABD* 2:279–94.

20 See John J. Collins, “Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death,” *CBQ* 36 (1974) 21–43.

21 See Hanson (*Dawn*, 159–60; “Apocalypse, Genre,

Apocalypticism,” *IDBSup* 30), who uses the term with reference to Isaiah 65.

constitutes the community of the chosen) are the heart and driving impulse of 1 Enoch's religion, which is significantly different from a religion that is expressed in commandments and carried out in cult.

These observations should not be construed as a vindication of nineteenth- and twentieth-century stereotypes about "legalistic" rabbinic religion. At the same

time, one needs to acknowledge that these stereotypes, which took their point of view from the NT and Christian theological interests, did intuit a significant point of *connection* between NT religious thought and apocalyptic Judaism and an important point of *separation* between rabbinic Judaism and much of early Christianity.

5.0. 1 Enoch in Its Contexts

Sections 3 and 4 of this introduction have treated the literary structures of 1 Enoch and the worldview and religious thought that they express. Here I consider the specific contexts that generated the form and substance of 1 Enoch and that were, in turn, the subject matter and the object of the Enochic authors' message. These contexts include the trajectories, or diachronic movements of ideas (§5.1), as well as the religious, social, cultural, and political circumstances of the Enochic authors and their audiences (§5.2).

5.1. History of Ideas

5.1.1. Israelite

The components of 1 Enoch attest significant turning points in the religious thought and practice of postexilic Israel. Since our primary points of reference and comparison are the writings of the Hebrew Bible, I shall summarize what we know about the Enochic authors' knowledge and use of the texts that emerge as Israel's Scriptures.¹

5.1.1.1. Scripture in 1 Enoch

The Enochic authors' use of biblical material is difficult to detect because they never identify the biblical texts that they use, quote, and paraphrase. There are two reasons for this silence. Most obviously, the alleged author of 1 Enoch lived almost two millennia before Moses, the alleged author of the earliest material in the Hebrew Bible. More fundamentally, however, the corpus claims to be authoritative Scripture that is based not on other inspired texts but on direct revelations received by its primordial author. Nonetheless, if the form is Enoch's, the voice is often that of the texts of the *Tanakh*.

This dependence on the texts that would constitute the Hebrew Scriptures is documented by many cross-references and parallels in form cited throughout the commentary. The nature of the dependence, however, is often not clear and was doubtless diverse. At times the Enochic authors may have had these texts before them. Often they probably quoted or paraphrased from memory. They probably also spoke in an idiom, ultimately

dependent on the earlier texts, but now simply part of their own religious vocabulary, cut loose from conscious dependence on earlier texts. At times they seem to have drawn on oral traditions related to Scriptural narratives. My cross-references and parallels propose ultimate sources, but usually do not posit the precise mechanics of quotation, allusion, or dependence. At times one must acknowledge that the connections are uncertain.

Material from Genesis forms the double mythic core for the Enochic corpus. The story of the flood is transformed into an eschatological myth that accounts for the origin of violence in the author's world and promises its resolution in a final judgment that is the counterpart of the flood. See comm. on chaps. 6–11, "The Shemihazah Myth." The earth will be restored to God's intention at creation and in the postdiluvian situation. The second mythic component in 1 Enoch builds on the brief notice about Enoch in Gen 5:21–24, which is interpreted to refer to Enoch's ascent to heaven, where he is commissioned as a prophet of judgment and is given the encyclopedic wisdom that he transmits to future generations. The sin of the first parents, which becomes central in later Jewish and Christian speculation, is mentioned only once in passing (32:6).

Apart from the historical review in the Animal Vision (see below), the rest of the Pentateuch is of little interest to the Enochic authors. The exception is 1 Enoch 1, where the author places a paraphrase of the Blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33) in the mouth of Enoch. On the Torah see §5.1.1.2.

Knowledge of the prophetic corpus is evident at many points. Isaiah 65–66 is a foundational text. Frequent allusions to the Trito-Isaianic scenarios about a new creation and a new Jerusalem color the descriptions of the new age in almost all parts of 1 Enoch (cf. 5:5–9; 10:16–22; 25:5–6; 90:28–38; 91:13–16), and even the Book of the Luminaries awaits a "new creation" (72:1). In addition, the description of the Chosen One in the Parables (chaps. 37–71) develops Second Isaiah's portrait of the Servant of YHWH, and exhortations in the Epistle introduced by "Fear not" recall similar forms in Second

1 On this topic see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Scripture in 1 Enoch and 1 Enoch as Scripture," in Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm, eds., *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational*

Contexts: Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995) 333–54.

Isaiah (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1.2). Almost as important is the prophet Ezekiel. His call narrative (Ezekiel 1–2) is the springboard for Enoch’s account of his heavenly commissioning (chap. 14), and the imagery of Ezekiel 34 informs the allegory of the shepherds, sheep, and wild beasts that governs the recitation of Israel’s history in the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90). Occasional words and phrases elsewhere indicate a knowledge of other prophets: Jeremiah (on 95:1 cf. Jer 9:1; on 1 Enoch 94:6–9 and 99:13–15 cf. Jer 22:13–17), Amos (1 Enoch 96:5–6; cf. Amos 4–6), Micah (1 Enoch 1:6; cf. Mic 1:3–4), Zechariah (1 Enoch 90:59–64; cf. Zech 11:4–17), and Malachi (1 Enoch 89:73–74; cf. Mal 1:7–8).

The occasional influence of the Writings is also evident. The Chosen One of the Parables combines traits of Second Isaiah’s with those of the one like a son of man in Daniel 7 and the Davidic king as described in Psalm 2 (see §4.2.2.4). An occasional passage like 1 Enoch 94:5 appears to reflect the Book of Proverbs. In general, however, 1 Enoch seems to be the product of sages who saw themselves as latter-day bearers of the prophetic tradition (see §5.1.1.3).

The author of the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90) knew most of the books of the Hebrew Bible. From them he crafted an account of Israel’s history from creation to the eschaton, which he expected in his own time (ca. 200 B.C.E. or in the time of Judas Maccabeus). As sources for his history he drew on the Pentateuch, Joshua through 2 Kings, and Ezra or Ezra-Nehemiah. His use of the prophetic corpus has been noted above. The extent of his knowledge of the writings apart from Ezra-Nehemiah is impossible to discern. Whether he used the Chronicler is debatable. He was a contemporary of the author of Daniel and espoused a militant viewpoint that is at odds with that book. Of the rest of the Writings, the Vision provides no evidence.

5.1.1.2. Torah and Wisdom

The Enochic authors’ attitude toward the Mosaic tradition is a puzzle, as noted above (§4.2.5). On the nega-

tive side is a tendency to downplay Moses’ importance by ascribing Mosaic language to Enoch (chaps. 1–5) and by omitting the giving of the Torah on Sinai from the account of Israel’s history in the Animal Vision. Similarly, the term “covenant” occurs only once with reference to Moses, and Israel’s status as God’s people is tied to the figure of Abraham and, more radically, to Noah. The reverse side of this negative picture is the claim that the Enochic corpus is the deposit of heavenly wisdom received by Enoch almost two thousand years before Moses lived. The place of law in this picture is difficult to ascertain (see §4.2.5.3). In addition to the astronomical corpus, some specific notions of God’s will underlie the book’s references to “the commandments of the Most High” (99:10) and to disagreements about their content and interpretation (99:2; see §4.2.5.3), and these notions are presupposed in the book’s stern warnings about the judgment that will befall those who disobey God.

Part of 1 Enoch’s significance in the history of Israel’s religion lies in its location at a time when the authority of the Mosaic Torah was still on the ascendancy, and in a setting where God’s will was spelled out less in legal detail and more in exhortation and in the forms of two-ways wisdom instruction that emphasized the relationship between divine retribution and human conduct. In this respect 1 Enoch, and especially the parenesis in the Epistle, is closely associated with the type of ethical teaching found in the Book of Proverbs, the Qumran *Mûsâr lēMēvîn* (4Q415–418), and Sirach.

Evidence for the gradual ascendancy of the Mosaic Torah is attested, first, in Sirach. Although this text differs from Proverbs by identifying heavenly wisdom with the Mosaic Torah, in practice ben Sira expounds his ethical message without specific references to the details of the Mosaic Torah.² Two other sapiential texts are noteworthy for their immunity from the developing authority of the Mosaic Torah.

The first of these is the large instructional work preserved in seven fragmentary Qumran mss. (1Q26 and

2 See also, independently of me, Jack T. Sanders, “When Sacred Canopies Collide: The Reception of the Torah of Moses in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period,” *JSJ* 32 (2001) 121–36. Sanders argues that ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon represented a sapiential form of moral

instruction that originally paralleled the Mosaic Torah and then, in these works, accommodated itself to the Torah’s developing authority. For an exception, cf. Sir 3:1–16.

4Q415, 416, 417, 418, 418a, 423) and designated by its editors as *Mūsār lēMēvîn* ("Instruction for a Student").³ The substantial mass of preserved fragments contain no occurrence of the word *tôrāh* and only occasional usage of words normally associated with it. The object of one's study and meditation is, instead, "the mystery that is to be (or come)" (רז נדיה). "Covenant" (ברית) occurs only once with possible religious connotations (4Q418 188,6). Aspects of the text's epistemology, cosmology, and eschatology suggest that it represents a strand of Israelite sapiential tradition that also lies behind 1 Enoch. Revealed wisdom comprises ethical and eschatological knowledge. According to 4Q417 1 1:14-17, God's commandments and the punishments of the wicked are engraved in heavenly tablets, and the names of the righteous are written in a book of remembrance. The work envisions an end time, when iniquity will be destroyed and the righteous will be rewarded (4Q416 1 10-14; 4Q418 69 2:7-14). Closer study of the text may indicate that this intermediate stage in Israelite sapiential tradition is also foundational for texts like the *Book of Jubilees* and Sirach, both of which espouse a heavenly counterpart to the Mosaic Torah, viz., the heavenly tablets and heavenly wisdom respectively.

A second text that seems immune from the developing authority of the Mosaic Torah is the Wisdom of Solomon. For all of its relationships to Greek philosophical and literary tradition, it is closely related to 1 Enoch in other respects. Of note here are the same negative and positive factors observed in 1 Enoch. In the historical review in Wisdom 10-16, the exodus is important and Moses is significant as its leader, but he is not the recipient of the Torah. Solomon, however, is the special recipient of great wisdom about the structure of the cosmos (7:17-22) and the will of God as the way of righteousness.⁴ Moreover, humanity as a whole is divided into the righteous, who act according to the prompting of the wisdom that is available to all, and sinners, who are punished for despising wisdom. As in 1 Enoch, this wisdom includes knowledge about the

postmortem rewards and punishments that accrue to the righteous and the sinners. In this respect the parallels between 1 Enoch 102-104 and Wisdom 1:16-5:23 are significant.⁵ In 1 Enoch, moreover, the exhortation to believe in postmortem rewards and punishments refutes Deuteronomic language about this-worldly rewards and punishments. At the same time, in both 1 Enoch 102 and Wisdom 2, the sinners' denial of (postmortem) reward and punishment and their intention to "eat, drink, and be merry" and abuse the righteous are expressed in language at home in a wisdom text like Ecclesiastes. Thus both authors polemicize against the simplicities of the view of this-worldly retribution expressed in both Deuteronomy and wisdom texts like Proverbs and Sirach. At the same time, they express their ethical teaching in the categories of traditional wisdom, appealing to revelation as the source of wisdom and the guarantee of reward and punishment that will be enacted in the world hidden from human eyes.

5.1.1.3. A Fusion of Prophetic and Sapiential Streams

The emphasis on revealed wisdom and the general ignoring of the Mosaic Torah as such brings us to a major element in the twentieth-century discussion of apocalyptic texts. Were these writings expressions of the sapiential or the prophetic tradition?⁶ The evidence from 1 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon indicates that apocalypticism involves the fusion of both traditions. The people who wrote wisdom texts in the early Hellenistic period were also the custodians of the prophetic literature and tradition. This conclusion about concrete settings, to which we shall return in §5.2.3, derives from the evidence of the texts themselves, which are of concern here.

The Enochic authors' knowledge of the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible (§5.1.1.1) is expressed in much more than the occasional use of an expression or phrase. As I have noted, prophetic genres have shaped much of the Enochic material (§3.3.1). In addition to these formal considerations, the eschatological tone

3 For the texts, see DJD 34.

4 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 162-64.

5 See below, §6.2.7.

6 John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature," in Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg, eds., *Early*

Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters (Philadelphia: Fortress Press; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 355-56.

and viewpoint pervading the corpus is an extension of the exilic and postexilic prophets' emphasis on the future. Within this prophetic ambience, especially as it is tied to Second and Third Isaiah, the Parables celebrate the Chosen One as the agent of the final judgment (see §4.2.2.4).

This prophetic rooting and ambience notwithstanding, 1 Enoch is striking for its use of nonprophetic sapiential vocabulary and forms (§4.2.5.2, 4–5), a fact that led von Rad to locate the roots of apocalyptic thought in the sapiential tradition.⁷ Material about the shape and functioning of the cosmos—whose best parallels are in the sapiential tradition⁸—stands at the heart of the prophetic oracle of chaps. 1–5 and appears elsewhere in the Book of the Watchers, the Parables, and the Book of the Luminaries (see §4.1.2.2). The Chosen One of the Parables has characteristics of preexistent Wisdom (§4.2.2.4). The ethical exhortations of the Epistle are framed in the language of sapiential two-ways teaching. Enoch's revelations as a whole are described as “wisdom” rather than the recounting of “the word of the Lord.” Conversely, however, “wisdom” is revealed in a heavenly ascent that begins with a prophetic call, and rewards and punishments will be administered in an eschaton that is envisioned in ways at home in the prophetic tradition. In short, one hand washes the other, or, better, the prophetic hand shakes the sapiential.

This Enochic fusion of the prophetic and sapiential streams is attested also in the Wisdom of Solomon. Eschatology is central in the exposition of retribution in chaps. 1–6. The author speaks to the kings and rulers of the earth with an authority that is traditional of the biblical prophets (1:1; 6:1–5), and the text as a whole has more the character of authoritative prophetic exhortation than sapiential instruction. The wise, righteous protagonist of chaps. 1–5, who “knows the mysteries of God” (cf. 2:22), is identified with Sec-

ond Isaiah's Servant, and his career is that of the persecuted prophet.⁹ More generally, the recipients of wisdom are “friends of God and prophets” (7:27).

A possible relationship between *Mūsār lēMēvîn* and the biblical prophetic books is much more difficult to demonstrate. Prophetic forms are not evident, and wording paralleled in the prophets is rare. (An exception is 4Q417 1 1:15–16, whose reference to a “book of memorial” looks like a reference to Mal 3:16). Nonetheless, the prophetic corpus offers the most likely source for the eschatology of a Jewish text of the late Persian or early Hellenistic period.¹⁰

5.1.1.4. Varieties in Prophetic Wisdom or Sapiential Prophecy: The Marginalization or Centrality of Mosaic Law

1 Enoch, especially, and the Wisdom of Solomon discuss ethics, righteousness more generally construed, and retribution in the vocabulary of wisdom teaching and the forms and idiom of prophecy. The resulting synthetic tradition differs from traditional wisdom in three ways. It emphasizes the revealed character of the wisdom received and transmitted by the sage. It speaks in an authoritative, exhortative voice that exceeds that of the older wisdom literature. It gives the notion of retribution an eschatological cast. At the same time, 1 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon marginalize or ignore the Mosaic Torah, appealing more to revealed wisdom than to laws as the authority and criterion for human conduct. In all of these respects, one perceives a continuity from 1 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon back to the prophetic tradition and a disjunction with the Mosaic tradition. Aspects of the *Mūsār lēMēvîn* also fit this paradigm.

Roughly contemporary with the middle strata of 1 Enoch is a very different strain of the sapiential tradition, which is exemplified in Sirach, 1 Baruch, and Tobit. Sirach evidences great appreciation of the prophets¹¹ and even likens his teaching to prophecy

7 Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Row, 1961–65) 301–15; idem, *Wisdom in Israel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972) 263–83.

8 Michael E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke, and P. D. Miller, eds., *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology*

in Memory of G. Ernest Wright (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 414–52; idem, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” *CBQ* 40 (1978) 487–88.

9 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 62–65.

10 For an early date for 4Q415–418, see Daniel J. Harrington and John Strugnell in *DJD* 34:36.

11 Nickelsburg, “Eschatology,” 585.

(24:33). At the same time he disparages the notion that dreams are a source of revelation (34:1-8), and most important, he identifies heavenly wisdom with the Mosaic Torah (24:1-27). For Baruch, Wisdom is also personified in the Mosaic Torah (1 Bar 3:9-4:1), and Israel's plight reflects the curses of the covenant (2:27-3:10). Different from ben Sira, he speaks in the national eschatological vocabulary of Third Isaiah (4:21-5:9). For the author of Tobit, the Mosaic Torah is authoritative (Tob 1:5-8; cf. 6:12; 7:13) and Israel's sins result from their disobedience of that Torah (3:1-5); however, his ethical admonitions are sometimes expressed in the two-ways vocabulary of the sapiential tradition (4:5, 19; cf. 1:3). He appeals to the prophets for predictions about Israel's future (14:5, 8) and depicts this future in a Zion hymn that employs the vocabulary of Second and Third Isaiah (13:9-18). Thus, like 1 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon, all three of these texts employ wisdom vocabulary and indicate a high appreciation of the prophets. They differ from 1 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon, however, by celebrating the Mosaic Torah, two of them identifying it with heavenly Wisdom. In addition, while all three envision Israel's glorious future, none of them indicates the belief in postmortem retribution that is central to 1 Enoch and Wisdom's eschatology.

Extrapolations from the aforementioned considerations to the complex situation in early Christianity should be made with great caution. One striking parallel presents itself, however. The marginalizing of the Mosaic Torah in 1 Enoch, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the *Mūsār lēMēvîn* offers a precedent for the similar tendency expressed by Paul and attributed to Jesus of Nazareth in most strata of the gospel tradition. Even if the apostle's theology has been heavily influenced by the pragmatics of a mission to the Gentiles and has precedent in apologetic literature like the *Letter of Aris-*

teas and the *Sibylline Oracles*, its expression may have been influenced by Jewish traditions like those just described.

5.1.2. Non-Israelite

It has long been recognized that the preexilic and exilic Israelite texts of the Hebrew Scriptures indicate both an attraction to and a repulsion from the religion, culture, and traditions of their Canaanite and Babylonian environments. The Enochic writings reflect the same ambivalence about contemporary culture. As we have seen, they are primarily extensions of the Israelite religious tradition that generated them, both continuing and transforming this tradition. Part of this transformation, however, involved the adoption of alien elements of Mesopotamian and Greek provenance. Thus, although 1 Enoch reflects considerable antipathy toward Gentile culture and religion (see §5.2.1), these authors drew from that culture and religion the vocabulary and conceptual frameworks—missing in their own tradition—that enabled them to deal with the issues that were critical to them.

5.1.2.1. Mesopotamian Sources

Numerous scholars have rightly argued that the Enochic traditions bear the imprint of Mesopotamian cosmology and religious thought.¹² Neugebauer finds a Babylonian origin for the astronomical material in chaps. 72-82. Ideas about heavenly books are developed much beyond occasional biblical references and seem to reflect Mesopotamian notions (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). The complementary ideas of determinism and the periodization of history also have counterparts in Mesopotamian but not biblical texts.¹³ The portrait of Enoch in 1 Enoch reflects Babylonian traditions about the seventh head of humanity, of which the Priestly editor of the Pentateuch was also aware, and Enoch's association with div-

12 H. Ludin Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1939); Pierre Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les Apocryphes et dans la Bible: Origine et signification," *RSR* 46 (1958) 5-26, 181-210; Milik, *Enoch*, 12-13, 313; Otto Neugebauer, "The 'Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72-82)," in Black, *Enoch*, 387; James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tra-*

dition (CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984); Helge Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic* (2 vols.; WMANT 6; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988); Tiller, *Commentary*, 263-64, 268.

13 John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 22-26.

ination and mantic wisdom also seems to derive from Mesopotamian traditions.¹⁴

5.1.2.2. 1 Enoch and Hellenism

The term *Hellenism* in this context has two aspects. It refers most broadly to the time period in which the Enochic materials were composed and to the mixed culture that was synthesized especially through the conquests of Alexander the Great. More narrowly, it refers to the components in that culture which are of Greek provenance.

5.1.2.2.1. Cosmology and Mythic Geography

1 Enoch's cosmology and mythic geography contain many elements that are not found in extant Israelite sources, but that have parallels in non-Israelite texts.¹⁵ Grelot and Milik have argued that this Enochic material is beholden to old Mesopotamian sources.¹⁶ But there are significant differences—elements in the Mesopotamian texts that are missing in 1 Enoch and details in 1 Enoch that are paralleled in Greek but not in Mesopotamian sources (e.g., the fiery river Pyriphthegethon and the river Oceanus). It seems likely, therefore, that 1 Enoch's cosmology reflects contemporary Greek sources. Moreover, the accounts of Enoch's journeys appear to be modeled not on the Gilgamesh epic but on Greek Nekyias, accounts of visits to the underworld found in Homer, Plato, and Plutarch.

5.1.2.2.2. Parallels to Greek Myth

Greek mythology appears also to have left its imprint at a number of points in 1 Enoch. None of the examples cited here in itself demonstrates such influence; however, taken together, they strongly suggest contact with material at home in the Greek world. The precise nature of that contact is uncertain, and dependence on material common to Greek and ancient Near Eastern myth is not to be excluded.¹⁷

The origin of radical evil personified in the Hellenistic kings required an explanation, which was formulated in a parody of the royal ideology of divine begetting. The notion of divine parentage was not

denied; it was devalued by redefining the gods as heavenly rebels and their sons as the personification of demonic powers (see Introduction to chaps. 6–11, § Date and Setting). The presence of destructive knowledge was explained through recourse to the Prometheus myth, which is parodied from within the story itself by reading it from Zeus's point of view (see Excursus: The Origin of the Asael Myth). Humanity's alleged friend was construed as a rebel against God, because his revelations had brought woe rather than benefit to the human race. Other elements in Greek myth occur now and again. The separation of good and bad souls after death and the idea of a fountain of water in the place of the dead may be beholden to Greek, and perhaps Orphic, beliefs.¹⁸ The description of the place of angelic punishment in 18:9b–11 may indicate contact with Greek traditions about Tartarus attested in Hesiod (see comm. ad loc.). The judgment of the giants in 88:3 takes a narrative detail (the hurling of boulders) from the account of the Titanomachia in Hesiod's *Theogony* (comm. on 88:1–3). Another allusion to Hesiod may appear in the reference to Enoch's "works" and "days" in 12:2. The motif of pursuit in 85:4 and 99:14 may reflect the Greek notion of the Furies.¹⁹ The sirens mentioned in 96:2 are a staple in Greek mythology.

5.2. Social Contexts

5.2.1. Antipathy to Hellenistic Culture

If the Enoch authors employed elements from the religion and culture of their Gentile environment, they also reacted against it. Opposition to pagan religious practices targets idolatry (46:7; 91:9; 99:7–9), prognostication from celestial and terrestrial phenomena (8:3), and magic (7:1; 8:3ab; 9:8). Herbal medicine is also criticized (7:1; 8:3a), as is the consuming of blood (98:11).

14 VanderKam, *Enoch*, 23–51.

15 See the discussion in the Introduction to chaps. 17–19, § History of Religions Context.

16 Grelot, "Légende"; Milik, *Enoch*, 13–18.

17 For an early expression of this see T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (London: SPCK, 1961). John Strugnell (in conversation) expresses

caution but does not exclude the possibility. On the relationship of the Asael myth to Greek and ancient Near Eastern myth, see comm. on chap. 8 and the Excursus: The Origin of the Asael Myth.

18 See Introduction to chap. 22, § Biblical and Non-biblical Context; comm. on 22:9b, n. 39.

19 See comm. on 85:3–10; 99:12–14.

5.2.2. Setting in Conflict, Persecution, and Oppression

The dualism that is constitutive in 1 Enoch's worldview expresses a recurring perception on the part of these authors that they, their communities, and their nation were parties to conflict and victims of violence, oppression, and persecution (see §4.1.2.6). "Perception" is the key word.²⁰ Whatever the empirical circumstances of their authors, these texts are driven by and oriented around an experience of conflict, alienation, and victimization. The expression of the perception is so strong, however, that whatever details, nuances, or interpretations one may wish to question or doubt, it seems certain that the composition of these texts was catalyzed by concrete events whose character is reflected in the texts. For the problem, see, especially comm. on 92–105, §3.1.

5.2.2.1. Israel and the Nations

Sharp conflict between Israel and the nations is a major leitmotif in the Enochic texts. I have already noted the religious and cultural conflict. More pressing, however, were the political dimensions and their military expression. The story of the watchers and the women, with its emphasis on bloodshed and plunder, suggests that its author and his audience smarted for two decades under the Diadochoi's military struggle for political control of Palestine (see introduction to chaps. 6–11, § Date and Setting). The Animal Vision portrays the whole history of Israel as the nation's victimization at the hands of the Gentiles; the sheep are harassed by the wild beasts (chaps. 85–90). This portrayal of a millennium of history has been colored by its author's firsthand experience of the wars between Judas Maccabeus and the Syrians; possibly an earlier version composed close to the year 200 B.C.E. took the same dim view of the Ptolemaic rule of Israel (see introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Date). In the Book of Parables, the villains are the kings and the mighty—Gentile rulers (46:7) who oppress the righteous and the chosen. A date near the turn of the era suggests an

identification with the Roman triumvirs, whose presence repeatedly troubled first-century Palestine.²¹

5.2.2.2. Social Conflict between Rich and Lowly

The Parables' criticism of the kings and the mighty refers in passing to the power that resides in their wealth (46:7) and its ultimate neutralization at the great judgment (63:2, 10). The oppression of the lowly by the rich is central, however, to the world described by the author of the Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 92–105). However one may tone down details in these chapters, taken together, the woes present a compelling portrayal of real social oppression and the perversion of justice in the courts and palaces (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.0). As Tcherikover first noted, they reveal the ugly realization of the abuse of power against which ben Sira warned in his instruction to the rich youth of Jerusalem.²² It is debatable, however, whether 1 Enoch reflects a disintegration of conditions in Palestine under the late Hasmoneans (Tcherikover) or whether the Epistle expresses the viewpoint of the disenfranchised in the early part of the second century (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §3.3).

5.2.2.3. Religious Conflict

Parallel to the Epistle's polarity between the righteous and the rich sinners is a sharp antagonism between the wise, who expound the commandments of the Most High that constitute the way of righteousness, and their opponents, the false teachers, who lead many astray with their lies (see Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). The particulars of this conflict are difficult to determine. True wisdom belongs to those who are allied with the Enochic author. Their opponents are religious people who disagree on what constitutes God's will. In part the commandments may well involve the calendrical matters of general concern to the Enochic authors, but beyond that it is difficult to be precise. It is possible that ben Sira is polemicizing against those in the Enochic camp.²³

20 See George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism," in Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism*, 646.

21 Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 221–23.

22 Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961) 258–59, 492.

23 Randal A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLEJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 250; Benjamin G. Wright III, "Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of

A double set of polarities appears also in the Animal Vision. Israel's victimization by the nations is the result of the people's blindness—their failure to see (and hence obey) God's will (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, §§ Contents, Central Theme). This blindness characterizes the whole nation for most of Israel's history, although the prophets oppose it at times. In the end time, however, wisdom is granted to the younger generation (people of the author's persuasion), who criticize the blindness of their elders. The precise nature of Israel's blindness varies. In Manasseh's time it involves idolatry in the sanctuary. After the return from exile, the sacrifices offered at the Second Temple are polluted from the time it was constructed.

The Apocalypse of Weeks seems also to take a dim view of the Second Temple. Although its summary of history refers explicitly to Israel's sanctuaries (the tabernacle, Solomon's Temple and its destruction, and the glorious eschatological temple), the Second Temple is not mentioned.

Religious conflict over the priesthood lies behind the account of Enoch's commissioning in chaps. 12–16 (see Introduction to chaps. 12–16, § Provenance). In criticizing the rebel watchers, the author employs language traditional in polemics against the Jerusalem priesthood. Here the issue may be the interpretation of laws about marriage, sex, and purity among the priests.

5.2.3. The Enochic Community

Contemporary biblical scholarship tends to attribute texts to communities rather than to individuals. To what extent is it appropriate to speak of an Enochic community?

5.2.3.1. Evidence of a Community

In contrast to the situation at Qumran, where we have substantial material evidence as well as textual evidence about community organization and regulation, the 108 chapters of 1 Enoch provide little explicit information about an Enochic community. Nonetheless, some textual evidence points in the direction of a community or group. Collective terms like “the righteous, the chosen, the holy” indicate a consciousness of community, though without any indication that the community had concrete

manifestations in specific places. To use a NT analogy, the terminology parallels Paul's use of “the saints” and “the church,” but not his reference to “the church(es) at. . . .” Such concreteness does appear in the Book of Parables. According to 46:8, the kings and the mighty

persecute the houses of his congregation

the faithful who depend on the name of the Lord of spirits.

The author claims that the rulers take action against specific local communities of persons who, in his view, are righteous and faithful because they trust in God's vindication at the coming judgment to be executed by the Chosen One. The singular, collective form of the term appears in 38:1 to denote the eschatological manifestation of the righteous community. A similar idea occurs in 10:16, “let the plant of righteousness and truth appear.”

The paucity of direct evidence notwithstanding, the existence of a community or communities associated with the Enochic literature seems a reasonable inference from the existence of the texts and the development of the corpus. As I argued above (§3.1.3.1–2), the corpus developed in stages, over three centuries, from a core narrative about the watchers. To account for this ongoing, evolving tradition, one must posit concrete channels of transmission. Moreover, different from the Qumran community, which received, copied, and preserved the Enochic texts, the texts themselves indicate a process of developing composition in the name of Enoch. Without pressing the analogy, there seems to be some parallel in the Isaianic corpus, parts of the Qumran corpus, and the developing Deutero-Pauline corpus.

Evidence from texts like 5:8, 10:1–3, 93:10, and 104:12–13 indicates the existence of a community or communities who believed that their possession of the divinely given wisdom contained in the Enochic texts constituted them as the eschatological community of the chosen, who are awaiting the judgment and the consummation of the end time.

5.2.3.2. Relationship to Known Groups

5.2.3.2.1. The Hasidim

Recent scholarship has questioned much accepted wisdom about a religious community of the pious known as “the Hasidim.”²⁴ However one resolves that question,

Ben Sira,” *SBLSP* 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 133–49.

24 On the problem of the Hasidim and literature about it, see Nickelsburg, “Social Aspects,” 641–42,

there are several points of connection between 1 Enoch and references to Hasidim in other literature. The first is the occurrences of the term “the pious” (*hērān*, ὅσιοι) in 100:5; 102:4, 6; 103:3, 4, 9, 12; 108:11 (cf. 92:3; 106:18). This usage may be generic, however, rather than a reference to a group called Hasidim. Second, the militant ideology expressed in 95:3 and 98:12 recalls the activity of the congregations of the Hasidim in 1 Macc 2:42 and 2 Macc 14:6.²⁵ Finally, the association of the Hasidim with Judas Maccabeus in the latter texts finds a certain echo in the Animal Vision, which portrays Judas as God’s agent of judgment (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance). These parallels notwithstanding, it is tenuous at best to identify the Enochic literature as a product of some specific group who called themselves “hasidim” (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance).

5.2.3.2.2. The Qumran Community

Although there is no evidence that any of the Enochic texts was composed at Qumran, the fragments from Cave 1 and Cave 4 indicate that the Enochic texts were favorites in this community (see §6.2.6). Furthermore, references to community formation in CD 1 and 1QS 8 parallel some of the details in the Apocalypse of Weeks and suggest that the Qumran Community was a latter-day derivative of or successor to the community or communities that authored and transmitted the Enochic texts (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance).²⁶

5.2.3.2.3. A Galilean Provenance?

The presence of the Enochic texts at Qumran attests knowledge of them in Judea. But the accurate references to locations in Upper Galilee in chaps. 6–16, which locations are almost the only proper names in the whole corpus, suggest that that section of the corpus may have been composed in this northern region (see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16). This does not exclude the possibility that other parts of the corpus were composed elsewhere. It is uncertain how one should explain parallels between passages in 1 Enoch and the Qumran Damascus Document and Community Rule (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance),

the Damascus Document’s references to a community studying the Torah “in the land of Damascus,” and the presence of Enochic texts in the Qumran library (see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16).

5.2.4. Offices and Institutions: Who Were the Enochic Authors?

The identification of the real-life figures behind 1 Enoch is difficult because of the pseudepigraphic character of the text. Nonetheless, elements in the description of the fictitious author (Enoch), occasional references to characters in an author’s own time, and indirect evidence from the texts themselves permit *some cautious inferences* about the authors.

5.2.4.1. Scribes, Sages, and Seers

The Enochic authors refer to Enoch as “scribe” (12:3; 92:1) and “the scribe of righteousness” or “scribe of truth” (γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης [12:4], γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας [15:1]), doubtless translating Aram. כְּשֵׁם דִּי סֹפֵר. The scribal designation relates to his alleged writing of the Enochic corpus, whose character as book is emphasized in 81:6–82:3, 100:6, and 104:12–13. The term “scribe of righteousness” appears to be purposely ambiguous. Enoch is both an upright man and a scribe who writes “righteousness” or “truth.” This is explicit in the title of the book ascribed to him in 14:1 (15:1). In addition, Enoch presents his books as life-giving wisdom (82:1–3), and the Epistle refers repeatedly to “the paths of righteousness” and “the paths of truth.”

The title “scribe of righteousness” in this sense has numerous analogies in Jewish writings from the Greco-Roman period: “Teacher of Righteousness” (1QpHab 1:13 et al.; cf. CD 6:11); the “*maškilim* . . . who make many righteous” (Dan 12:3); “those who seek righteousness and justice” (1 Macc 2:29); and “the searcher of the Torah” (CD 6:7). All of these terms designate persons who study and teach others how to live the life that is righteous because it is in accordance with God’s will. This activity is also attributed to persons who are called “scribe.” Ezra is “the scribe learned in the Torah of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given,” or “the

64–48; Collins, *Daniel*, 67–69.

25 See Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance.

26 For a careful and provocative argument on the relationship between the Qumran Enoch material and

the Essene movement, see Boccaccini, *Essene Hypothesis*.

scribe learned in matters of the commandments of the Lord and his statutes for Israel,” or “the scribe of the law of the God of heaven” (Ezra 7:6, 11, 12). Ben Sira also describes the activity of the scribe, who studies Torah, wisdom, and prophecies (Sir 39:1-3); and like Enoch he presents his book as the embodiment of life-giving wisdom, intended for “all the generations of eternity” (Sir 24:33; cf. 1 Enoch 82:1-4). These data indicate that Enoch, the fictional author of this corpus, is being described in terminology that may have been used of the real authors themselves. If they were not actually called by the title “scribe,” they were nonetheless the expounders of God’s will and the righteous life that fulfilled it.

Moving from the fictional world of the primordial sage to the real world addressed by the Enochic authors, we find in the Epistle of Enoch, which most obviously reflects the author’s world, figures who parallel Enoch the scribe. In 98:9 and 99:10 they are “the wise” (*φρόνιμοι*), and their “words” are heard. To judge from 98:15 (where their opponents are mentioned as writing books), they write their words in books that are read aloud. Thus the fictional Enoch seems to have had real-life counterparts, known as “the wise” and functioning as writers, that is, scribes. Here too one finds parallels in contemporary Jewish literature. Ben Sira claimed to propound wisdom. The righteous teachers of Dan 12:3, and doubtless the Danielic authors, were known as *maškīlīm*, as was the teacher mentioned at the beginning of the two-ways section in 1QS 3-4 (3:13).²⁷

Indirect evidence from the contents of 1 Enoch allows us to flesh out the profile of the Enochic authors. They were learned in the writings that were becoming Israel’s Scriptures (see §5.1.1.1). Even if they did not explicitly quote these texts, they interpreted them by rewriting narratives and conflating terminology from prophetic texts. They claimed to have received revelation through dream visions, they spoke in the idiom and forms of Israelite prophecy—composing woes and exhortations and predicting imminent judgment—and they claimed divine authority for their words, which they presented as

the embodiment of heavenly wisdom. Although they may have engaged in debates about the Torah (99:2), they expounded God’s will rather in the idiom of sapiential teaching. Their Israelite identity notwithstanding, they were familiar with non-Israelite mythic traditions and used them for their own purposes. The scope of their learning moved beyond the realm of religion, strictly speaking, and included cosmology and astronomy, which they subsumed under their basic religious message.

In all of these respects, there are again points of comparison with ben Sira—both similarities and differences. Ben Sira knows almost all of the *Tanakh*, and although he does not quote it, he sees its exposition as a scribal activity (Sir 35:24, 34b-39). He describes his activity as the exposition of heavenly wisdom, which he compares with prophecy. His ethical teaching is sapiential in form rather than the exposition of laws and commandments. He is familiar with cosmological and astronomical matters,²⁸ although he does not claim to have journeyed across the earth and through the heavens. While he does not make use of Greek myth, he can speak in the categories of Greek philosophy, and he sees travel to foreign lands as an important scribal activity (39:4).²⁹ In the context of these similarities three striking differences are apparent between the Enochic authors and ben Sira. (1) Ben Sira claims to be an expositor of the Mosaic Torah, which is, by and large, ignored by the Enochic authors. (2) For ben Sira revelation derives from an exposition of the received tradition; the Enochic authors mediate new revelation, though they claim it is very old—predating anything in the *Tanakh*. They speak *as* rather than *like* prophets, and they celebrate mantic wisdom, which is frowned on by ben Sira. (3) The orientation of the Enochic authors is dualistically eschatological, while ben Sira speaks only occasionally about future restoration. In keeping with this, the author of the Epistle rails against social evils and injustices and their consequences in the coming judgment; ben Sira has some of the same concerns, particularly about the abuse of wealth, but also focuses of social manners and etiquette. In the

27 See the discussion by Tiller (*Commentary*, 124–26), who proposes that these authors and their students filled the social roles of master and teacher. For a detailed argument that the author of the Epistle of

Enoch was a scribe, see Richard A. Horsley, “Social Relations,” 103–11.

28 See Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 135–58.

29 Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.;

second and third of these points of difference with ben Sira, the Enochic authors find their counterparts among the *maskilim* of Daniel. Thus the authors of 1 Enoch shared variously in the interests and activities of both ben Sira and the *maskilim*.

The previous considerations raise the question of titles. Were the Enochic authors called "scribe" like their namesake and like ben Sira? Possibly not. But two late apocalyptic texts from the post-70 era complicate the issue of nomenclature. Both texts are attributed to figures of the past who were historically scribes. The one (4 *Ezra*) is attributed to Ezra the scribe, who is placed in sixth-century Babylon, and the other (2 *Baruch*), to Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah. Both are expositors of the Mosaic Torah, but both see visions and are focused on eschatology and the coming judgment. The case of Baruch is especially striking, because the text could just as well have been ascribed to Jeremiah the prophet.³⁰ Whatever the situation in third- to first-century B.C.E. Palestine, these late first-century C.E. texts find it appropriate to ascribe activity with prophetic overtones pseudepigraphically to "scribes" who lived in sixth- or fifth-century B.C.E. Jerusalem.

5.2.4.2. Priests?

It is possible, though not altogether certain, that at least some of the authors of the Enochic literature were also priests, indeed, disaffected members of the Jerusalem priesthood.³¹ As we have seen (§4.2.7), the account of Enoch's commissioning, the Animal Vision, and the Apocalypse of Weeks reflect criticism of the Jerusalem temple, its cult, and its priests. Conversely, the eschatological scenario in chap. 10 recounts Michael's appointment as the eschatological priest, who will purify the polluted earth (10:20-22). Moreover, the author of chap. 14 depicts Enoch's ascent as a trip to the heart of the

heavenly sanctuary, which is modeled on Ezekiel 40-44 and pauses to provide details about the structure and contents of that sanctuary. As to the figure of Enoch, in addition to being a scribe, sage, and seer, he carries out an intercessory role (13:4-6) that is depicted in language drawn from Ezra 9 (see comm. on 13:4-5). Finally, as Stone has noted, the book's calendrical interests suggest priestly concerns, and other aspects of its speculative wisdom are consonant with a priestly provenance.³² A priestly origin for the Qumran material would help to explain its presence and popularity at Qumran.

5.2.4.3. The Charismatic Figure Hidden Behind the Persona of Enoch

The figure of the Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran has led to some scholarly generalizations about charismatic figures in apocalyptic and other religious renewal movements.³³ Whether any such single figure stands behind the persona of Enoch is doubtful and, finally, impossible to prove. To begin with, the corpus was generated over the course of three hundred years, and thus one might want to posit a series of such figures. Perhaps the primordial figures of Enoch—at any given point—Methuselah (81:5; 82:1; 83:1; 85:1-2; 91:1-2), and Noah (10:1-4) do represent such individuals. But all the passages that discuss the latter-day reception and transmission of Enoch's wisdom refer to a plurality of the chosen or the righteous without mention of a contemporary leader among them (1:8; 82:2; 90:6; 92:1; 93:10; 94:2; 104:12-105:2).³⁴ The various sections of 1 Enoch were doubtless composed by individuals. Who they were, and to what extent they were in any sense superiors of other colleagues, is a secret that is hidden behind their pseudepigraphic mask.

Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974) 1:132, 146-50.

30 On the relationship between 2 *Baruch* and its Jeremianic counterpart, the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Narrative Traditions in the Paraleipomena of Jeremiah and 2 Baruch," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 60-68.

31 For a strong argument that assembles the evidence and cites relevant literature, see Wright, "Putting the Puzzle Together."

32 Stone, "Book of Enoch," 389-90. See also the comments on the priestly identity of the author of 4Q418 81 by Daniel J. Harrington and John

Strugnell in *DJD* 34:15.

33 See the discussion in Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects," 643-44.

34 Judas Maccabeus is an exception (90:9-16), but he is depicted as a warrior, not a teacher. On the possibility of schools that took the name of an ancient and developed the religion expressed in a pseud-epigraphic work, see the discussion of "Moses the Pseudepigrapher" by John Strugnell in *DJD* 19:131-36.

5.3. 1 Enoch and the History of Jewish Apocalypticism

The above study of 1 Enoch's apocalyptic worldview (§4.1) and the book's place in the history of Israel's religious ideas and institutions are suggestive for the later history of Jewish apocalypticism. Here I can only note some major points of continuity, similarity, and difference. The points of comparison are: literary form; attitude toward the Hebrew Scriptures; notions of revelation; use of sapiential language; concern with the temple, cult, and priesthood; historical situation and social setting. The comparative texts are Daniel, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.³⁵

5.3.1. Daniel

Chapters 7–12 of Daniel are informed by the same kind of dualistic, apocalyptic worldview that characterizes 1 Enoch (§4.1)—including its belief that evil is a function of the demonic realm.³⁶ A severe crisis in the form of persecution is made bearable by revelations about God's imminent judgment, in the form of interpreted visions that recount the course of history, which culminates in the present time. The throne vision in Daniel 7 appears to reflect 1 Enoch 14–15.³⁷ The final vision (Daniel 10–12) is shaped like a prophetic commissioning, whose content, however, is a historical review rather than a trip to the heavenly throne room. Indeed, Daniel contains none of the cosmological material in the Book of the Watchers that provides locative confirmation for 1 Enoch's eschatology. As in 1 Enoch, the fictional author of the book of Daniel is a stand-in for its real authors (the *maskilim*), and the narratives in Daniel 1–6 provide information about the seer and his wisdom. These narratives and their portrait of Daniel (and his colleagues) differ, however, from their counterparts in the Book of the Watchers and the later testamentary sec-

tions of 1 Enoch. Daniel's activities occur in the historical time of the exile, and as a suffering but faithful sage, Daniel is a counterpart of the book's real authors and a model for the book's audience. Although Daniel draws on material from the Hebrew Bible,³⁸ the book's authority, like 1 Enoch's, lies in its author's claims to have received revelation. Even the interpretation of Jeremiah in chap. 9 is ascribed to an angelic revelation. The book's attitude toward the Mosaic Torah differs from 1 Enoch's, however. The prayer in chap. 9 is informed by Deuteronomic theology (vv 11–12),³⁹ and the great danger to the audience is that they may "forsake the covenant" (11:30–32). Daniel's repeated references to "the desolating sacrilege" parallel 1 Enoch's concern with temple and priesthood, but appear to exclude the latter's belief that Israel's cult was in trouble before Antiochus Epiphanes came on the scene. Nonetheless, chap. 9 indicates that full atonement had not yet been made for the sin of Manasseh. Different from 1 Enoch, the Book of Daniel gives no indication that it was written for a narrow exclusive community of the chosen.⁴⁰ It is an appeal for Israel to heed the leadership of the *maskilim*, who seek to bring the people to righteousness when persecution threatens to compromise their faithfulness to the covenant.

5.3.2. 4 Ezra

4 Ezra's special and obvious connections with the Book of Daniel are evident in its exilic setting and its explicit interpretation of Daniel 7 (4 Ezra 11–13, esp. 12:11). The latter half of this interpretation (chap. 13) is consonant with the son of man material in the Parables of Enoch (see §6.2.8). Thus a line of tradition moves from the throne vision in 1 Enoch 14 to the vision of the enthronement of the Son of Man in Daniel 7 to the Parables' conflation of this material with the biblical traditions about the Anointed One and Servant of the Lord,

35 I omit from this discussion a consideration of 3 Baruch, which is roughly contemporary with 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 299–303. For a handbook on the apocalyptic literature that takes its start from the Enochic literature, see Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*.

36 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 68–70.

37 See comm. on 14:8–16:4, n. 6.

38 Richard J. Clifford, "History and Myth in Daniel 10–12," *BA* 220–21 (1975–76) 25.

39 Collins, *Daniel*, 349–51.

40 Ibid., 70.

ascribed to Enoch, to *4 Ezra*'s identification of this tradition as an interpretation of Daniel. An important point of similarity with 1 Enoch is the scribal identity of Ezra (chap. 14), whose persona is in the background of 1 Enoch 13 (see §5.2.4.2). Different from 1 Enoch is *4 Ezra*'s celebration of the Mosaic Torah, whose violation causes Israel's exile (4:19-27), and whose renewal is attributed, appropriately, to Ezra (chap. 14). Like 1 Enoch and Daniel, revelation comes not simply from an interpretation of received tradition, but from direct divine communication. The dialogical form of the communication has some parallel with Daniel 7, but is most closely paralleled in the Book of Job. Both that book's wisdom ambience and its concern with theodicy, strongly echoed and explicitly pondered in *4 Ezra*, is reminiscent of the issue raised in the prayer in 1 Enoch 9 (see comm.). The emphasis on speculative cosmological wisdom, central to 1 Enoch and absent in Daniel, is the object of polemic in *4 Ezra*.⁴¹ Nonetheless, sapiential language prevails in chap. 14, and wisdom comprises not only the Torah but the whole *Tanakh* and seventy books of esoteric wisdom. *4 Ezra*'s setting after the desolation of Zion indicates a concern about the temple, although there is no claim that the destruction resulted from cultic sins. The book's broad audience parallels Daniel rather than 1 Enoch. The Babylonian exile is the setting for a text directed to a people who have fallen under the heavy hand of the Gentiles.

5.3.3. *2 Baruch*

This sister apocalypse of *4 Ezra* is set in Jerusalem after the Babylonian destruction of the city and temple and is attributed to a scribe, who speaks in a prophetic voice (cf. 1:1). Although the author claims revelation both through dialogical and visionary forms, alludes to heavenly ascents (4:4-5), and probably uses an interpretation of Daniel 7 similar to that in *4 Ezra* 11-13 (*2 Baruch* 36-40, 72), the book's final word is that true wisdom is to be found in the Torah and its interpreters (77:13-16; cf. 49:7-8),⁴² not in the esoteric tradition to which Ezra accords respect. Different from *4 Ezra*, this author attrib-

utes the destruction of the temple to the priests, who have been "false stewards" (10:18). The book's audience, like that of Daniel and *4 Ezra*, is general rather than restricted.

5.3.4. *The Apocalypse of Abraham*

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* was written around the same time as *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* for a general audience of Jews who were wrestling with the disparity between their identity as the chosen children of Abraham and the destruction of their city and temple.⁴³ Like Daniel, the book divides into two sections, with a set of narratives about its author's rejection of idolatry prefacing an extensive vision section (chaps. 1-14, 15-18).⁴⁴ The latter section begins with an ascent to heaven and Abraham's throne vision, which are reminiscent of 1 Enoch 14-15, and continues with a vision about Israel's future leading up to the eschaton, which has parallels in both 1 Enoch and Daniel. The prominence of the reference to Manasseh's idolatry (chap. 25) may indicate that the author posits a counterpart to that sin as the cause of the temple's destruction in 70 C.E. Although the *Apocalypse*'s use of Scripture and haggadic interpretations of Scripture is evident,⁴⁵ its authority lies in its claim that Abraham ascended to heaven and received revelations. The choice of authorial pseudonym—Abraham the patriarch of the nation—may indicate a general Israelite audience.

5.3.5. From Enoch to Abraham

The aforementioned apocalypses are points in an apocalyptic trajectory that first surfaces in the Enochic writings. These texts share a common setting in times of severe crisis. This crisis involves persecution or devastation by the Gentiles (especially), as well as the destruction of the temple—or at least the ineffectiveness or outright pollution of its cult and priesthood. Like 1 Enoch these texts speak to their respective crises by presenting special visionary revelations ascribed to figures of the past. The dualistic worldview into which this revelation is integrated in 1 Enoch and Daniel is not evi-

41 Stone, "Lists," 420.

42 Gwendolyn B. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch* (SBLDS 72; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984) 84-85.

43 Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 297-98.

44 Ibid., 294-96.

45 Ibid., 295.

dent in *4 Ezra* or *2 Baruch*, where sin is a human act and not a function of demonic powers. In this respect the *Apocalypse of Abraham*—with its heavenly ascent and vision of the activity of Azazel—is more faithful to the Enochic form of apocalypticism. Like 1 Enoch all of these texts draw material from the Hebrew Bible, and in Daniel, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch* there is an increasingly evident respect for the Mosaic Torah. *4 Ezra* is especially remarkable because, while it credits Ezra with the recovery of the Torah and, indeed, the whole *Tanak*, and while it criticizes certain esoteric apocalyptic traditions, it identifies a corpus of seventy hidden books as “the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the river of knowledge for the wise” (contrast *2 Bar.* 77:13-16 and *Sir* 24:30-34). An important development in the post-Enochic apocalyptic tradition is the generalizing of its audience from a select group of “the chosen” to Israel in general. At the same time, the openness to the Gentiles, evident in most strata of 1 Enoch, is notably absent in Daniel, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. The severe Gentile persecution and devastation of 168 B.C.E. and 70 C.E. have left their mark.

These apocalypses appear to have emanated from

circles of sages and seers. The putative authors of 1 Enoch, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch* are scribes.⁴⁶ Wisdom vocabulary is omnipresent, with the Daniel authors being called *maškîlîm*. The claim by all of these authors that they saw visions should not be dismissed on modern rationalistic grounds.⁴⁷ Pseudo-Abraham’s claim to an ascent is especially remarkable because it recapitulates a feature from 1 Enoch not found in the other apocalypses, and it has counterparts in the emerging *hekalot* tradition.

Finally, a discussion of Jewish apocalypticism in the post-70 decades should consider the NT Book of Revelation, whose debt to the Enochic heritage is perhaps more evident than its sister apocalypses,⁴⁸ though it shares with *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* a Danielic refraction of that tradition (see §6.3.1.7).

46 The *Apocalypse of Abraham* is more difficult to assess; its real author has chosen a pseudonym that facilitates a discussion of Israel’s identity as the chosen people.

47 For issues related to this as they pertain in *4 Ezra*,

see Michael Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) 31–42.

48 For parallels between Revelation and 1 Enoch, see §6.3.1.7.

6.0. 1 Enoch in the Ongoing Tradition

6.1. Introduction: The Figure of Enoch

Although the alleged author of the Enochic corpus is the righteous figure of Genesis and his righteousness is taken for granted throughout (cf. the stock epithet, “the righteous one”), the Enochic corpus emphasizes his roles as sage, seer, and scribe. As sage and seer, he is the recipient of revealed wisdom about the nature of the cosmos and the course of its history from primordial times to the eschaton. The manner in which he receives his revelations is partly reminiscent of biblical prophecy, but the biblical tradition of his walking with God (*elohim*) is interpreted to refer to a long sojourn with the angels (*elohim*), who provide guided revelatory tours of the universe. In his role as scribe, he transmits his wisdom by writing it down in the idiom of biblical prophecy and Jewish sapiential tradition.

Enoch is, of course, a human being, the son of Jared and the father of Methuselah; however, his travels with the angels, his acquiring of knowledge otherwise withheld from humanity, his presence in the heavenly throne room, and his functions as intercessor and de facto recorder of the deeds of humanity all draw him into the sphere of angelic prerogative. Thus, when chap. 70 identifies him as the son of man who will judge—even if this is a secondary interpretation—it is bringing the tradition to a logical conclusion.

6.2. Judaism

Although the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, fixed around the end of the first century C.E., included no writings ascribed to Enoch, a careful sifting of Jewish writings from the previous centuries attests a substantial and dynamic use of the Enochic corpus. The authors of this period develop and transform Enochic traditions and motifs, and occasionally reflect an earlier shape of

traditions that 1 Enoch has modified. The survey that follows focuses on texts that indicate significant use and influence of the traditions in 1 Enoch, and in the process it treats most of the early postbiblical texts that mention the figure of Enoch.¹

6.2.1. The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira

Writing in the first decades of the second century B.C.E., at the same time as (or shortly after) some of the Enochic writings were composed, this Jerusalem scribe had a high regard for Enoch and some of the writings ascribed to him, but also indicated considerable reserve about some of the teaching promulgated in his name (see §5.1.1.3). References to Enoch frame ben Sira’s hymn in praise of Israelite heroes (44:16; 49:14).² At 16:7 he cites the rebellion of the giants as an example of sin and divine punishment, an interpretation of Gen 6:1–4 that parallels the story of the watchers in 1 Enoch 6–11.³ At other points ben Sira deals with issues central to 1 Enoch but in ways that differ very much from the Enochic authors, for example, deprecating mythic eschatology (16:17–23) and divination through dreams (34:1–8).⁴

6.2.2. Pseudo-Eupolemos

This anonymous, perhaps Samaritan writer of the early second century B.C.E. refers to Enoch as the one who discovered astrology and knows, possibly secondhand, that Enoch transmitted to his son Methuselah celestial information, received from the angels.⁵

6.2.3. The Book of Jubilees

This revised version of Genesis 1–Exodus 12 claims to have been written by Moses on Mount Sinai at the dictation of an angel of the Presence. Composed between

1 For an exhaustive discussion of the figure of Enoch in its history of religions context, see Kvanvig, *Roots*, vol. 1. For a comprehensive article, see Klaus Berger, “Enoch,” *RAC* 14 (1988) 473–545. On the figure on Enoch, see James C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1995). See also Philip S. Alexander, “From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds., *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 87–122.

2 On the textual problems, see VanderKam, *A Man*, 104–7; and Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 9–13.
3 Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 230.
4 *Ibid.*, 231 and 81–82.
5 For the text and a discussion, see VanderKam, *A Man*, 108–10.

168 and 150 B.C.E., it may be the earliest attestation of the Enoch traditions apart from the Enochic corpus itself.⁶

6.2.3.1. The Authority of Enoch

Among *Jubilees'* additions to the biblical text are five interpolations of material from 1 Enoch and about Enoch (4:15-26; 5:1-12; 7:20-39; 8:1-4; 10:1-17). Since they allegedly come from the mouth of an angel, these additions certify the authority of Enoch, the first scribe and seer, and the written material attributed to him. Indeed, he is depicted as a figure parallel with but prior to Moses, the alleged recipient and transmitter of *Jubilees*. Enoch learned his history, astronomy, and cosmology under the tutelage of angels, just as Moses was learning the chronology and course of history and the eternal Torah from the angel of the Presence; and Enoch wrote down everything as a testimony (4:18, 19, 24, 7:39; 10:17), just as Moses was writing his account as a testimony (1:1, 4, 9, 26, 29; 2:33; 3:14).

With these Enochic interpolations from the Book of the Watchers the author of *Jubilees* assumes the existence and authority of a written corpus ascribed to Enoch, which he is satisfied to cite or briefly summarize. His treatment of the Mosaic Pentateuch is different. He rewrites the whole historical record that precedes the putative moment of *Jubilees'* composition, supplementing the Pentateuch's narrative with Enochic narrative and other haggadic tradition. He derives the authenticity of his narrative from the angel of the Presence and supplements it with detailed Torah whose eternal authority is ascribed to the heavenly tablets to which the angel appeals. Furthermore, although the angel dictates the chronological framework of Israel's history, its chronology is documented by reference to the Enochic writings that serve as the book's astronomical and calendrical basis (4:17, 21).

The Enochic traditions to which the author of *Jubilees* appeals include major parts of the corpus we know as 1 Enoch: the Book of the Watchers; some form of the Book of the Luminaries; the Animal Vision; and, if not the whole Epistle, at least the testamentary scene in

81:1–82:4 and the Apocalypse of Weeks now at the beginning of the Epistle.⁷ In addition, the author refers explicitly to traditions about the descent of the watchers and Enoch's heavenly activity to which 1 Enoch only alludes.

Thus for the author of *Jubilees* Enoch was Moses' predecessor as the writer of authoritative scripture that functions as testimony, and the content of that scripture was of major import for the readers of *Jubilees*. If the Enochic corpus was an alternative to (parts of) the Mosaic Torah (see §5.1.1.4), the author of *Jubilees* still found the Enochic material useful and authoritative, and he employed it and appealed to it while explicitly asserting the validity, authority, and centrality of Moses-as-he-interpreted-him, who was the witness and scribe like Enoch.

6.2.3.2. *Jubilees'* Use of Enochic Traditions about the Watchers

6.2.3.2.1. The Descent of the Watchers: *Jub.* 4:15

Jubilees 4:11-33 covers roughly the same material as the Sethite genealogy in Genesis 5, but with additions about Jared and, especially, Enoch. According to 4:15, Mahalalel's wife Dinah bore him a son, "and he called his name Jared, for in his days the angels of the Lord, who were called watchers, descended to earth to teach the children of men and to do judgment and truth upon the earth." Three points tie the text to 1 Enoch 6–11 and distinguish it from Gen 6:1-4: the name "watchers"; the reference to their descent; the placing of that descent in the days of Jared, the father of Enoch (see comm. on 106:13d-15).

The purpose ascribed to the watchers' descent differs, however, from 1 Enoch 6–11 and epitomizes a tradition to which 1 Enoch only alludes (see comm. on 8:1; 86:1). In 1 Enoch 6–11 the descent is an act of rebellion, while according to *Jubilees*, God "sent" them (5:6) to instruct humanity and to practice justice and faithfulness. Although the motif of forbidden instruction appears in 1 Enoch 6–11, especially in connection with the watcher chieftain Asael, in *Jubilees* the watchers' instruction is an antidote to the wickedness that entered

6 For introductory material see Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 97–107.

7 On Enoch in *Jubilees* see VanderKam, *A Man*, 110–21. On the Enochic books this author may have known, see *ibid.*, 113–14. On the possibility that

Jubilees could know a form of 1 Enoch that contained chaps. 81–82 and the Apocalypse of Weeks, but not the whole Epistle, see above, §3.1.2.2.

the world after the fall. The tradition of an initial positive angelic mission will resurface in several early Christian texts (see §§6.3.2.7, 9–10, 12, 16–17, 19; 6.3.4.1). Other of *Jubilees*' references to the story of the watchers reflect the influence of the Enochic Book of the Watchers.

6.2.3.2.2. Narrative about the Watchers' Sin and Judgment: *Jub.* 5:1-13

Jubilees 5 returns to the Sethite genealogy (4:33 || Gen 5:32) and recounts the events in Gen 6:1-4, including nonbiblical details drawn from 1 Enoch 6–11. The "corruption" of "all flesh" reaches its climax when "they began to devour each other" (*Jub.* 5:2), an element central to the giants' activity in 1 Enoch 7:3. The reference to Noah's favor with God (5:5; cf. Gen 6:8) is the first of a series of details that appear *in the same order* in 1 Enoch 10. (a) Sariel is sent to Noah (10:1-3; cf. *Jub.* 5:5). (b) Raphael is sent to bind Asael the revealer (10:4-8; cf. *Jub.* 5:6). (c) God sends Gabriel to provoke a war of mutual extermination among the giants (10:9-10 and 14:6; cf. *Jub.* 5:7-9), and the motif of long life (Gen 6:3) is interpreted with reference to the giants (10:10; *Jub.* 5:9). (d) The fathers of the giants witness their sons' destruction and are then incarcerated in the depths of the earth until the great judgment (10:11-14; cf. *Jub.* 5:10). (e) There is the promise of a new creation in which sin will disappear and all will be righteous (10:20-21; *Jub.* 5:12).

6.2.3.2.3. Noah's Retrospective Reference to the Prediluvian Events: *Jub.* 7:20-39 || 1 Enoch 9–10

After *Jubilees*' account of the flood (chaps. 5–6; cf. Genesis 6–9), Noah instructs his sons by recalling the events that led up to the flood. Again, *Jubilees* includes nonbiblical details from 1 Enoch 6–11. The watchers' intercourse with the daughters of men brought "uncleanness" to the earth (*Jub.* 7:2; 1 Enoch 7:1-2). The watchers' offspring are of three classes with the same names as in 1 Enoch 7:2, and the wording of *Jub.* 7:27 closely parallels 1 Enoch 9:9. The end of Noah's instruction (*Jub.* 7:34-37) revises material in Genesis 8–9 after the fashion of 1 Enoch 10:16-19, presenting the motif of agriculture both metaphorically and literally.

6.2.3.2.4. Kainam Transmits the Watchers' Teaching: *Jub.* 8:1-4 || 1 Enoch 8

Reference to the watchers' forbidden instruction is missing in *Jub.* 4:15 and 5:6 but appears in 8:3, where

Kainam, the son of Arpachshad, discovers and copies an inscription containing the watchers' astrological teaching, thus connecting postdiluvian astrology with the prediluvian teaching.

6.2.3.2.5. Noah's Final Instructions and *Jubilees*'

Demonology: *Jub.* 10:10-18 || 1 Enoch 12–16

Although the aforementioned details in *Jubilees* parallel 1 Enoch 6–11, *Jubilees* 10 interprets the story of the watchers in a way that parallels 1 Enoch 12–16. According to the latter, the death of the giants releases from them their spirits, who wreak havoc on humanity until the eschaton. According to *Jubilees* 10, the watchers were the fathers of the demons that cause sickness and lead humanity to sin. The dramatic scene in chap. 10, reminiscent of Job 1, is foundational for the demonology that runs through *Jubilees*. It also prepares for a replication of the function of Kainam's story. According to *Jubilees* 12, Abram's interest in the signs of the heavenly bodies is not tied to Kainam's inscription but reflects the activity of the evil spirits who are the progeny of the watchers (12:16-20).

6.2.3.3. The Use of Traditions about Enoch's Life and Activity: *Jub.* 4:16-27

Having tied the descent of the watchers to the Sethite reference to Jared and his times (4:15), the author of *Jubilees* returns to that genealogy to record the birth of Enoch (*Jub.* 4:16) and describe his life and activities. This section reveals the author's knowledge of most of the major parts of the Enochic corpus, as well as some traditions to which it only alludes.

6.2.3.3.1. Enoch the Sage, Seer, and Writer: *Jub.* 4:17-20

These verses summarize Enoch's activity, describing him as the first writer, sage, and seer. The repetition of the verb *ṣaḥafa* ("to write") and the noun *maṣḥaf* ("book, writing") in vv 17-23 indicates that the traditions associated with Enoch are thought of as *written* traditions—the compositions of Enoch "the scribe" (see §5.2.4.2).

The contents of these traditions are first summarized as "knowledge and wisdom" (v 17), generic terms in 1 Enoch for the content of that corpus (see §4.2.5.5). Within this wisdom and knowledge, pride of place is given to a "book" that contains "the signs of heaven according to their order" and "the seasons of the year" (v 17). The author refers to some form of the material preserved in the Book of the Luminaries, which consti-

tutes the basis for the calendrical and historical framework of the *Book of Jubilees*.

Next, the author states:

He was the first who wrote a testimony,
and he testified to the children of men among the families
of the earth.

And he recounted the week(s) of the jubilees,
and he made known to them the days of the years,
and he set in order the months,
and he set in order the Sabbaths of the years,
as we made them known to him. (v 18)⁸

Here, as in 4:19, 22, 24; 7:39; 10:17, the author of *Jubilees* uses a second generic term for Enoch's writing and activity; it is a "testimony" to, for, and concerning the generations of the children of men. As in v 17, its contents are, first of all, calendrical. There may also be a reference to the Apocalypse of Weeks with its division of history into heptads, which was revealed to Enoch by the holy ones (1 Enoch 93:2).⁹

The passage continues (4:19):

And what was and what will be he saw in the vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men in their generations until the day of judgment. Everything he saw and understood, and he wrote his testimony and placed the testimony on earth concerning all the children of men for their generations.

The passage refers to the Animal Vision (1 Enoch 85–90) and its detailed account of human history, which Enoch saw in a vision of his sleep (85:1–3; 86:1). However, the author of *Jubilees* refers to this as a "testimony"—a term not used in 1 Enoch 85–90—and summarizes it in language used at the beginning of the summary of human history in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:2).¹⁰ Verse 20 of chapter 4 returns to the Sethite genealogy and elaborates on it, recording Enoch's marriage to Edni and the birth of Methuselah. This chronological notice agrees with 1 Enoch 83:2 and 85:3, placing Enoch's dream visions before his marriage.

6.2.3.3.2. Enoch's Time with the Angels: Jub. 4:21–22

Verse 21 informs us that after he was sixty-five years old

he spent six jubilees, or 294 years, with the angels, "who showed him everything that is on the earth and that is in the heavens, the rule of the sun; and he wrote everything." Although this looks like a reference to the Book of the Luminaries with its emphasis on the sun, the mention of a plurality of angels showing him "everything" on earth and in heaven suggests a reference to the whole of the Enochic journey tradition recorded in 1 Enoch 17–36, which includes a summary statement about Enoch's time with Uriel and his writing the Book of the Luminaries (1 Enoch 33:3–4).¹¹ The final statement about Enoch's life concerns his testimony to the angels (1 Enoch 12–13), which 1 Enoch 12:2 places during his time and activities with the watchers and holy ones.

The chronology of Enoch's life presented by *Jubilees* is as follows.¹² Between his sixtieth and sixty-fourth years, he was married (*Jub.* 4:20). In his sixty-fifth year, Edni bore him a son, Methuselah. During the next 294 years (six jubilees), he was touring the universe in the company of the angels. At some point during that period, he was sent to preach against the rebel watchers. He then returned to human company and wrote his testimony for humanity, presumably being taken by God at the end of the three hundred years mentioned in Gen 5:22. This differs slightly from 1 Enoch, where 81:1–82:2 states that he returned to earth for the last of the three hundred years, in order to write down what he saw and leave his testimony for his children and the rest of humanity (*Jub.* 4:19; 7:38–39; 10:17).

6.2.3.3.3. Enoch's Departure for Paradise and His Subsequent Activity: Jub. 4:23–24

In his sixty-fifth year, the angels conducted Enoch to the Garden of Eden. His presence in paradise is presumed in the Enochic story of Noah's birth (1 Enoch 106:8) and in 1QapGen 2:23, and the idea appears in the original conclusion of the Book of Parables (1 Enoch 70).

8 On the poetic structure of *Jub.* 4:17–18, see James C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources," in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *SBLSP* 18 (2 vols.; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978) 1:232.

9 See VanderKam (*A Man*, 114), who also suggests the Animal Vision as a possibility.

10 VanderKam (*A Man*, 115) thinks the *Jubilees* reference fits the Apocalypse of Weeks better than the Animal Vision, since the latter carries Israel's story beyond the judgment. But 1 Enoch 91:16–17 does the same thing.

11 Ibid., 116.

12 See *ibid.*, 115–16.

Jubilees' description of Enoch's activity in paradise is more difficult to connect with other extant Enoch traditions. According to 5:23-24, "he writes down the condemnation and judgment of the world and all the wickedness of the children of men." Moreover, "he was set there as a sign that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation." As the imperfect tense indicates, Enoch is involved in the process of composing a running account of human deeds and history.¹³ Playing the role elsewhere attributed to the angels (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and the Angelic Scribes), he is the heavenly scribe who records the deeds that he sees in order to provide testimony for the judgment. The role may be a development of his role as the scribe who writes the angelic indictment in chap. 14.

The closest and most detailed parallel to this idea occurs in the section of the *Testament of Abraham* that describes the heavenly judgment, at which Enoch presents evidence from the books of human deeds that he has written (see §6.3.3.4). The idea is also attested in the long text form of 2 *Enoch* 36:2-3. After Enoch transmits his books to his children, he ascends to heaven a second time to write down everything that happens on earth, and to serve as God's witness at the judgment. Although 2 *Enoch* and the *Testament of Abraham* are usually dated much later than *Jubilees*,¹⁴ *Jub.* 4:23 may epitomize a longer tradition that surfaces again in these two works. A form of that tradition may be hidden elsewhere in 1 *Enoch* (see §3.1.2.2). In the Animal Vision he sees himself ascend to paradise before the flood (87:3-4), where he views the history of humanity, pleads like an angel (89:57-58), and returns to earth in connection with the judgment of the deeds that he had seen (see comm. on 90:31). This same process of ascending, seeing the deeds of humanity, and returning to earth appears in the broader framework of 1 *Enoch*. In 81:1-82:4 + 91:1-10, 18-19 + 93:1-10; 91:11-17, Enoch inspects the heav-

enly tablets and their record of all the deeds of humanity and returns to earth to recount their content to his sons.

Finally, *Jub.* 4:25 refers to Enoch's burning incense "on the mount," presumably the Garden of Eden.¹⁵ The priestly activity is consonant with 1 *Enoch* 13, where Enoch acts as a mediator for the rebel angels (see comm. on 13:4-5). It may also fit with Enoch's assuming the angelic function of heavenly scribe (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). Enoch's location in the heavenly sanctuary is also consonant with his presence there in chap. 14 and 87:3-4.¹⁶

6.2.3.3.4. Enoch as Witness and the Author of ■ Testimony

The terms "testimony" and "testify" appear four times with reference to Enoch's written accounts of all the deeds of all generations of humanity until the day of judgment. In 4:18 and 10:17 the terms are not associated with a particular writing. In 4:19 they refer to his record of the Animal Vision, and in 4:24 they denote the book he writes as heavenly scribe.¹⁷ In 7:38-39 Noah, near the time of his death, commands his sons, as Enoch had commanded and testified to his son Methuselah and his sons' sons, and as Methuselah had commanded Lamech, and Lamech, Noah. Thus testimony involves not only a record of deeds but deathbed commandments that specify what such deeds should be.

In this context Enoch's written works are presented as typical testamentary material.¹⁸ The father commands the children how to live and foresees that they will not heed his word. Because they have been told about this ahead of time, both the commandments and the predictions will serve as testimony against them. The prototype for this concept appears in the last chapters of Deuteronomy, with reference to Moses' predictions about Israel's future. This biblical text has affected the wording and shaping of the Enochic corpus itself, just as the wording of the *Jubilees* passages reflects the wording of the testamentary section in 1 *Enoch* 81:1-82:4 (see Introduction to chaps. 81-82). What is striking about the *Jubilees* pas-

13 On this role see VanderKam, *Enoch*, 185.

14 On the problems of dating these texts, see below, §6.2.11 and §6.3.3.3, respectively.

15 VanderKam, *Enoch*, 187.

16 VanderKam, *A Man*, 117.

17 For a Qumran "Pseudo-Jubilees" text (4Q227) related to the aforementioned passages, but not

identical with any of them, that also mentions Enoch's testifying, see VanderKam, "Jubilees," DJD 13:171-75; and the discussion of it in idem, *A Man*, 128-29.

18 On the form of the testament, see Introduction to comm. on chaps. 81-82, n. 7.

sages is their definition of Enoch's writings as "testimony," their statement that Enoch was the first to write a testimony (or testament), and their description of the universal import of this testimony. Enoch is a patriarch, whose writings affect *all humanity*. His children are all human beings of all generations until the judgment. Moses wrote the law and testimony for Israel, but Enoch's commands and predictions are relevant for all. In this respect, he is nonpareil, because he is the law-giver, prophet, and witness who speaks to all. There can be no competition between Enochic and Mosaic tradition, because they are of different sorts.

6.2.4. The Genesis Apocryphon

The Genesis Apocryphon, extant in only one copy, from Qumran Cave 1, reflects the influence of the Enochic tradition in several ways.¹⁹ Its opening columns (1Q20) probably told the story of the watchers and the women.²⁰ Columns 1–5 recounted the story of Noah's birth in a fuller form than in 1 Enoch 106–107. This version appears to be dependent on 1 Enoch 106–107 rather than on a common source, and, in any event, the Apocryphon's version of Enoch's oracle was longer than in 1 Enoch 106–107. The story of Noah's life (see col. 6) employs terminology at home in the Epistle of Enoch.²¹ The story of Abram and Sarai in Egypt (cols. 19–20) has been influenced by the plot and language of the story of the watchers and the women. As a running revision of episodes in Genesis, the Apocryphon recalls the narrative parts of the *Book of Jubilees*, though scholars debate the precise relationship between these texts.²² Nonetheless, although it depends on a work that knows, respects, and uses the Enochic tradition (see §6.2.3), the Apoc-

ryphon's use of these traditions has not been mediated through *Jubilees*.²³ Thus *Jubilees* and the Genesis Apocryphon are related examples of the ongoing life of the Enochic tradition.

6.2.5. The Aramaic Levi Document

An association between Enochic tradition and the Qumran Aramaic Levi document is indicated by the similarity between the account of Levi's call to be high priest and Enoch's commissioning as prophet to the rebel watchers, although this association must be deduced in part from the Greek *Testament of Levi*, which is Christian in its present form.²⁴ Points of similarity include the setting of both texts in Upper Galilee near Mount Hermon, a heavenly ascent for the purpose of commissioning, and the polemics against the Jerusalem priests (see comm. on chaps. 13–14, *passim*).

6.2.6. Enoch at Qumran

Qumran provides an identifiable location in ancient Judaism for the substantial use and influence of the Enochic traditions.²⁵ The evidence is diverse. Cave 4 yielded eleven manuscripts of various parts of 1 Enoch, dating from the early second century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E. (see §2.1.2.1–2). Also preserved are fragments of nine manuscripts of the Enochic Book of Giants, dating from the first half of the first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E. (see §2.1.2.3). Thus the Enochic tradition was alive and well at Qumran, although extant copies from the first century C.E. have been found for only the Book of the Luminaries and the Book of Giants. The complete absence of any fragments of the Book of Parables at Qumran suggests that the

19 This section summarizes my article "Patriarchs Who Worry about Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, eds., *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 137–58. For introductory matters see Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 104–7.

20 Professor Bruce Zuckerman has suggested to me that the name שְׁמִיחָה can be reconstructed in 1Q20.

21 Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs," 155 n. 39.

22 See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 16–17; see also Jonas Greenfield and Elisha Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," *Abr-Nahrain* Sup 3 (1992) 76.

23 For example, *Jubilees* does not use the divine names that the Genesis Apocryphon has in common with 1 Enoch.

24 For the Qumran mss. of this document (4Q213–215), see Michael E. Stone, *DJD* 22:1–72.

25 This section summarizes my article "The Books of Enoch at Qumran: What We Know and What We Need to Think About," in Bernd Kollmann, Wolfgang Reinbold, and Annette Steudel, eds., *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hart-*

Parables were composed outside Qumran, though in circles that transmitted the Book of the Watchers—a work that itself was composed outside Qumran before the establishment of the community there.²⁶

The influence of the Enochic tradition at Qumran is evident also in the community's possession of (multiple copies of) texts that employ or quote from the Enochic texts. These include the *Book of Jubilees* (eight copies) and a related text (three copies),²⁷ the Genesis Apocryphon (one copy),²⁸ a fragmentary Hebrew text from Cave 1 that contained a form of the story of the watchers very close to 1 Enoch 6–11 (1Q19),²⁹ a *pešer* on the story of the watchers (4Q180–181),³⁰ a commentary or expansion on the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q247),³¹ and the Damascus Document (eight copies),³² which knows the story of the rebellion of the watchers and a tradition about the giants (CD 2:16–20; see comm. on 7:2) and also appeals to the authority of the *Book of Jubilees* (CD 16:2–4).³³ Alongside these texts that explicitly use the Enochic tradition are several others that appear to have employed the tradition, while ascribing it to others or using them anonymously. These include: the Aramaic Levi Document (see above); 1QH 12[4]:29–40, which presents an anthropologized form of the eschatological tradition in 1 Enoch 1–5;³⁴ and the Book of Daniel,

whose vision of the heavenly throne room in chap. 7 is based on the account in 1 Enoch 14 (see comm. on 14:8–16:4, n. 6).

In addition to the use of Enochic literary traditions at Qumran, attested in the manuscript collections in Caves 1 and 4, we should note two descriptions of the community's origins found in sectarian texts that parallel descriptions of origins in 1 Enoch (CD 1:3–16 and 1QS 8:5–7; cf. 1 Enoch 90:6–7; 93:7–10 + 91:11). Both sets of passages place the texts in a community that construes itself as the eschatological Israel constituted by divine revelation.³⁵

The proliferation of Enochic and quasi-Enochic material in the Qumran library suggests two scenarios. (1) The Qumran community attracted people who prized the Enochic texts and others closely related to them, and who brought their copies of these texts with them. (2) The community provided an ambience that fostered the copying and use of these texts and the incorporation of their traditions into new texts.

The Enochic texts and others related to them probably served several functions at the Qumran community.³⁶ (1) The Enochic and calendrical material was fundamental for community life and religious observances. (2) Multiple copies of works like the component

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- mut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag (BZNW 97; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999) 99–113.
- 26 Milik (*Enoch*, 91–98) argues that the absence of the Parables at Qumran indicates that they are later Christian compositions. For a discussion and some bibliography, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 221–23 and 228 nn. 29–34.
- 27 For the Cave 4 copies, see VanderKam, DJD 13:1–185.
- 28 For a text, translation, and commentary, see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*. For the publication of substantial new material previously illegible, see Greenfield and Qimron, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 70–77; and Matthew Morgenstern, Elisha Qimron, and Daniel Sivan (with an appendix by Gregory Bearman and Sheila Spiro), “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1995) 30–52.
- 29 Published by J. T. Milik in DJD 1:84, 152.
- 30 Milik, *Enoch*, 248–53; Devorah Dimant, “The ‘Peshier on the Periods’ (4Q180) and 4Q181,” *IOS* 9 (1979) 77–102; VanderKam, *A Man*, 123–25.
- 31 See Milik, *Enoch*, 256; and Magen Broshi, DJD 36:187–91.
- 32 4Q266–273, published by Joseph M. Baumgartner, DJD 18.
- 33 See also 4Q228, published by VanderKam, DJD 13:177–85.
- 34 See George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29–40),” in Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (2 vols.; STDJ 11:1–2; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 649–59.
- 35 For a fuller treatment of the issues in the rest of this section, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “1 Enoch and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and Some Prospects for Answers,” in Kent Harold Richards, ed., *SBLSP* 25 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 341–60. See also, idem, “Religious Exclusivism.” On the texts that describe the community as a “planting,” see Patrick A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 312–35.
- 36 See Nickelsburg, “Books of Enoch at Qumran,” 109–12.

parts of 1 Enoch, of Daniel, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Testament of Amram indicate that these apocalyptic texts were wholly compatible with the worldview and religious thought of the community in several ways. (a) They informed and undergirded the community's high eschatological consciousness; (b) they informed and supported the community's dualistic cosmology; (c) they were consonant with Qumranic claims to possess special revelation. (3) The story of the watchers and the women spoke to several central concerns of the community. It provided a warning against human immorality and heresy, a critique of the perceived pollution of the Jerusalem cult, and an aetiology of the demonic realm that played an important role in the Qumran worldview.

These parallels and connections notwithstanding, the Qumranites developed their own profile and identity as an eschatological community, which was committed to observance of their own version of divine law. Three aspects of the Qumranic profile differ from their counterparts in 1 Enoch. (1) Although the Qumran corpus contains many sapiential texts,³⁷ many other texts attest that the notion of covenant and adherence to the Mosaic Torah stood at the heart of their Israelite self-identity in a way that is strikingly absent in 1 Enoch's sapiential ethic and eschatology (see above §4.2.5.1-6). (2) The myth of demonic origins and operations in IQS 3-4 differs from the explanation offered in the versions of the story of the watchers in 1 Enoch and *Jubilees*.³⁸ (3) In their later history, the Qumranites tied their eschatology to the biblical prophets rather than to primordial, pseudonymous Enochic revelation (see §5.1.1), in keeping with the developing authority of the texts that would constitute the Hebrew Bible.

6.2.7. The Wisdom of Solomon

Both the figure of Enoch and the Enochic traditions are crucial for the author of the Wisdom of Solomon. Enoch is removed from his traditional place in the list of

the righteous in chap. 10 and is cited in 4:10-15 as the prime example of the exalted righteous one who is central to chaps. 2-5.³⁹ Although the author alludes to Gen 5:24, several features of his Enochic profile differ from the brief biblical notice. The explicit location of Enoch's life and departure in a time of wickedness reflects post-biblical tradition (e.g., 1 Enoch 106:13; contrast 1 Enoch 93:3-4). Different from known early traditions, however, the author sees Enoch's removal as a way to preserve the patriarch's righteousness from contamination. Although this idea is paralleled in Philo and the rabbis (see §6.2.8, 14), it appears to be an ad hoc interpretation intended to provide a precedent for the short lives of the righteous—a special concern in Wis 4:7-9. This use of the Enoch figure, which has been informed by the use of language from Isa 57:1-2,⁴⁰ also diverges from the Enochic tradition, and its portrayal of Enoch is unique.

In addition to demonstrating an interest in the figure of Enoch, the Wisdom of Solomon draws on traditions found in the Enochic corpus. Most striking are the parallels between the story of the scene of the righteous one's exaltation in Wis 4:20-5:8 and the description of enthronement of the Chosen One in 1 Enoch 62-63.⁴¹ Pseudo-Solomon's use of Davidic royal traditions (albeit to democratize them) also fits with the Parables' conflation of Servant and royal traditions.⁴² By construing this exaltation as part of the broader portrayal of the humiliation and exaltation of the righteous one, the Wisdom of Solomon is more faithful to the Isaianic source of both texts. Thus Wisdom's simple dependence on the Parables is not indicated. But Wisdom's citing of Enoch as the prime example of the exalted righteous one and the Parables' identification of Enoch as the Chosen One (chap. 71) suggest that there was some contact with Enochic tradition at this point. Further evidence of this contact appears in Wis 2:1-4:9, whose form, content, and wording evidence some striking parallels with 1 Enoch 102:6-103:15,⁴³ and in 1 Enoch 108:8-9, 13, whose parallels to the early chapters of the Wisdom of

37 For these texts see DJD 20 and 24.

38 See the discussion by Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (CBQMS 10; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981) 49-98.

39 David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (AB 43; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979) 139-40.

40 Ibid., 140.

41 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 62-65.

42 On the Hellenistic background of this notion, see James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970) 71-87.

43 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 128-29. For a broader set

Solomon seem to attest common tradition (see comm. on 108:7-10, 11-13).

The detailed parallels stand in the framework of a broader set of similarities between 1 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon. Wisdom's philosophical overlay and rhetoric notwithstanding, its dualistic worldview, mediated by a revealed knowledge of heavenly mysteries, its interest in cosmological secrets, and its focus on theodicy and eschatology closely parallel 1 Enoch's construction of reality.⁴⁴ In addition, it parallels 1 Enoch by rooting ethics in a sapiential tradition rather than in the Mosaic Torah (see §5.1.1.2-4). That the Wisdom of Solomon never refers to Enoch by name is a function of the author's expunging all proper names from his text.⁴⁵ At the same time, it allows him to celebrate his own sapiential hero, Solomon. This, in turn, fits with his broad use of democratized royal traditions, especially in chaps. 1-9.

6.2.8. Philo of Alexandria

Although there is no evidence that Philo knew 1 Enoch,⁴⁶ his interpretation of Gen 6:1-4 knows and interprets the reading ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ found in a good number of Greek biblical mss. In *Gig.* 2-4 (§§6-18), he states that souls, demons, and angels are names for the same thing, and he interprets Gen 6:1-4 to refer to the descent of certain souls into human bodies (see below, §6.3.2.13 on Origen). In *Q. Gen.* 1.92, he recognizes that "angels of God" translates "sons of God" and provides the earliest evidence for interpreting the latter expression to refer to "good and excellent men" (LCL Sup. 1:61), who will eventually be identified with the Sethites.⁴⁷

6.2.9. Josephus

Josephus appears to know a complex interpretive tradition of Gen 6:1-4 (*Ant.* 1.2.2-3.1 §§68-74).⁴⁸ The pro-

eny of Seth, he states, were learned and virtuous, and part of their learning included "the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array" (σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν; translation in LCL 4:33). This knowledge they preserved on two stelae that would withstand destruction by fire or water. The Sethites, however, fell into sin. Josephus proves this by citing Genesis and interpreting "angels of God" to refer to the Sethites. The tradition about the stelae is paralleled in two texts: in *Adam and Eve* 50 Eve commands her children, including Seth, to write the events of Adam's and her lives on two stelae; in *Jub.* 8:1-4 Kainam discovers an astrological inscription left by the watchers before the flood. Thus Josephus conflates the Enochic tradition about the watchers mating with women and instructing them with a Sethite tradition about stelae, and then he interprets Genesis 6 to refer to the Sethites rather than to the watchers. He does not seem to be aware of the Enoch provenance of the story of the watchers (cf. *Ant.* 1.3.4 §85; 9.2.2 §28).⁴⁹

6.2.10. ■ Ezra 11-13 and 2 Baruch

4 *Ezra* 11-13, written ca. 95 C.E.,⁵⁰ is an interpretation of Daniel 7 that portrays the "son of man" figure with characteristics drawn from Davidic royal texts and, perhaps, Second Isaiah's Servant tradition.⁵¹ This conflation indicates the ongoing life of the conflate tradition about the Chosen One preserved in the Enochic Book of Parables. A parallel contemporary tradition is found in 2 *Baruch* 36-40, whose descriptions of the Messiah are tied to an interpretation of Daniel 7.

6.2.11. 2 Enoch

This text of uncertain date and provenance, composed in Greek and preserved in Old Church Slavonic in two major text forms, provides the best example of a document that has been influenced by an Enochic corpus

of comparisons, see C. Larcher, *Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969) 103-12.

44 See John J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17 (1977) 128-34. On 1 Enoch, see above, §4.1.

45 Dieter Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil. 2:6-11," in Erich Dinkler, ed., *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1964) 272.

46 On the figure of Enoch in Philo, see VanderKam, *A Man*, 148-52.

47 See Gedaliahu A. G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (NHS 24; Leiden: Brill, 1984) 130.

48 Ibid., 131.

49 VanderKam, *A Man*, 153.

50 Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 9-10.

51 See the discussion in *ibid.*, 207-13; and on this

very similar to 1 Enoch.⁵² As a whole it is shaped as a testamentary account, which is more explicit than it is in 1 Enoch (cf. §3.1.3.1). Enoch is the first person narrator throughout. The angels appear to him in a dream (cf. 1 Enoch 12) and instruct him to prepare for his departure (2 Enoch 1–2). He ascends to heaven, has a vision of God, and is commissioned to write his books (chaps. 3–36; cf. 1 Enoch 12–35). He is then brought down to earth and given a period of time to instruct his children (2 Enoch 36–66; cf. 1 Enoch 81:1–82:4; 91–105). The account of his removal from earth (2 Enoch 67), which is missing in 1 Enoch (unless chap. 71—a secondary addition to the Book of Parables—preserves an earlier, related tradition), concludes the Enochic narrative. However, the story of the miraculous conception and birth of Melchizedek (2 Enoch 71) is the counterpart of 1 Enoch 106–107.

The purpose of Enoch's ascent is the acquisition and recording of information of importance for Enoch's family and spiritual descendants. This information, which relates to the cosmos and God's creation of it, as well as to eschatology, is obtained on the way up through the spheres and at the throne of God (chaps. 3–37). In its form—an ascent that culminates at the divine throne with a commissioning—this section corresponds to 1 Enoch 12–16. Enoch's journey to places of cosmological and eschatological significance corresponds to the journeys described in 1 Enoch 17–19 and 20–36 and to the detailed accounts in 1 Enoch 72–77.

The cosmological and eschatological contents of the various spheres are described by means of the same literary forms that 1 Enoch employs to recount their respective counterparts. Enoch's visions of the celestial phenomena in the first and fourth heavens (chaps. 3–6, 11–17), like their counterparts in 1 Enoch 17:1–18:6, 33–36, and 72–77, are related in a straightforward manner. He sees (or the angels show him) certain heavenly phenomena, which he recognizes, names, and describes. When the seer describes the visions of eschatological

import in the second, third, and fifth heavens (2 Enoch 7–10, 18), he employs the form familiar from the visions in 1 Enoch 18:6–19:2 and especially chaps. 21–27 and 32: journey, vision, seer's comment or question, interpretation (see Introduction to chaps. 20–36, § Literary Form and Structure). In his description of the rebel angels, the seer distinguishes between two groups (as does 1 Enoch): the *grigori* (ἐγρήγοροι = “watchers”), who sinned with the women (2 Enoch 18); and their “brethren” (18:7), called “apostates” (chap. 7), who may correspond to the angels as revealers. Significant for this author's purpose are his descriptions of paradise and hell in the third heaven (chaps. 8–10). The complementary lists of sins and good deeds in these chapters correspond to similar lists in Enoch's instruction later in the book and reflect the strong ethical emphasis in the book.⁵³

Enoch's ascent terminates in the divine throne room in the seventh heaven (in the tenth heaven in the long recension, which adds 21:6–22:1a). Although the scene closely parallels 1 Enoch 14:15–16:4, here Enoch is commissioned not to take a book of indictment back to the “watchers” (1 Enoch 13:10–14:1), but to write books of cosmological and ethical teaching. Before he does this, he is transformed into the glory of an angel, an event that corresponds to Enoch's appointment as Son of Man in 1 Enoch 71. After the seer has copied these 366 books at the angel's dictation, the scene climaxes with God's lengthy account of creation—heretofore unknown even to the angels (2 Enoch 24–30). Commenting on his own narrative, God stresses his uniqueness as Creator and his total sovereignty in the heavens (chap. 33), and he reveals that the flood will come because the human race refuses to acknowledge him as the one God (chap. 34). As a remedy for this situation God commissions Enoch to bring to earth books that stress creation as a rationale for ethics.⁵⁴

Enoch's instruction is an epitome of the books he has written, and it is divided into three parts (chaps. 39–56,

issue, Nickelsburg, “Son of Man,” 140–41.

52 On the dating and provenance of 2 Enoch, see Francis I. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” in *OTP* 1:94–97. On the text see *ibid.*, 92–94.

53 Ulrich Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum* (BZNW 44; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978) 48–49.

54 John J. Collins, “The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism,” in Hellholm, ed., *Apocalypticism*, 536.

57–63, 64–65). The first part is addressed to his children, although it has no formal introduction in the present state of the short recension. Enoch asserts the divine origin and universality of his knowledge (cf. the parallels between chaps. 33–40 and 1 Enoch 81, 91, 93 discussed at comm. on 93:11–14), and he interweaves descriptions of the celestial and eschatological phenomena he has seen with ethical exhortations in the form of blessings and curses that correspond to the exhortations and woes of 1 Enoch 94–104.

6.2.12. 3 Enoch

3 Enoch is a complex, layered text of Jewish Merkabah traditions that was composed probably in the fifth or sixth century C.E. and that indicates some loose knowledge of the Enochic tradition.⁵⁵ Of special interest are similarities to the angelology of 1 Enoch and parallels to the accounts of Enoch's ascent in 1 Enoch 14–16 and 71. Especially noteworthy is the similarity between Enoch's metamorphosis into the archangel Metatron in *3 Enoch* 3–15, which parallels Enoch's appointment as Son of Man in 1 Enoch 71 (though the term is not used in *3 Enoch*) and his transformation into angelic glory in *2 Enoch* 22. This connection between Enoch and the angels also parallels the ascription of angelic functions to Enoch in the *Book of Jubilees* (see §6.2.3.3.3) and the *Testament of Abraham* (see §6.3.3.3).

6.2.13. The Targumim

The Targumim of Gen 6:14 tend to override the angelic interpretation of “sons of God,” rendering the biblical expression as “sons of the nobles” or “sons of the judges.”⁵⁶ Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is more complex, however. Its rendering of vv 2 and 4 knows the Enochic traditions: “The sons of the nobles saw that the daughters of men were beautiful (they painted their eyes and adorned their hair and walked about naked), and they thought about indulging in sex and took wives for themselves from all that they desired. . . . Shemihazai

and Uziel fell from heaven and were on earth in those days” (וחמון בני רברביא ית בנת אנשא ארום שפירן הנון וכחלן) ופקסן ומחלכן בגילוי בשרא והרהירו לזכו ונסיבו להון נשין מכל דאתעריו . . . שמחזאי ועוזיאל הנון נפילין מן שמיא והון בארעא (ביומא האינון).

6.2.14. The Rabbis

Although the rabbis tended to reject the angelic interpretation of Gen 6:14,⁵⁷ an occasional hint of the tradition about the rebel angels occurs in the rabbinic writings. In *b. Nid.* 61a the giants Sihon and Og are said to be descendants of Shamhazai, and in *b. Yoma* 67b Azazel is associated with Azazel.⁵⁸ Enoch himself, however, is scarcely mentioned in the early rabbinic tradition, and *Gen. Rab.* 5:24 indicates some distinctly negative attitudes toward the patriarch.⁵⁹ Although this is consonant with broader negative attitudes toward apocalyptic literature among the rabbis, it should be set side-by-side with the high valuation of Enoch in *3 Enoch*, which derives from circles that cherished Merkabah mysticism (see §6.2.12).

6.2.15. Synthesis

The texts I have surveyed indicate in various places knowledge and use of almost the whole Enochic corpus. *Jubilees* refers to the Book of the Luminaries, the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Vision, and if not the whole Epistle, the Apocalypse of Weeks and the corpus's shape as a testimony. The Qumran mss. attest all of the corpus except the Parables and chap. 108. *2 Enoch* knows the corpus's shape as a testament, possibly with the Parables in their present location. The Wisdom of Solomon attests the traditions about the Son of Man, probably in an Enochic context, and the same tradition reappears in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*; in the Aramaic Levi Document, the tradition of Enoch's call is applied to Levi.

The tradition about the watchers' intercourse with women appears in *Jubilees*, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Damascus Document, 4Q180–181, and Josephus. As an

55 For a detailed introduction and a translation, see Philip Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *OTP* 1:225–315.
56 See Alexander, “Targumim”; and Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 125–34. See also the extensive discussion of a midrash about Shemihazai and Azazel in Milik, *Enoch*, 321–31.

57 Alexander, “Targumim,” 62–63; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 25, 129.

58 Alexander, “Targumim,” 62; for some later examples see Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 26.

59 VanderKam, *A Man*, 161–65. See, however, the midrash on Enoch discussed by Christfried Böttrich, “Beobachtungen zum Midrasch vom ‘Leben

interpretation of Genesis 6, it is reflected back into the Greek translation of that text. A developing countertradition, identifying “the sons of God” in Genesis as sons of Seth or other humans, first appears in Philo and Josephus and continues in the Targumim and the rabbis. That their mating with women generated a horde of demons whose activity continues until the eschaton is central to *Jubilees*’ revision of Genesis and Exodus, and it appears in 4Q180–181, where Asael is identified as Azazel. The watchers’ primordial sin, determinative of evils to come, is construed as forbidden revelation in *Jubilees*, Josephus (now attributed to the sons of Seth), and, indirectly, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. The older tradition that God sent the angels to instruct humanity in righteousness, implied in 1 Enoch, is explicit in *Jubilees*. The story of the watchers as a paradigm of sin and punishment is appealed to in the Damascus Document and Sirach.

Enoch’s authority as the recipient and revealer of correct astronomy and a right calendar is foundational to *Jubilees* and is known by Pseudo-Eupolemus. Enoch is the recipient and transmitter of eschatological revelation in *Jubilees* and the Genesis Apocryphon, and the eschatological character of his writings was doubtless crucial at Qumran. Cut loose from the name Son of Man, the eschatological revelations about the Son of Man have a significant afterlife in the Wisdom of Solomon, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch. Enoch’s role as scribe, which 1 Enoch relates specifically only to his writing of the angelic petition and in general to his authorship of the whole corpus, is mentioned in *Jubilees* also with reference to his role as the recorder of the sins of humanity. This function expands the angelic character of his activity, as does *Jubilees*’ reference to his service as priest in paradise. His metamorphosis into an angel is explicit in the final stratum

of the Parables and may be implied in Wisdom 5, where the righteous one—whose paradigm was Enoch—is exalted among the sons of God and holy ones. It will be developed in both 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch.

To what extent 1 Enoch functioned as authoritative scripture among Jews is uncertain. It has that role for the author of *Jubilees*, and for awhile it must have had that character at Qumran. Both instances involve persons and communities that were the spiritual descendants of the authors and first audiences of the Enochic texts. In the Wisdom of Solomon, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch, the Enochic traditions are transformed and reused in pseudepigraphic contexts, in revised and interpreted form, as authoritative accounts of God’s activity as judge and savior. The exclusion of the Enochic works from the canon of the Hebrew Bible was probably due to complex factors in the sociology and religious thought and practice of late Second Temple Judaism. Among these would have been the rabbis’ dissociation from the apocalyptic circles that created and cherished these works and, with the exception of the undisputed Daniel, their disinclination toward apocalyptic speculation and the authority that undergirded it.

6.3. Early Christianity

Among twentieth-century Christians, only the Ethiopian Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints consider the Enochic writings to be authoritative.⁶⁰ Otherwise, to the extent they are even known, they are viewed at best as a curiosity.

The situation was altogether different in the early centuries of the Common Era. Because the early church arose in the circles of apocalyptic Judaism, the Enochic texts and traditions were known and significantly influ-

Henoch,” *Mitteilungen und Beiträge* 10/11 *Forschungsstelle Judentum Theologische Fakultät Leipzig* (Leipzig: Thomas-Verlag, 1996) 44–83.

60 On the modern Ethiopian canon, see R. W. Cowley, “The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23 (1974) 317–23. A discussion of the Mormon tradition lies beyond the scope of this commentary. For a good introduction, however, see Hugh Nibley, *Enoch the Prophet*, Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 2 (ed. Stephen D. Ricks; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company; Provo: Foundation for Ancient Research

and Mormon Studies, 1986). I wish to thank Prof. Robert Wilken for having read most of my discussion of the Christian reception of the Enochic tradition and for his comments and suggestions.

enced early Christian thought. Sometimes the knowledge of specific texts was direct; in other cases influence was indirect. Enochic ideas about the Chosen One/Son of Man left their mark on first-century Christian eschatology and christology. In the following two centuries various sectors of the Western church and their intellectual leaders alternatively embraced and distanced themselves from the Enochic tradition. Tertullian and Origen, in particular, turned to the primordial prophet as an authority to undergird their teaching. In time, however, the fortune of the Enochic traditions waned in catholic Christianity under the influence of Augustine, the church's increasing proclivity for philosophical theology, and the widespread use of the texts in heretical circles.

Two articles by H. J. Lawlor and James VanderKam—separated from one another by almost a century—have provided comprehensive treatments of the Christian usage of 1 Enoch.⁶¹ Editions of 1 Enoch since 1897 have mainly taken over Lawlor's list, prefacing it with a list of Jewish and NT texts that contain motifs or expressions found in 1 Enoch.⁶²

In the present discussion of early Christian texts I confine my treatment of NT texts primarily to passages about the Son of Man, which are dependent on the tradition in the Book of Parables. I have written independently of VanderKam's article and drew most of my post-NT citations from Lawlor's article. The major additions to his compendious list come from the Nag Hammadi codices, unknown in 1897, and from Ethiopian sources, which Western editions of the book have almost uniformly ignored. The texts that I discuss include: quotations of 1 Enoch, whether or not the text identifies the Enochic source; material that derives ultimately from 1 Enoch, although this source is not identified; explicit references to Enochic writings that cannot be certainly located; passages that may depend on

1 Enoch. In addition to sketching a picture of the extent to which 1 Enoch and Enochic material was known and the regard and disregard in which it was held, in this section I consider the specific ways in which Christian authors used the Enochic materials.

6.3.1. New Testament and Early Gospel Tradition

Although Jude 14-15 is the only NT quotation of 1 Enoch, the influence of traditions from this collection is widespread. Most pervasive are the Son of Man christologies that have influenced the Synoptic Gospels and their sources, the Fourth Gospel, the Pauline epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, perhaps the Epistle of Jude, and the Book of Revelation. Many of these texts attest the conflation of Son of Man, messianic, and Servant traditions that characterized 1 Enoch's portrait of the Chosen One/Son of Man and its recurrence in 4 Ezra.⁶³

6.3.1.1. Early Son of Man Christology

The earliest explicit references to Jesus as Son of Man occur in Mark and in material derived from Q, the hypothetical sayings source that Matthew and Luke used along with Mark to create the major part of their Gospels. Mark 13:26 and 14:62 quote Dan 7:14 in their reference to the coming of the Son of Man. But the judicial function of the Son of Man in these passages and in Mark 8:38 and its Q parallel (Matt 10:32-33 || Luke 12:8-9) reflects the interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Parables of Enoch rather than simple dependence on Daniel 7, where the one like a son of man is enthroned after the judgment. The connection between 1 Enoch 62-63 and Mark 8:38 par. is especially close; both portray the Son of Man as the heavenly vindicator of the persecuted righteous. Another indication of the influence of Enochic Son of Man traditions appears in the Q saying in Matt 24:26-27, 37-39 || Luke 17:22-37, where the days of the Son of Man are likened to the days of Noah. This typology of flood and final judgment is typical of the

61 H. J. Lawlor, "Early Citations from the Book of Enoch," *JPh* 25 (1897) 164-225; James C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in idem and William Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3/4; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996) 32-101.

62 Many of these texts are not treated here because the motifs and expressions that are cited are attested

elsewhere in ancient texts or are too general to be certainly traced to 1 Enoch.

63 For a fuller treatment of the line of argument pursued here with respect to NT Son of Man passages, see Nickelsburg, "Son of Man," 142-49.

Enochic texts in general (see §4.2.4.4) and appears also in the Book of Parables (chaps. 53–57; 60–63).

6.3.1.2. Mark

Mark's christology is a complex conflation of Son of Man traditions and the notion that Jesus is the Son of God. The latter term in Mark denotes Jesus' status as a divine being. The ambiguous term "Son of Man" denotes the human being in whom the Son of God is incarnate but also suggests that this "son of man" will be the "Son of Man" who comes to judge. The two notions merge in 2:12, where "the son of man" already exercises "on earth" the authority that Dan 7:14 anticipates after his exaltation when he has come on the clouds of heaven. Similarly, in Mark 14:62, Jesus warns Caiaphas that he will see this human being as that Son of Man, who will judge him for rejecting Jesus' claims to be Son of God and Messiah. The conflation of Son of Man terminology and Servant theology appears in Mark's passion predictions (8:31; 9:12, 31; 10:33–35, 45).

6.3.1.3. Matthew

Matthew supplemented the Son of Man tradition he received from Mark and Q by recourse to additional Enochic traditions.⁶⁴ Especially important is the great judgment scene in Matt 25:31–46, which reflects the correspondence between the Chosen One and the chosen ones in 1 Enoch 62–63.⁶⁵ In Matthew 25 people are judged on the basis of their positive or negative treatment of the Son of Man, which occurs when they respond to "the little ones," whose heavenly vindicator is the Son of Man. The reference to the Son of Man as "king" expresses the traditional conflation of Danielic and royal motifs. Matthew 10:32–33, a form of the saying attested in both Mark (8:38) and Q (cf. Luke 12:8–9), makes explicit the movement from an early tradition in which the Son of Man was to be Jesus' vindicator to the identification of Jesus as Son of Man and hence *his own* vindicator. This option, which differs from Matthew 25,

corresponds more to the form of the tradition in Wisdom 2–5 (see §6.2.7) than its form in 1 Enoch 62–63. In addition to Matthew's use of Enochic Son of Man material, at 22:11–13 the evangelist may reflect knowledge of the Enochic myth of Asael.⁶⁶

6.3.1.4. Luke-Acts

Although his eschatology seems to tone down the imminent expectation of the parousia in Mark, Luke continues to employ the eschatological Son of Man traditions received from Mark and Q. In one tradition found neither in Mark nor Matthew (Luke 18:1–8), a judge's response to the plea of an importunate widow is a foil to the coming of the Son of Man, who will vindicate *his* chosen ones. As both Luke 22:69 and Acts 7:56 indicate, Luke has radicalized eschatology by positing the present, or imminent, heavenly enthronement of the Son of Man (cf. also Matt 26:64 and 28:16, where the risen Christ describes himself in Danielic language about the enthroned son of man). This viewpoint is close to that of the Parables of Enoch, which guarantees the vindication of the righteous and chosen by reporting events that are already taking place in heaven (cf. 1 Enoch 61:8; 62:2; and 49:2, where the son of man stands in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, as he does in Acts 7:56). Another possible connection between Luke and the Parables is Luke's use of the terms "Righteous One" and "Chosen One" with reference to Jesus.⁶⁷ Finally, in addition to the use of Son of Man traditions, Luke's treatment of the topic of riches, the rich, and God's judgment indicates many similarities to the Epistle of Enoch, and he may well have known that text or read it at one time.⁶⁸

6.3.1.5 John

John's use of "Son of Man" is integral to his many-faceted portrait of Jesus. The term is usually accompanied by elements familiar from Jewish traditions or the

64 Johannes Theisohn, *Der auserwählte Richter* (SUNT 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 161–201.

65 David R. Catchpole, "The Poor on Earth and the Son of Man in Heaven," *BJRL* 61 (1979) 378–83.

66 See Ryszard Rubinkiewicz, *Die Eschatologie von Henoch 9–11 und das Neue Testament* (Österreichische biblische Studien 6; Klosterneuberg: Österreichisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984) 97–113;

David C. Sim, "Matthew 22:13a and 1 Enoch 10:4a: A Case of Literary Dependence?" *JSNT* 47 (1992) 3–19.

67 "Righteous One," 1 Enoch 38:3; Luke 23:47; "Chosen One," 1 Enoch 37–71 passim; Luke 23:35.

68 George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Riches, the Rich, and God's Judgment in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel according to Luke," *NTS* 25 (1978–79) 324–44; idem, "Revisiting the Rich and the Poor in 1 Enoch

Synoptic Son of Man passages. It is associated with judgment (5:25-29, which echoes Dan 7:14; and John 9:35-39) and with Jesus' humanity and his death. Most striking are his uses of the verbs *ὑψόω* (lift up, exalt, 3:13-16; 8:28), which John uses only in conjunction with "Son of Man," and *δοξάζω* (glorify, 12:23-41; 13:31), which he applies to Jesus mainly in connection with his proper name or the term "Son of Man." Both terms denote a status traditionally ascribed to the Son of Man in the future, but both are also used of the Servant of the Lord in the LXX of Second Isaiah.⁶⁹ This tendency to make the Son of Man the subject of verbs that Second Isaiah applies to the Servant parallels the Synoptic tradition, especially the passion predications. Thus in his use of the Jewish tradition attested in the Book of Parables and *4 Ezra*, John employs the Enochic term "son of man" but with the nuance in Wisdom 2-5 that the exalted one is identical with the persecuted one.

6.3.1.6. The Epistles of Paul

Although the apostle Paul never uses the term "Son of Man" and never calls Jesus "the Chosen One," his statements about Jesus' parousia and his function as eschatological judge appear to have been influenced by Synoptic Son of Man christology and thus mediately by the Enochic tradition. His earliest extant epistle, 1 Thessalonians, is stamped by the expectation of the imminent parousia and a concern that Christians be worthy to stand in Christ's presence (1:10; 2:19-20; 3:13). The description of the parousia in 4:13-18, attributed to "a word of the Lord," is related to the Markan apocalypse's description of the coming of the Son of Man (13:26-27), and 1 Thess 5:1-11 reflects the Q tradition in Matt 24:43-44 | Luke 12:39-40, while 1 Thess 5:17 recalls the conclusion of Luke's prediction of the future (Luke 21:34-36). The description of the parousia in 1 Thessalonians 4 is complemented by 1 Cor 15:23-28, which employs language from the royal Psalm 110 and from two biblical texts that speak of the "son of man" (Dan 7:14; Ps 8:6[5]). Psalm 8:6[5] seems to have been applied to the glorified Jesus by association with Daniel 7, and 1 Cor 15:24 reverses language from Dan 7:14, so that the parousia is the moment when Jesus "gives" back to God the "kingdom" that God "gives" to one like a son of

man, according to Daniel 7. This happens after Jesus has defeated every "rule" and "power" (cf. Dan 7:14), which he does in his non-Danielic function as judge. The conflation of Psalm 110 and Daniel 7 mirrors Mark 14:62, and the term "father" (1 Cor 15:24) suggests, in addition, the title "Son of God" (e.g., Mark 8:38).

The absence of the term "Son of Man" from the Pauline corpus can be ascribed to the expression's incomprehensibility to Paul's Gentile audience, whereas *κύριος* (Lord) was both familiar and suitable to denote Jesus' glorified state. This raises an additional question about the Aramaic expression *Marana tha* (Our Lord, come!). Does its reference to the Lord's coming imply Jesus' exaltation and his coming as judge, and do these notions derive from a Son of Man tradition?

One final possible parallel between Paul and Enochic tradition is in the Animal Vision. In the latter, an eschatological figure is born as a white bull—as Adam was in this vision's allegory (90:37; cf. 85:1)—and all humanity is transformed into white bulls (90:30). This soteriological notion parallels Paul's understanding of Jesus as the second Adam, into whose image all believers (notably the Gentiles) will be transformed.

6.3.1.7. Revelation

The best literary analogy to the Johannine Apocalypse is the Enochic Book of Parables. Both texts describe the seer's ascent to heaven (Rev 4:1-2; 1 Enoch 39:3) and record similar throne visions (Rev 4:2-11; 1 Enoch 40:1-10), and both are dominated by heavenly and earthly visions of events relating to the judgment. John's knowledge of Synoptic Son of Man traditions is evident in both Rev 1:7 and 3:3. Moreover, the Apocalypse conflates traditions about the Danielic Son of Man, the Davidic Messiah, and perhaps the Servant of Second Isaiah, thus indicating knowledge of a conflate tradition that parallels that attested in the Parables of Enoch and the contemporary apocalypse, *4 Ezra* (see above, n. 51). Knowledge of another part of 1 Enoch is attested in Rev 20:1-3, 10, where Satan is locked up in the pit for a thou-

and the Gospel according to Luke," *SBLSP* 37 (2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 2:579-605.

69 Isa 49:3, 5; 52:11. On the relationship of John 13:31-32 to these passages, see C. H. Dodd, *The Interpreta-*

sand years (cf. 1 Enoch 10:12-13), later to be pitched into eternal fiery destruction.⁷⁰

6.3.1.8. The Epistle of Jude

The author of the Epistle of Jude has an especially close relationship to Enochic and other noncanonical traditions. Verses 14-15 quote 1 Enoch 1:9 verbatim, describing it as a prophecy of Enoch the seventh from Adam. For Jude the epiphanic protagonist in 1 Enoch is identified as “the Lord,” that is, Jesus (cf. vv 17, 25). This identification is paralleled in 1 Enoch 52:6, where the appearance of God in 1:9 is interpreted with reference to the appearance of the Chosen One. In addition, the author knows the story of the watchers’ rebellion and incarceration (Jude 6) and employs the tradition as an example of the divine punishment that will befall false teachers in the end time. This concern with false teachers is a feature of the Epistle of Enoch (see comm. on 98:4).⁷¹

6.3.1.9. 2 Peter and 1 Peter

Drawing on the Epistle of Jude, 2 Peter employs the story of the watchers’ rebellion and imprisonment for purposes similar to Jude (2:4-5) and embellishes it with motifs from Greek myth.⁷²

The author of 1 Peter works from an apocalyptic worldview similar to that of 1 Enoch (see §4.1). The eschaton and the final judgment are imminent, and the reader can take comfort in the knowledge that, in spite of present tribulation, heaven holds a reward, as yet unseen, for the righteous (1:3-12). In addition, the author, alluding to the tradition about the watchers, attributes to Jesus a journey to the underworld that parallels Enoch’s interaction with the rebel watchers (3:19-20), and compares baptism to the purifying effects of the flood (cf. 10:21).⁷³ With its criticism of braiding hair, decoration of gold, and wearing fine clothing, 1 Pet

3:3 may also reflect the story of the watchers. 1 Enoch 8:1 includes gold ornamentation and dyes among the watchers’ forbidden revelations. The ornamentation of hair, mentioned by Tertullian in a treatise heavily influenced by 1 Enoch (see §6.3.2.9), is also mentioned in a Jewish tradition that reflects 1 Enoch (*Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 6:2; see above, §6.2.13).

Finally, striking parallels between 1 Peter and 1 Enoch 108 may indicate the Petrine author’s knowledge of Enochic traditions (see Excursus: Parallels between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter).

6.3.1.10. The Church ■ the Eschatological Community of the Chosen Constituted by Revelation

The Enochic authors believed that they were members of the eschatological community of the chosen constituted by revelation (see §4.2.5.7). This revelation, although it was the possession of a select group of Israelites, was to be proclaimed to “all of the sons of the earth,” in the hope that they too would be saved at the time of the judgment. The early church was governed by a similar idea. They were the chosen of the end time, commissioned to proclaim to all the Gentiles the eschatological salvation that emanated from Israel. The authority for this mission is tied to a series of epiphanies in which the risen Lord appears for the purpose of commissioning apostles to the Gentiles (Matt 28:16-20; Luke 24; Gal 1:11-17), and the mandate reappears in the apocalyptic review of future history that Jesus recited on the Mount of Olives (Mark 13:10 par.).

The parallels with the Enochic tradition should be noted with caution. The Enochic authors posited some sort of *revealed law* as the touchstone for salvation in the judgment. Nonetheless, the NT notion parallels 1 Enoch more closely than it does the Qumran community,

tion of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960) 246–47.

70 For some indication of the parallels between 1 Enoch and Revelation, see R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (2 vols.; ICC; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1920) 1:xxxii–xxxiii; 2:141–2. See also Daniel C. Olson, “‘Those Who Have Not Defiled Themselves with Women’: Revelation 14:4 and the Book of Enoch,” *CBQ* 59 (1997) 492–510.

71 For recent discussions of Jude’s use of 1 Enoch, see §7.4.4.1, n. 178.

72 Birger A. Pearson, “A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at 2 Peter 2:4,” *GRBS* 10 (1969) 71–80.

73 William J. Dalton, *Christ’s Proclamation to the Spirits* (AnBib 23; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1965) 163–76.

where eschatological awareness did not involve a mission to the Gentiles. The structural similarities between the Enochic and NT notions of eschatology and proclamation deserve closer study.

6.3.2. Early Orthodox Tradition

6.3.2.1. 1 Clement 19–20

As part of his moral instruction, Clement of Rome (ca. 100 C.E.) cites the example of the obedience of the inanimate creation. The passage closely parallels 1 Enoch 2–5 and 101 and seems to reflect knowledge of either 1 Enoch or a Jewish instructional tradition on which 1 Enoch also drew (see Excursus: Traditions about Nature's Obedience and Humanity's Disobedience).

6.3.2.2. Papias

According to Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5.33.3) Papias, bishop of Hierapolis (ca. 130), attributed to Jesus of Nazareth a saying about the fecundity of the earth that derived originally from 1 Enoch 10:19 (frg. 1).⁷⁴ The extent of Jesus' saying about the fertility of vine, seed, and oil exceeds even the proportions described in 2 Bar. 29:5, which itself multiplies astronomically the figures in 1 Enoch. Papias frg. 4 further indicates knowledge of the version of the watchers story that posits a divine commission that is violated (cf. *Jub.* 4:15; above, §6.2.3.2.1). "Papias says thus, word for word, 'But to some of them—clearly the holy angels of old—he gave authority to give order (*διακοσμήσεως*) to the world, and he commanded them to exercise their authority well.' And he says immediately after that, 'But it happened that their order (*τάξις*) came to nothing.'"

6.3.2.3. The Epistle of Barnabas

Writing ca. 135–38 C.E., probably in Egypt,⁷⁵ the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* paraphrases 1 Enoch 89:56, 60, 66–67 with reference to the destruction of the temple, introducing his source with the formula, "For Scripture says" (*λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή*, 16:5). To support the notion of a new temple, he quotes loosely 1 Enoch 91:13, again introducing it as Scripture ("For it is writ-

ten," *γέγραπται γάρ*, 16:6). In *Barn.* 4:3 the author quotes a text of uncertain origin, which describes the tribulations of the end time, introducing it with the words, "concerning which it is written, as Enoch says." Although the quotation may be spurious, the attribution to Enoch, alongside the genuine Enochic quotations, indicates that the author's community ascribed scriptural authority to the writings of Enoch the prophet.

6.3.2.4. The Apocalypse of Peter and The Gospel of Peter

Composed in the first half of the second century C.E., perhaps in Egypt,⁷⁶ the *Apocalypse of Peter*, an account of his tour of hell, draws on the tradition of which the Book of the Watchers is a fountainhead.⁷⁷ The author seems also to have known the Book of Parables. Chapter 4 parallels closely 1 Enoch 61:5, and *Apocalypse of Peter* 13 appears to paraphrase 1 Enoch 62:15–16; 63:1, 7–9.

The motif of Jesus' journey to the underworld (see §6.3.1.9) recurs in the *Gospel of Peter* 39–42, where the object of his preaching is not "the spirits in prison" (i.e., the fallen angels), but "the dead" in general. The description of the two angels who accompany Jesus from the tomb is reminiscent of the two angels who accompany Enoch to heaven in 2 *Enoch* 1 and 3. The Gospel, composed in the second century, was known in Syria around 200 C.E. and in Egypt in the second or third century.⁷⁸ An incomplete copy is preserved in the later Egyptian codex that also contains 1 Enoch 1–32 and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (which is also dependent on 1 Enoch, see §2.2.1).

6.3.2.5. Justin Martyr

In his *Second Apology* (5:2), written in Rome between 148 and 161 C.E.,⁷⁹ Justin ascribes the origins of sin to the watchers, referring to the angels' assignment to look after humans and earthly things (*ὁ θεὸς . . . τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν πρόνοιαν ἀγγέλοις . . . παρέδωκεν*) (cf. *Jub.* 4:15; above, §6.2.3.2.1). His

74 Citation numbers from F. X. Funk and Karl Bihlmeyer, eds., *Die Apostolischen Väter* (SAQ 2.1.1; 2d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1956) 133–40.

75 Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (4 vols.; Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1950–86) 1:89–91.

76 C. Detlef Müller, "Apocalypse of Peter," in Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha* (Eng.

trans. edited by R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1991–92) 2:620–38.

77 Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, 66–67.

78 See Paul A. Mirecki, "Peter, Gospel of," *ABD* 5:279.

79 Quasten, *Patrology*, 1:199.

knowledge of the story in 1 Enoch is evident in the details of his account. The angels had intercourse with women, thus violating their order (τάξις; cf. 1 Enoch 15:3-7), and they begat demons (1 Enoch 15:9-16:1). Moreover, they (the demons) revealed magic to humans (cf. 1 Enoch 7:1) and became the cause of all manner of sin (cf. 10:8). This focus on the havoc wreaked by the demonic progeny of the angels is consonant both with 1 Enoch 15:9-16:1 and the extension of the notion in *Jubilees* 10 (§6.2.3.2.5). Justin recognizes the parallel between the story of the watchers and Greek myths about the amours of the gods (see comm. on chaps. 6-11). Asserting the authority of the Jewish story, however, he claims that the Greek poets and mythmakers ascribed to the gods the deeds of the wicked angels.

6.3.2.6. Athenagoras

In his *Plea for the Christians* (177 C.E.),⁸⁰ this Athenian apologist devotes considerable space to the topic of the demons and their activity, also identifying them as the progeny of the rebel angels (chaps. 24-25). Like Justin he ascribes to the angels a responsibility to exercise divine providence (πρόνοια) over creation. Their sin was to fall in love with virgins (cf. comm. on 15:4) and procreate giants who constitute a demonic realm. Two details in Athenagoras's account parallel 1 Enoch. The angels are unable to ascend to or command a view of heaven (ὑπερκύπτω), having fallen from there (cf. 1 Enoch 13:5 and 14:5). The demons are identified as the "souls" (ψυχαί) of the giants, who "wander" (πλανάω) over the earth causing trouble (cf. 1 Enoch 15:11-16:1).

6.3.2.7. Irenaeus

Irenaeus, a native of Asia Minor, probably Smyrna, who became bishop of Lyons (ca. 180 C.E.),⁸¹ makes several references to the sin of the angels (*Adv. haer.* 1.10.1, 3; 1.15.6; 4.16.2; 4.36.4; 4.37.1, 6; *Dem.* 18). Although these references indicate knowledge of the tradition about the angels' intercourse with women (4.36.4), different from Justin and Athenagoras, Irenaeus never attributes to them the begetting of children who would become a demonic horde that foster sin in the world. He cites the tradition, rather, to prove that sin, a function of free

will, meets with divine judgment. Irenaeus's knowledge of the Enochic source of the tradition about the angels is indicated in *Adv. haer.* 4.16.2: although he was a man, Enoch was sent as God's legate to announce judgment to the angels (1 Enoch 12:4-5; 13:4-7; 15:2). In addition, his reference to Enoch's role as witness at the judgment indicates knowledge of other traditions attested in *Jubilees* and the *Testament of Abraham* (see §6.2.3.3.3 and §6.3.3.3). His reference to Azazel in connection with astrological prognostication and the magical arts (1.15.6), while it does not correspond exactly with 1 Enoch 8:1, is close enough to indicate that the elder whom he cites had at least secondhand knowledge of the tradition. A final, clear reference to the Enochic tradition appears in the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* 18, where he refers not only to "illicit unions" but also to many details in the lists of teaching in 1 Enoch 8:1-3 and 9:8: roots, herbs, dyeing, cosmetics, sorcery, and hate-producing potions.

6.3.2.8. Minucius Felix

A distinguished lawyer who lived in Rome ca. 200,⁸² Minucius Felix composed a Latin apology for Christianity entitled *Octavius* after its Christian protagonist. In chap. 26 Octavius refutes his pagan opponents' appeal to the use of divination by ascribing its origins to demons, "insincere, wandering spirits, degraded from their heavenly vigor by earthly stains and lusts" (*Spiritus sunt insinceri, vagi, a caelesti vigore terrenis labibus et cupiditatibus degravati*), weighed down and immersed by vices. Any direct association with 1 Enoch is tenuous. Authority for this view of demons is found by appeal to Socrates and Plato, not a surprising move in an argument with a pagan. Nonetheless, Minucius's reference to the defilement of the fallen spirits may indicate a connection with the story in 1 Enoch (cf. 7:1; 10:8, 11; 12:4; 15:3-4); along with the motif of wandering, it appears in Athenagoras (see §6.3.2.6) and later Christian texts dependent on 1 Enoch (Commodianus, Lactantius; see §6.3.2.16-17).

80 Ibid., 1:229.

81 Ibid., 1:287. On Irenaeus's use of the Pseudepigrapha, see D. R. Schultz, "The Origin of Sin in

Irenaeus and Jewish Pseudepigraphical Literature," *VC* 32 (1978) 161-90.

82 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:155, 159.

6.3.2.9. Tertullian

More than any other early church theologian, Tertullian of Carthage indicates knowledge of 1 Enoch and defends its authenticity and inspiration. He does so, first, in two works that date from around 210 C.E.⁸³ In *De cult. fem.* 1.2, he supports his argument for modest apparel by arguing that ornamentation—jewelry, dyed cloth, and cosmetics—and the arts and technology that have produced it (as well as knowledge of herbs, the practice of magic, and astral prognostication) were revealed by rebellious and lusting angels. In chap. 3 he identifies the source of this information as “the writing of Enoch” (*scriptura Enoch*). Although he acknowledges that some doubt its authority because it is not in the Jewish canon (*armarium Iudaicum*), he defends its authenticity. Enoch transmitted his traditions to Methuselah with the command that he pass them on to his posterity (cf. 1 Enoch 82:1-3). Citing 2 Tim 3:16, with its reference to inspired Scripture, Tertullian exhorts his readers to heed Enoch, since he had preached about the Lord, Christ. He concludes by citing Jude’s testimony about Enoch. He returns to this subject in *De cultu feminarum* book 2, which was originally a separate work,⁸⁴ again undergirding his criticism with the authority of Enoch (2.10). The influence of the story of the watchers and the women is likely in Tertullian’s treatise *De virginibus velandis* (chap. 7), where Paul’s command in 1 Cor 11:2-16 is applied to virgins by means of a detailed and tortured exegesis of Gen 6:1-2 that contains elements found only in 1 Enoch (the identification of the sons of God as “angels” and their sinful lust; cf. *De oratione* 23).⁸⁵ That virgins were the object of the angels’ lust is also asserted by Athenagoras (see §6.3.2.6).

Tertullian’s other references to 1 Enoch occur in *De idololatria*. Criticizing the making and worshiping of idols (chap. 4), Tertullian quotes the Decalogue and then states that Enoch, who had preceded Moses, had predicted that the demons, the spirits of the angelic apostates, would turn all the elements of creation into

idolatry. The passage does not quote 1 Enoch but may reflect 1 Enoch 19:1.⁸⁶ Several lines later, however, Tertullian prefaces a verbatim quotation of 1 Enoch 99:6-7 (for details, see textual notes, ad loc.) with the statement that the same Enoch condemned in advance the worshipers and makers of idols. In chap. 15, in what may be another allusion to 1 Enoch 19:1,⁸⁷ Tertullian condemns dedicatory inscriptions, stating that they had been predicted by the Holy Spirit “through the most ancient prophet Enoch” (*per antiquissimum prophetam Enoch*).

Taken together, these references indicate Tertullian’s knowledge of the Book of the Watchers, chaps. 81:1–82:3, and the Epistle of Enoch. His references to Enoch’s prediction of Christ may indicate knowledge of the Book of Parables, although these comments may refer to 1 Enoch 1, which he cites later with reference to the Epistle of Jude. Like Jude, he considers Enoch to have been a prophet and the author of this text.

6.3.2.10. Cyprian

In his treatise *De habitu virginum* (12–14, ca. 250 C.E.),⁸⁸ Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, proscribes the wearing of ornaments and dyed clothes. Dyeing, jewelry, eye paint, and other facial cosmetics “sinning and apostate angels put forth by their arts, when, lowered to the contagions of earth, they forsook their heavenly vigor” (*peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt quando ad terrena contagia devoluti a caelesti vigore recesserunt*, 14). That Cyprian uses Tertullian’s treatise *De cultu feminarum* seems beyond dispute; his firsthand knowledge of 1 Enoch is less certain.⁸⁹ His reference to their forsaking their heavenly vigor parallels verbatim the same word in Minucius Felix (see §6.3.2.8).

6.3.2.11. Ad Novatianum

This treatise against Novatian, falsely ascribed to Cyprian but probably written in North Africa between 253 and 257,⁹⁰ strings together a series of citations about

83 Ibid., 2:295, 310.

84 Ibid., 2:294.

85 VanderKam, *A Man*, 177–79.

86 Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 181.

87 Ibid.

88 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:348.

89 Contra Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 179. The evidence

for independence from Tertullian, cited in his n. 4, is paralleled in Tertullian *De cult. fem.* 2.10.

90 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:367.

the coming judgment (chaps. 16–17), among them a verbatim quotation of 1 Enoch 1:8, introduced by the words “as it is written” (*sicut scriptum est*). The inclusion of a phrase not found in Jude 14–15 (see textual n. d on 1:9) indicates that this Christian author is not quoting from the NT epistle.

6.3.2.12. Clement of Alexandria

Clement’s *Eclogae propheticae* (ca. 200 C.E.) is a collection of excerpts from gnostic writings with brief commentary in which it is not always possible to separate the excerpts from Clement’s commentary.⁹¹ Chapters 1–2 quote and comment on the Song of the Three Young Men in Daniel 3 (LXX). In chap. 2, Dan 3:54 and its reference to God looking upon the abyss is likened to a statement by Enoch, “And I saw all matter” (καὶ εἶδον τὰς ὕλας πάσας, GCS *Clement* 3). The quotation is usually seen as a rough paraphrase of 1 Enoch 19:3.⁹² The preserved Greek of 1 Enoch (τὰ πέρατα πάντων) and its Ethiopic translation seem to refer to Enoch’s seeing the ends of the earth (see comm. on 19:3). But the Greek in Clement may be an attempt to take the concluding statement of chaps. 17–19 as a summary of the contents of the whole section, in which Enoch has seen the whole of the created world. The same quotation appears in Origen (see §6.3.2.13). The name of Enoch appears again in *Eclogae propheticae* 53. Chapters 51–63 comment on Psalm 19. With respect to the demons’ knowledge of Christ, chap. 53 states, “Already Enoch says that the transgressing angels taught humans astronomy and prognostication and the other arts” (ἤδη δὲ καὶ Ἐνώχ φησιν τοὺς παραβάντας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, GCS *Clement* 3). Thus the text summarizes 1 Enoch 8, identifying it as an Enochic composition and in some indefinite way connecting demonic knowledge with angelic revelations. The motif of angelic instruction appears also in *Stromata* 5.1.10.2. After mentioning the Greeks’ “theft” of ideas from Moses and the prophets, Clement states that certain angels of high rank, “having sunk into pleasures, uttered unspeakable things to the women, which had come to their knowledge” (κατολισθήσαντες εἰς ἡδονὰς ἐξεῖπον τὰ ἀπόρρητα ταῖς γυναιξίν ὅσα γε εἰς γνῶσιν αὐτῶν ἀφίκτο, GCS

Clement 2). The passage appears to paraphrase 1 Enoch 16:2 (see comm.).

6.3.2.13. Origen

Clement’s eminent successor in Alexandria refers to the writings of Enoch five times. He considers them to be the authentic products of the patriarch and cites them as Scripture; however, he also indicates that others in the church do not hold this opinion. In *De princ.* 1.3.3 (220–230 C.E.),⁹³ he states that God’s creation of all things “is established from many declarations of the whole Scripture” (*ex multis totius scripturae adsertionibus comprobatur*). As examples he quotes Hermas *Mandate* 1 and then states, “But also in the book of Enoch things similar to this are described” (*Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur*). Precisely what passage(s) Origen has in mind is not clear. Possibilities in 1 Enoch include 82:7, 84:2, and 93:10, although none of these passages makes Origen’s point in so many words. A closer parallel to the Hermas passage is 2 Enoch 24:2.

A second passage in *De principiis* (4.4.8) makes a double reference to 1 Enoch. Commenting on Ps 139:16, Origen states, “But also in his book Enoch said, ‘I have walked as far as imperfection’” (*Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum*). He is quoting 1 Enoch 21:1 (ἐφώδευσα ἕως τῆς ἀκατασκεύαστου), where Enoch recounts his journey to the chaos that lies beyond the ends of the earth. Allegorizing the spatial reference in the passage, Origen reads it to refer to the prophet’s mental journey back through the visible creation “until it arrived at the beginning, in which it saw imperfect matter without qualities” (*usquequo ad principium perveniret illud, in quo imperfectam materiam absque qualitatibus pervideret*). The move was doubtless justified by the fact that the Greek hapax legomenon ἀκατασκεύαστον occurs only at Gen 1:2. Commenting on the matter, he adds, “For it is written in that same book of Enoch, ‘I have seen all matter’” (*Universas materias perspexi*). This Enochic passage is usually identified as 1 Enoch 19:3 (ἶδον . . . τὰ πέρατα πάντων), the same passage quoted in Greek in Clement *Eclogae propheticae* 2 (see §6.3.2.12). The proximity of 1 Enoch 19:3 and 21:1 supports the identification. Moreover, Origen’s interpretation—that Enoch saw all of matter, as its parts are divided one from another—is quite possibly

91 Ibid., 2:15.

92 Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 182; Charles, *Enoch*, lxxxv.

93 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:57.

an exegesis of the Gk. τὰ πέρατα in the sense of “boundaries” that separate (i.e., = ὀρίσματα).

In his *Commentary on John* 6:42 (§217) (ca. 226–229),⁹⁴ Origen indicates some ambivalence about the Enochic writings. To support the interpretation of “Jordan” to mean “their descent” (κατάβασις αὐτῶν), he appeals to the etymologically related Jared, which means, he says, “going down” (καταβαίνων), “because he (Jared) was born to Mahalel—as it is written in Enoch (if it pleases one to accept the book as holy)—in the days of the descent of the sons of God to the daughters of men” (ἐπειδήπερ γεγένηται τῷ Μαλελεηλ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γέγραπται, εἴ τῳ φίλον παραδέχεσθαι ὡς ἅγιον τὸ βιβλίον, ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καταβάσεως ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων). Origen refers to 1 Enoch 6:5, which he knows to have come from the book ascribed to Enoch, and he cites the passage because he considers its source to be Sacred Scripture. At the same time, he suggests that some do not consider it to be such. Having made his major point, he adds, “Some have thought that this descent makes enigmatic reference to the descent of the souls into the bodies, ‘daughters of men’ being taken as a tropological expression for the earthly tent” (ἦντινα κατάβασιν αἰνίσσεσθαί τινες ὑπειλήφασιν τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν κάθοδον ἐπὶ τὰ σώματα, θυγατέρας ἀνθρώπων τροπικώτερον τὸ γήϊνον σκήνος λέγεσθαι ὑπειληφότες). He will refer to the same allegorical exegesis in *Contra Celsum* 5.55 (see below).

Origen’s ambivalence toward the Enochic writings reappears in his *Num. Hom.* 28.2 (ca. 244).⁹⁵ Commenting on Heb 10:1 and speculating that there are named places in the heavens, he quotes Ps 147:4 and then says of the names of the stars, “Concerning which (names) many secret and hidden things are contained in the books that are called Enoch’s. But since these books do not seem to be considered authoritative among the Hebrews (*sed quia libelli ipsi non videntur apud Hebraeos in auctoritate haberi*), for the present we defer citing as an

example the things that are named there and pursue our investigation from the things that we have in hand whose authority cannot be doubted.” Origen appears here to be referring to the astronomical section of Enoch, to either 82:10–20 or some part no longer preserved in the Ethiopic text.⁹⁶ His ambivalence about the text involves an inclination to cite it and a recognition that it may not carry the authority necessary to make his point.

Origen’s final reference to the Enochic writings appears in *Contra Celsum* 5.52–55. The work was composed ca. 250 in response to Celsus’s critique of Christianity, which was written ca. 178.⁹⁷ According to Celsus, Jesus might be regarded as an angel, but if this was the case, he was not the first or only angel to have descended. “For they (the Christians) say that others came often, indeed sixty or seventy together, who became wicked and are punished in chains, having been buried in the earth, whence come the warm springs, which are their tears” (ἐλθεῖν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους λέγουσι πολλάκις, καὶ ὁμοῦ γε ἐξήκοντα, ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα· οὓς δὴ γενέσθαι κακοῦς, καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς ὑποβληθέντας ἐν γῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα). In responding to Celsus, Origen asserts: (a) the source of Celsus’s information is doubtless the things written in Enoch; (b) Celsus appears not to have read Enoch, since he does not understand its contents; (c) Celsus does not seem aware that “in the churches the books that bear the name of Enoch do not at all circulate as divine” (ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐ πάννυ φέρεται ὡς θεῖα τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία); (d) the mating of the sons of God and daughters of men is mentioned already in Genesis (which Celsus has not recognized), and a certain allegorical interpreter before Origen has interpreted this to refer to the desire of certain souls for corporal life;⁹⁸ (e) no one would ever say that warm springs, which are mainly fresh water, could emanate from the salty tears of angels.

94 Ibid., 2:49; J. Ruwet, “Les apocryphes dans les oeuvres d’Origène,” *Bib* 25 (1944) 145.

95 Ibid., 156.

96 Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 203.

97 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:52–53.

98 According to Cécile Blanc, ed., *Origène, Commentaire sur Saint Jean* 2 (SC 157; Paris: Cerf, 1970) 297 n. 1,

Origen is alluding to Philo; cf. *De gigantibus* 6–16 (see above, §6.2.8).

On two points Origen is certainly correct. Celsus's statements about the descent of the angels derive ultimately from the Enochic writings, and they are sufficiently garbled that one doubts whether Celsus read the texts in question. One of these confusions, however, may derive from a mixture of two passages in 1 Enoch. According to 13:9-10, Enoch announces judgment to the watchers as they sit weeping at "Abel-Main." In 67:4-13 hot springs are said to emanate from the angels' underground place of punishment. Finally, one must consider Origen's claim that the churches do not accept the books of Enoch as divine. This strongest of Origen's negative statements about Enoch seems not to be a development of Origen's previous ambivalence,⁹⁹ but an acknowledgment of fact, which is one of several arguments that Origen uses to serve his purpose. Since his opponent cites material from Enoch, Origen emphasizes the book's questionable status "in the churches." At the same time, the words of Celsus indicate that the stories about the watchers were known and transmitted in Christian communities (λέγουσι).¹⁰⁰

From this survey I conclude the following. Origen knew parts of 1 Enoch (the Book of the Watchers, the Book of the Luminaries, and probably the Book of Parables) well enough to quote, paraphrase, and summarize an occasional passage and to recognize Celsus's misrepresentation of the material. Origen considered the texts to be authentic and Enoch to be a prophet, whose writings were "Scripture." He occasionally cited the book, quoted a passage, and even exegeted it, in order to support his exegesis of a biblical text or to make a point that he could or would not base on a biblical text. At the same time, he acknowledged that the Enochic writings were not universally accepted as Scripture, and sometimes, with an eye to the possible skepticism of his readers, he did not invest a great deal in the probative value of these texts.

6.3.2.14. Julius Africanus

Africanus, a friend of Origen, was the first of a long line of chronographers (over a thousand years) who would

quote from 1 Enoch to fill out their timed saga of human history from creation to the eschaton (see §6.3.2.22). Parts of Africanus's *Chronographia* (ca. 221)¹⁰¹ have been preserved by the ninth-century Byzantine chronographer George Syncellus. The second section, concerning the watchers (περὶ τῶν ἐγγρηγόρων), states, "When there was a multitude of humans on the earth, the angels of heaven joined with the daughters of men. In some copies I found 'the sons of God'" (πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εὗρον, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ). The references to multiple mss. with variant readings suggests that Africanus is quoting from the Bible (LXX mss.). But the interpretation "angels of heaven" seems to reflect "watchers, the sons of heaven," in 1 Enoch 6:1. Africanus prefers "sons of God" and interprets the passage to refer to the sons of Seth and the daughters of Cain. Nonetheless, he knows the story preserved in 1 Enoch because he states that if "angels" is the correct reading, this must refer to "those who dealt in magic and sorcery, and, moreover, transmitted to the women the knowledge of the movement of the stars and the meteors, from whom they bore children, the giants, on account of whom wickedness came" (τοὺς περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἔτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως, τῶν μετεώρων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεωκέναι, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησαν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας, δι' οὓς τῆς κακίας ἐπιγενομένης).

6.3.2.15. Anatolius of Alexandria

In his Paschal Canon 5, Anatolius, a native of Alexandria and bishop of Laodicea (ca. 270), cites the astronomical section of "the Book of Enoch" to prove that "with the Hebrews the first month lies around the equinox."¹⁰²

6.3.2.16. Lactantius

In his *Divine Institutes* 2.15, Lactantius (ca. 305)¹⁰³ states that "when the number of humans had begun to increase" (cf. Gen 6:1, "begun"), God sent (*misit*) angels for the protection and improvement (*tutelam cultumque*) of the human race. They, however, defiled themselves

99 Lawlor, "Early Citations," 203-4.

100 Ibid., 202.

101 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:138.

102 Translation and citation in Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 93. On the dates for Anatolius and for a translation of the whole text, see ANF 6:146-51.

103 Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:393.

through intercourse with women (*mulierum congressibus inquinavit*) and spawned half-breed demons, unclean spirits (*immundi spiritus*), who wander (*vagantur*) over the earth causing all manner of evil. They were the inventors of idolatry, astrology, and magic, and taught humans to make images and statues (2.17). Whether Lactantius actually knew 1 Enoch can be disputed, since he never cites it though he often refers explicitly to other sources such as the Sibyl. But his reference to the sending of angels as teachers parallels *Jub.* 4:15 (see §6.2.3.2.1) and the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (see §6.3.4.1) and their use of an old tradition presumed in 1 Enoch. Moreover, the introductory quotation of Gen 6:1, the references to the angels' defilement through intercourse, their inability to return to heaven, and their invention of astrology and magic, taken together, point to 1 Enoch as a proximate or remote source. Other parallels between 1 Enoch and elements in Lactantius's eschatology may indicate knowledge of mixed traditions that had been informed by 1 Enoch (*Inst.* 7.19).¹⁰⁴

6.3.2.17. Commodianus

According to the *Instructiones* 3 of this Christian poet, whose home is unknown and whose date is disputed,¹⁰⁵ the angels visited the earth at the behest of God, who wished to beautify it (*exornasset*). The beauty (*forma*) of women caused them to sin, and because the angels were defiled with them (*coinquinati*), they could not return to heaven. As rebels against God, they uttered words against God (*contra Deum verba misere*), who, in turn, uttered a sentence against them (*Altissimus inde sententiam misit in illis*). Their children were giants and they taught the arts of dyeing and other things. When they died they were the object of idolatrous worship, and in bodiless form they wander (*vagi*) about, subverting many bodies. Like Lactantius and the author of the *Pseudo-Clementines*, Commodianus knows the old tradition of a divinely appointed mission, and the motif of ornamentation may parallel the *Pseudo-Clementine* story about angels changing into stones. In other respects, the passage parallels Lactantius but also contains elements in 1 Enoch (the women's beauty, the

uttering of words against one another [1:4], the teaching of dyeing [8:1]).

6.3.2.18. Hilary of Poitiers

In his commentary on Ps 133:3 (*Tract. super Psal.* 132.6, CSEL 22:689), the bishop of Poitiers (356–367)¹⁰⁶ correctly identifies Hermon as a mountain in Phoenicia. He knows of an unidentified book that mentions that “angels, desiring the daughters of men, when they descended from heaven, gathered on this mountain Hermon, at its peak” (*angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de caelo descenderent, in hunc montem Hermon maxime excelsum conuenerint*). He also knows that the name means “*anathema*” but gives no details as to why, and he adds that in the present day Gentiles venerate the mountain with profane religion and thus attest the meaning of its name, that is, their worship is *anathema*. The passage is striking because, different from all other Christian writers mentioned above, Hilary mentions the association of the watchers story with the peak of Mount Hermon.

6.3.2.19. Epiphanius

Epiphanius of Salamis begins his *Panarion* (375–377 C.E.)¹⁰⁷ with a description of the era of Barbarism (*barbarismos*), the ten generations from Adam to Noah. Having mentioned the name of Jared (1.1.3), “According to the tradition that has come to us, at that time the practice of evil began to occur in the world. It was also there from the beginning through the transgression of Adam and then through the fratricide of Cain. But now in the times of Jared and thereafter, there was sorcery and magic, debauchery and adultery and iniquity” (ὥς δὲ ἡ παράδοσις ἢ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσα, ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο ἡ κακομηχανία ἐν κόσμῳ γίνεσθαι. . . . Νῦν δὲ ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ Ιάρεδ καὶ ἐπέκεινα φαρμακεία καὶ μαγεία, ἀσέλγεια, μοιχεία, τε καὶ ἀδικία). Like *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 8 (see §6.3.4.1), it relates the story of the watchers to the sinful time from Adam onward. The inclusion of these events is important, because Epiphanius has received a “tradition” about them. Although this source is often cited as the *Book of Jubilees* (4:15),¹⁰⁸ the only correspondence with that passage is “in the

104 Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 214–16.

105 For the possibility of a date between 238 and 466 (sic), see Quasten, *Patrology*, 4:259.

106 Ibid., 4:36–38.

107 Ibid., 3:388.

108 Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament* (Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain: Institut Orientaliste,

times of Jared.” A closer correspondence is found in 1 Enoch 6:6 (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰάρεδ). Moreover, the list of vices corresponds to 1 Enoch 8:1-2 and has no counterpart in *Jubilees*. It seems best to assume that Epiphanius knew a form of the story of the watchers, which purported to tell of the origin of substantial evil, and he felt compelled to mention the events it narrated as the origin of a new kind of evil in the world. The lack of any ascription of the tradition to Enoch is in keeping with other early Christian sources that are citing common tradition, removed from an Enochic identification.

6.3.2.20. Jerome

Three times Jerome refers to the book of Enoch as “apocryphal.” Twice he does so in connection with its quotation in Jude (*De viris illustribus* 4, 393 C.E.; *Comm. in Ep. ad Tit.* 1.2, ca. 387 C.E.).¹⁰⁹ His third reference, though it does not name the book, is directed toward its contents. In his Homily 45 (*Brev. in Ps.* 132:3, ca. 400 C.E.),¹¹⁰ he comments on the same verse of Psalm 133 as Hilary (see §6.3.2.18), “We have read in a certain apocryphal book that at the time when the sons of God were descending to the daughters of men, they descended to Mount Hermon and there entered into an agreement to come to the daughters of men and marry them. The book is very explicit and is counted among the Apocrypha. The ancient interpreters have sometimes spoken of it. We mention it, however, not as authoritative, but to call it to your attention. . . . I have read about this apocryphal book in the book of a certain person, who used it to confirm his heresy. . . . He says, the sons of God who descended from heaven came to Hermon and coveted the daughters of men. They are angels descending from heaven, he said, and souls that desired bodies, since bodies are the daughters of men” (*Legimus quendam librum apocryphum, eo tempore quo descendeabant filii Dei ad filias hominum, descendisse illos in montem Ermon, et ibi inisse pactum, quomodo uenirent ad filias hominum, et sibi eas sociarent. Manifestissimus liber est, et inter apocryphos computatur, et ueteres interpretes de ipso locuti sunt nonnulla: nos*

*autem dicimus, non in auctoritatem, sed in commemorationem. . . . Legi in cuiusdam libro, de isto libro apocrypho suam haeresim confirmantis. . . . Filii, inquit, Dei, qui de caelis descendeabant, et uenerunt in Ermon, et concupierunt filias hominum, angeli, inquit, sunt de caelestibus descendentes, et animae quae desiderauerunt corpora; siquidem corpora filiae hominum sunt, CCSL 78:280-81). Jerome’s association of the story of the watchers with Ps 133:2 may well reflect his knowledge of Hilary’s commentary (see §6.3.18).¹¹¹ But his reference to the angels’ pact, not mentioned by Hilary, derives from his personal knowledge of the book (*legimus*). His comment about a person who supports his heretical idea about the descent of souls by referring to the Enochic text may be an allusion to Origen (see §6.3.2.13).¹¹² He then goes on to suggest (rightly) that the similarity between the book he has just condemned and the teaching of the Manichaeans indicates that the latter drew their ideas from the Book of Enoch (see §6.3.4.3).*

6.3.2.21. Rufinus

In his commentary on the Apostles Creed 15 (400 C.E.),¹¹³ Rufinus notes that “when God made the world in the beginning, he set over it and appointed certain powers of celestial virtues, by whom the race of mortal men might be governed and directed [quotation of Deut 32:8]. . . . But some of these, as he who is called the prince of this world, did not exercise the power which God had committed to them according to the laws by which they had received it, nor did they teach humanity to obey God’s commandments, but taught them rather to follow their own perverse guidance. Thus we were brought under the bonds of sin” (translation of *NPNF*² vol. 3) (*Ab initio Deus cum fecisset mundum, praefecit ei et praeposuit quasdam virtutum caelestium potestates, quibus regeretur et dispensaretur mortalium genus. . . . Sed et horum nonnulli, sicut et ipse qui princeps appellatus est mundi, datam sibi a Deo potestatem, non his quibus acceperant legibus temperarunt: ne humanum genus diuinis obedire praeceptis, sed suis parere praevaricationibus docuerunt; et hinc*

1987) 902; idem, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes grecs d’Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Brill: Leiden, 1970) 151, with hesitation; James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (2 vols.; CSCO 510-11; Scriptores Aethiopici 87-88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989) 1: xii.

109 For these dates see Quasten, *Patrology*, 4:228, 232.

110 Ibid., 4:236.

111 See Jerome’s Letter 5.3, where he states that he had personally copied Hilary’s commentary (CSL 54:22).

112 D. Germanus Morin, CCSL 78:281 n. 145.

113 Quasten, *Patrology*, 4:253. The passage is cited by Martin, *Hénoch*, cxxxii.

adversus nos peccatorum chirographa scripta sunt). Although the passage cites Deuteronomy and refers to “the prince of this world” (i.e., Satan), Rufinus also indicates knowledge of the version of the story of the watchers that describes their initial commission and their illegitimate teaching, though it is uncertain whether he knew its Enochic provenance.

6.3.2.22. Augustine of Hippo

In his *De civitate Dei* (ca. 420 C.E.),¹¹⁴ Augustine twice emphasizes the apocryphal character of the Book of Enoch (15.23; 18.38). The first reference follows a long discussion of Gen 6:1-4 in which he argues against the notion that “the sons of God” were angels. He knows that this viewpoint is expressed in writings ascribed to Enoch. That there were genuine, divinely inspired Enochic writings is proven from the statement in the Epistle of Jude. They are not accepted as canonical, however, because the people in antiquity who could have attested them as such did not do so.

Augustine’s second reference to the writings of Enoch occurs in a section on prophecy. Again he refers to Jude, but argues that the lack of attestation of these ancient writings is good reason to doubt their authenticity and not to accept their authority. They are passed around only by people who use them to support whatever they wish. Whether Augustine had firsthand knowledge of 1 Enoch, or any part of it, is doubtful, since he accepts the authenticity of the part of chap. 1 quoted in Jude but rejects the veracity of the story of the watchers, which follows right after the prologue. In any case, his rejection of the writings is tied to his rejection of material contained in them.

6.3.2.23. The Chronographers

At the same time that the Enochic writings were losing favor among the orthodox theologians of the West, sections of the Book of the Watchers were preserved in the tradition of Christian chronography that continued for many centuries in the Byzantine and early medieval periods.¹¹⁵ Pandorus and Annianus of Alexandria wrote

separate chronographies during the reign of the bishop Theophilus (388–416 C.E.).¹¹⁶ Both employed the material from the stories of the watchers to supplement the history and chronology of Genesis with a view toward showing divine purpose and order in history and with an eye toward eschatological speculation.¹¹⁷

In his chronography, written in Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth century,¹¹⁸ George Syncellus transmitted and redacted the Enochic extracts of Pandorus. While finding this material useful for his chronographic purposes, he warned his readers that it contained “fabulous material” and material opposed to ecclesiastical tradition, which had been “corrupted by Jews and heretics.”¹¹⁹ The theological judgments of people like Jerome and Augustine was clearly at work. For Syncellus and others of his colleagues, the story of the watchers was not about angels but about the sons of Seth mating with the daughters of Cain.¹²⁰ Other Byzantine chronographers, however, harking back to third-century sources and interpretations known to Julius Africanus (see §6.3.2.14), interpreted the story of the watchers to refer to angels, who bred evil spirits and introduced magic.¹²¹

The use of Enochic materials for chronographic purposes appears again in the twelfth-century chronicles of George Cedrenus, who uses material from Syncellus,¹²² and of Michael of Syria, who cites Annianus as his source (above §2.5).¹²³

6.3.3. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Circulated in Christian Circles

Enochic traditions are carried in a number of texts written about or in the name of figures from the Hebrew Bible. Whether or to what extent these texts were authored by Jews is a point of scholarly debate. In this survey I include them among Christian texts because they were preserved by Christians and are an important part of the picture of Christian preservation and use of Enoch traditions.

114 Quasten, *Patrology*, 4:363.

115 On this topic see the thorough study by Adler, *Time Immemorial*.

116 On their date see *ibid.*, 73.

117 *Ibid.*, 80–84, 176–82.

118 *Ibid.*, 4.

119 *Ibid.*, 178–79.

120 *Ibid.*, 114–16, 118–19, 137–38, 180–81, 209–10.

121 *Ibid.*, 195–96.

122 *Ibid.*, 209–10.

123 *Ibid.*, 117–22, 175–78.

6.3.3.1. *The Life of Adam and Eve*

This Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* presents an alternative form of the story of Adam and Eve preserved in the *Apocalypse of Moses*.¹²⁴ Two sections in the work that are not found in the *Apocalypse of Moses* may reflect material in 1 Enoch.¹²⁵ The account of Adam's ascent to paradise (chaps. 25–29) indicates similarities to the account of Enoch's ascent in 1 Enoch 13–16. Since the Enochic text stands in the tradition of stories about prophetic commissionings, it is odd to read an account about Adam ascending to heaven to hear his own death sentence. In a second text with parallels to 1 Enoch (*Adam and Eve* 29:2–10), Adam transmits to Seth eschatological information he had learned after eating from the tree of knowledge. This historical summary is strikingly similar to the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (1 Enoch 93:1–10; 91:11–18). It is complemented by Eve's testament (chaps. 49–50), which refers to the flood, an event in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* omitted in Adam's narrative. A separate tradition, found in some MSS., quotes 1 Enoch 1:9 but seems to have derived the quote from Jude 14–16.¹²⁶

6.3.3.2. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

Although the Christian character of the present form of this text is beyond dispute,¹²⁷ its dependence on Jewish traditions is equally clear. I have already noted the dependence of the account of Levi's commissioning on the story of Enoch's commissioning (see §6.2.5). A clear reference to the story of the watchers and the women appears in *T. Rev.* 5:6–7. Here the women are blamed for seducing the watchers, who changed themselves into human form and appeared to the women when they were with their husbands. The women, in turn, lusting after the form of the watchers, conceived giants. Although the notion of seduction appears already in 1 Enoch 8:1, this text, employing a motif found in Gen

30:37–42, seems to deny actual intercourse between the watchers and the women. Another explicit reference to the watchers appears in *T. Naph.* 3, where in the context of an appeal to “the holy writing of Enoch” (4:1), they are cited as a negative example of the perversion of divinely created order (see Excursus: Traditions about Nature's Obedience and Humanity's Disobedience).

An appeal to “the writing/words of Enoch (the righteous)” appears frequently in seven of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, almost always with reference to the future sins of the descendants of Jacob's sons (*T. Sim.* 5:4; *T. Levi* 10:5; 14:1; 16:1; *T. Jud.* 18:1; *T. Zeb.* 3:4; *T. Dan* 5:6; *T. Naph.* 4:1; *T. Benj.* 9:1).¹²⁸ Because none of these passages refers to an identifiable text in 1 Enoch,¹²⁹ it appears that the author of the *Testaments* takes for granted Enoch's authority as a prophet who has written a book of predictions about the future, which was available to be read by Jacob's sons. An exception to the predictive character of Enoch's writing is *T. Zeb.* 3:4, which ascribes a Mosaic law (Deut 25:5–10) to “the writing of the law of Enoch,” evidently because Moses, who is mentioned only once in the *Testaments* (*T. Sim.* 9:1), has not yet been born.

The evidence here presented indicates a high respect for the authority of the writings of “Enoch the righteous” and some limited familiarity with the content of 1 Enoch. Although chronology prevents reference to the Mosaic Torah, the appeal to Enoch is consonant with the *Testaments'* combination of eschatology and a sapiential ethic that makes some use of two-ways imagery.¹³⁰ Also noteworthy are the *Testaments'* parallels with the Qumran literature: two-ways instruction combined with two-spirits anthropology¹³¹ and common traditions about Levi and Naphtali.¹³²

124 On the relationship between the two versions, see Nickelsburg, “Bible Rewritten,” 110–18; idem, “Some Related Traditions in the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the Books of Adam and Eve, and *1 Enoch*,” in Bentley Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 2: *Sethian Gnosticism* (SHR 41/2; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 515–39.

125 Ibid.

126 VanderKam, *A Man*, 156.

127 See the discussion by H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 67–85.

128 Ibid., 122.

129 The exception in the *Testaments* is *T. Naph.* 4:1, which stands next to an allusion to the story of the watchers and a citation of the tradition in 1 Enoch 2–5.

130 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 161–62.

131 For these elements in the *Testament of Asher* see ibid., 156–66.

132 For the publication of the Qumran texts (4Q213–215) by Michael E. Stone, see DJD 22:1–82.

6.3.3.3. *The Testament of Abraham*

In the long recension of chap. 12, two angels serve as scribes of the books that record human sins and righteous deeds and as witnesses at the heavenly judgment.¹³³ In the short recension of chaps. 10–11, in “the place where paradise is” (10:2), Abel presides over the judgment, and Enoch is the scribe of the two books that contain the record of human deeds, which provide the evidence that Enoch presents at the judgment. Something like this latter tradition may be epitomized in *Jub.* 5:23–24 (see §6.2.3.3.4).

6.3.3.4. *A Coptic Enoch Apocryphon*

This Christian text of the fifth century, extant in fragments of only one MS.,¹³⁴ depicts Enoch as a functionary at the judgment and indicates important points in common with both the long and short recensions of the *Testament of Abraham* and with a range of Egyptian Christian speculation about Enoch (see §6.3.6.3).

6.3.4. *Other Forms of Early Christianity*

6.3.4.1. *Pseudo-Clementine Literature*

The two “recensions” of the Pseudo-Clementine corpus, the Greek *Homilies* and the Latin *Recognitions*, date to the fourth century C.E. and depend on a common third-century source that may, in turn, stem from a second-century written source.¹³⁵ Written under the pseudonym of Clement of Rome, they derive from a Christian community that observed much of the Mosaic Torah, celebrated the authority of the apostle Peter, and condemned Paul, who is presented as Peter’s opponent under the guise of Simon Magus.

Homily 8:10–20 is the most extensive extant Christian reuse of Enochic traditions about the watchers, though the name of Enoch never appears. The homily comprises material presupposed in 1 Enoch, narrative details from 1 Enoch, additional elements from a Jewish elaboration on 1 Enoch (*Jubilees*), and other embellish-

ments that were probably invented by the author of the Clementines or an earlier stage of their tradition.¹³⁶ As a whole, *Hom.* 8:10–20 is an imaginative retelling of the third-century B.C.E. Jewish story of the watchers by a Christian author of the fourth century C.E.

Like many of the Christian versions of the story of the watchers, the Clementine homily purports to explain the origin of the demonic realm that draws humanity into sin and suffering. In order to heighten the importance of the story as an account of the origin and cause of significant sin, the author asserts that human beings had previously violated God’s eternal law (*νόμος αἰώνιος*) through their ingratitude for the abundance of creation (chaps. 10–11). Then the real trouble began.

The angels who are central to the narrative descended from heaven on a positive mission to partake of human life so that they might convict human beings of their ingratitude. They arrived in the form of precious stones, purple, and gold (1 Enoch 8:1) and also changed themselves into beasts, reptiles, fishes, and birds (1 Enoch 7:5). In these forms they suffered at the hands of humans. From these forms they changed themselves into human beings in order to demonstrate the possibility of holy living (cf. *Jub.* 4:15; above, §6.2.3.2.1) and thus subject sinners to punishment. The strategy backfired, however. Becoming fully human, they experienced lust (*ἐπιθυμία*, 1 Enoch 6:2) and slipped into intercourse with women (*μίξις*, 10:11) and became entangled with them and caught in defilement (7:1). Thus they were emptied of their heavenly, fiery substance because they were weighted down by human, bodily lust, which held them in its bonds (10:4, 11). Being asked by their beloved to show them what they had been before, and being unable to do it because their defilement had compromised the vitality of their divine nature, they showed these things by revealing the secrets of metallurgy and mining, the use of precious stones for

133 On the relationship between the two recensions, see the articles by George Nickelsburg and Francis Schmidt, in George W. E. Nickelsburg, ed., *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* (SBLSCS 6; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976) 23–93.

134 See Birger A. Pearson, “The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon,” in *ibid.*, 227–83.

135 Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*,

vol. 2, *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, 206.

136 The homily is paralleled by several briefer passages in the *Recognitions* (1:29; 4:26; 8:50), which lack many of the embellishments.

magical purposes, as well as other forms of magic, astronomy, the powers of roots, and the dyeing of garments (7:1; 8:1-3). Moreover, their intercourse with women produced giants, a bastard mixture of divine and human, who brutalized the creation (7:2-4). With the air now defiled (10:20-22) by the vapor of blood, God determined to destroy the "demons" by means of a flood. But because the souls of the deceased giants had a divine component, they survived the flood (15:8-16:1). In a scene that looks like a reworking of *Jub.* 10:5-10 (*Hom.* 8:18-20), the rewritten story of the watchers concludes by describing how an angel sent by God both allowed the demons to subject humans to their power and placed limits on this power. Those who flee for refuge to God's law may not be touched by the demons, but those who worship idols, shed blood, live promiscuously, practice magic, and engage in other gross sins are subject to the demons that inhabit the idolatrous realm. Then, identifying the chief demon with "the king of this present age," the author concludes the homily with an account of the temptation of Jesus and an exhortation that the audience give up their will- ing obedience to evil demons and thus achieve eternal life (chaps. 21-23).

Although it is unique for its vividness and imagination, this narrative shares many details of specifically Enochic provenance with other second- to fourth-century Christian sources that employ the story of the watchers to explain the origin and activity of the demonic realm. Two peculiar elements not found in 1 Enoch are paralleled in other Christian texts. The motif of the descent of the angels in the form of gems and precious metals is reminiscent of their mission to adorn the creation mentioned by Commodianus (see §6.3.2.17). The image of the angels weighted down in this world is paralleled in Minucius Felix (see §6.3.2.8).

6.3.4.2. Gnostic Texts

6.3.4.2.1. The Incarnation of Evil and Salvation as Revelation

The relationship between Jewish apocalypticism, espe-

cially as it is represented in 1 Enoch, and gnostic thought is immensely complex and in need of detailed study.¹³⁷ A major structural similarity is indicated by the modern names for the two systems ("apocalyptic" and "gnostic"). Both offer salvation through revealed wisdom transmitted in sacred writings. In both cases, moreover, the content of the revelation centers on a powerful dualism between the heavenly and earthly realms, spelled out in a mythology that narrates a primordial fall of divine beings.

The contents of the Enochic and gnostic myths have many differences, of course. But a noteworthy parallel is the use of a generative image to explain the presence of evil in the world. In 1 Enoch and the development of its tradition in *Jubilees*, the watchers breed their malevolent nature into progeny who continue to exist on earth, in one form or another, as evil spirits. In the gnostic myths a primordial fall in the heavenly realm breeds evil matter that filters down and becomes constitutive of the evil world and its inhabitants, who are dominated by a variety of archons, angels, and demons. As in 1 Enoch the evil must await eschatological obliteration.¹³⁸ The Enochic and gnostic myths may go back to a common story that counterposed two races, the Sethian begotten by Adam and the Cainite begotten by Satan.¹³⁹

In addition to these fundamental structural similarities, three gnostic texts contain specific parallels to the Enochic myths.¹⁴⁰

6.3.4.2.2. The *Apocryphon of John*

The most obvious use of the story of the watchers occurs in the *Apocryphon of John* (ca. 150 C.E.) in connection with its account of the flood (NHC II.29.10-30.4; III.38.10-39.4; BG 73.9-75.4).¹⁴¹ The chief archon plots with his angels and sends them to the daughters of men to engender offspring for their enjoyment. Transforming themselves into the likeness of the women's husbands, they impregnate the women with the spirit of evil darkness and also bring them gold, silver, copper, and iron, and lead the people astray. For this both the angels and

137 Long before discussions on apocalypticism and Gnosticism had begun to reach their present sophistication, this relationship was recognized by George W. MacRae, "Some Elements of Jewish Apocalyptic and Mystical Tradition and Their Relation in Gnostic Literature" (2 vols.; Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1966).

138 *Ap. John*, NHC II.27.24-30; *Orig. World* 125.31-127.17.

139 This is the thesis of Stroumsa, *Another Seed*; see pp. 169-74.

140 To these may be added the reference to the angels' intercourse with the daughters of men in a work by the second-century Edessan gnostic teacher Barde-

those whom they led astray will be punished eternally (II.27.22–30 par.). The author of this text has employed in his myth about the origins of evil the four major elements of the myth of the watchers: the plot; the mating with women and begetting of evil; the revelation of secrets, here specifically metallurgy; the punishment. Although the sending of the angels is an action by a malevolent deity, it parallels the more positive idea in *Jub.* 4:15 (see §6.2.3.2.1). The angels' transformation into the image of the women's husbands picks up the motif in *T. Rev.* 5:6–7 (see §6.3.3.2) and, more generally, *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 8 (see §6.3.4.1).

6.3.4.2.3. On the Origin of the World

In this text from ca. 300 C.E. (NHC II.97–127),¹⁴² Sophia Zoe drives the seven archons out of their heavens and down to the world, where they dwell as evil demons (114). There they make for themselves angels (ἄγγελοι) who instruct humanity in all manner of error, including magic and potions, idolatry and bloodshed (124). As in the *Apocryphon of John*, the instructional motif is present, here with reference to magic and idolatry.

6.3.4.2.4. Pistis Sophia

Two passages in this text from ca. 300 C.E.¹⁴³ refer to “the two books of Jeu,” which Jesus caused Enoch to write when he (Jesus) spoke to him from the tree of knowledge and the tree of life in the paradise of Adam (chaps. 99, 134). These writings, which constitute a set of mysteries inferior to those now revealed, were placed on Mount Ararat, to be preserved from the flood.¹⁴⁴ The author may allude to or posit an expansion of

1 Enoch 32, where Enoch arrives at “the paradise of righteous” and sees the tree of wisdom.¹⁴⁵ Alternatively, he may be making a perfunctory reference to the Enochic writings as a traditional and proverbial source of revelation.¹⁴⁶ That the author knew tradition drawn from 1 Enoch is evident in a conversation between Jesus and Mary, which refers three times to the mysteries that the transgressing angels taught, which are identified as “magic” (μαγία) and specifically astrology and prognostication (chaps. 15–21). In his ascent through the spheres, Jesus stripped the archons of at least part of their power, so that humans cannot invoke them.

6.3.4.2.5. The Acts of Thomas

An allusion to the myth of the watchers appears in chap. 32 of the third-century *Acts of Thomas*,¹⁴⁷ though no direct literary contact is demonstrable. The apostle meets the demonic dragon, who identifies himself as the one who prodded the villains of biblical antiquity into sin. He states, “I am the one who cast the angels down from above and bound them fast (καταδήσας) in their desire for the women [cf. *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 8], so that earth-born (γηγενεῖς) children might be born of them and I might work my will in them.” The several events in the watchers' myth are subsumed under the activity of Satan but explain the origin of the demons who wreak evil on the earth in his behalf.

6.3.4.3. Mani and the Manichaeans

The apostle Mani (216–276 C.E.), perhaps more than any writer in antiquity, incorporated material from the Enochic writings into his religious system.¹⁴⁸ In a string of references to ancient “apocalypses,” the Mani codex

sanes, or one of his disciples, cited by Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 193–94; and Martin, *Hénoch*, cxxv.

141 See Birger A. Pearson, “1 Enoch in the Apocryphon of John,” in Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm, eds., *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts: Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1995) 354–67. For texts and translations, see Michael Waldstein and Frederik Wisse, eds., *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II, I; III, I; and IV, I with BG 8502, I* (NHMS 33; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

142 Hans-Gebhard Bethge, *Nag Hammadi Codex II.2–7* (ed. Bentley Layton; NHS 21; Leiden: Brill, 1989) 13.

143 PHEME PERKINS, “Pistis Sophia,” *ABD* 5:376; for a

translation see Carl Schmidt and Violet MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* (NHS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1978).

144 For the two books of Jeu, see Carl Schmidt and Violet MacDermot, *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* (NHS 13; Leiden: Brill, 1978). However, they do not mention Enoch, paradise, or its two trees.

145 Lawlor, “Early Citations,” 182–86.

146 Cf. above, §6.3.3.2, with respect to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

147 On the date see Harold W. Attridge, “Thomas, Acts of,” *ABD* 6:531.

148 For a detailed discussion of this material, see Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 152–67.

quotes Enoch's Apocalypse (58:7–60:12).¹⁴⁹ Specific references to the Enochic corpus are probably impossible to prove, but the text parallels elements in 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch. The setting of Enoch's account parallels 2 Enoch 1 (cf. 58:9-16; 2 Enoch 1:3-10). The content of Enoch's journeys to the place of punishment and reward is reflected, as is the form of some of the Enochic visions (60:8-12).¹⁵⁰ The reference to Enoch's journey to "the ends of the heaven" (59:16-19) is reminiscent of 1 Enoch 70.

Evidence of more detailed knowledge appears in the *Kephalaia*,¹⁵¹ which knows the motif of forbidden instruction (92:27ff.), the descent of the four archangels, the subterranean imprisonment of the watchers, and the destruction of their children (93:24ff.; 117:5ff.). Also noteworthy is the Manichaean use of material from the Enochic Book of Giants.¹⁵²

6.3.5. Greek Codices of 1 Enoch

Although there are no known Greek codices that contain the whole of 1 Enoch, two Egyptian codices from the fourth and fifth or sixth centuries contain parts of the Greek texts of 1 Enoch bound together with other texts of Christian provenance (see §§2.2.1.1, 2.2.4).¹⁵³ The first was placed in an eighth- to twelfth-century monk's grave at Akhmim (ancient Panopolis). The other was probably compiled for didactic or apologetic purposes.

6.3.6. Synthesis

6.3.6.1. Major Tendencies in the Tradition

6.3.6.1.1. Eschatology

The earliest Christian usage of the Enochic writings is

eschatological and, specifically, christological. Tapping into the latest stratum of the corpus, which contained eschatological speculation that was still viable in some non-Enochic Jewish circles (cf. 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch), early Christian teachers and preachers proclaimed Jesus as the Son of Man who was imminently expected as the agent of God's final judgment. The same tradition recurs in its generically appropriate context in the Johannine Apocalypse. As in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, the figure is presented without reference to an Enochic provenance. Matthew's and 4 Ezra's citation of Daniel in connection with this tradition may indicate either that they understood Enoch as a pseudepigraphic interpretation of the canonical Danielic text, or that these authors drew on a form of the Son of Man speculation that had not been incorporated into the Enochic corpus. This earliest Christian usage of the Son of Man material became an integral part of the writings that came to be canonized, and thus it became permanent in Christian theology. Apart from those texts, it plays no significant role in the writings of the early church outside Ethiopia, perhaps because it was alien to the Gentile orientation and audiences of Mediterranean Christianity. A hint of this is seen in the Pauline epistles, which employ the tradition, but attach it to the figure called "Lord."

Jude and 2 Peter attest another eschatological usage of 1 Enoch. In analogy to the usage in Sirach and the Damascus Document, these authors cite the story of the watchers as a paradigm of God's judgment of the wicked, applied to sinners in the end time. Jude, different from 2 Peter, appeals to the prophetic authority of Enoch. The passage is cited later in *Ad Novatianum*,

149 For a text and translation, see Ron Cameron and Arthur J. Dewey, eds. and trans., *The Cologne Mani Codex* (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780) "Concerning the Origin of His Body" (SBLTT 15; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979).

150 As in 1 Enoch, the form of the vision account includes: journey, vision, seer's question, and the angels' answers, which Enoch has written down. See also 58:7-23, which is cited as a parallel to 1 Enoch 90:41 by Marc Philonenko, "Une citation Manichéenne du livre d'Hénoch," *RHPPh* 52 (1972) 337-40, and in turn by Tiller, *Commentary*, 391-92.

151 For a translation and commentary, see Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher* (NHMS 37; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

152 On the Book of Giants, see above, §1.8. On its use in Manichaean tradition, see Milik, *Enoch*, 298-339; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 161-67; John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmology: Studies in the Book of Giants Tradition* (HUCM 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); see also idem, "An Enochic Motif in Manichaean Tradition," in Alois van Tongerloo and Søren Giversen, eds., *Manichaica Selecta: Studies Presented to Professor Julien Ries on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Manichaean Studies 1; Louvain: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991) 295-98.

153 See Nickelsburg, "Two Enochic Manuscripts."

albeit as a piece of anonymous Scripture. In the *Apocalypse of Peter*, assurances of eternal punishment are embodied in an account of Peter's journey through the underworld that reflects Enochic models and, in turn, informs Christian apocalypses well into the Middle Ages. Other early-second-century eschatological usage of Enochic material appears in Papias, who claims, however, to be quoting dominical material, and Barnabas, who cites Enoch's words as Scripture.

6.3.6.1.2. The Story of the Watchers and the Origins of Evil

Jude and 2 Peter anticipate that most subsequent Christian usage of 1 Enoch will focus on the story of the watchers and the women. Following the example of Jude and 2 Peter, Irenaeus cites the story of the watchers to emphasize the reality of the judgment, and he acknowledges the Enochic provenance. Different from Irenaeus, the majority of second- to fourth-century Christian writers who employ this material are faithful to its original purpose. For them, the story explains the origins of evil in the world. Thus for Justin, Athenagoras, Lactantius, the author of *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 8, and perhaps Minucius Felix, the watchers' intercourse with women bred a world of demons that hold sway over humanity in a variety of ways. More frequent are attestations of the Enochic motif of the watchers' introducing evil through forbidden revelations about magic and prognostication, metallurgy and mining (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Commodianus, Epiphanius, and *Pseudo-Clementine Homily* 8).

The gnostic use of the Enochic material is similar. These texts employ material related to the story of the watchers to explain the evil nature of the created world by means of a sexual metaphor, but they also use the story's motif of forbidden revelation. The story and the Enochic writings were also especially important in Manichaean texts.

6.3.6.1.3. Chronology and Cosmology

For the Christian chronographers, the story of the watchers was a valuable resource because it provided material that filled in and explicated Genesis. Sometimes together with the Book of the Luminaries, it allowed them to develop a systematic account of the history of humanity and a chronology that aided calculations about the time of the end. The Book of the Luminaries was also cited as an authority in Christian calendrical calculations.

6.3.6.2. The Authority of Enoch

6.3.6.2.1. Acceptance of This Authority

Certain writers in the second and third centuries accepted at least parts of the Enochic corpus as Sacred Scripture authored by the prophet Enoch. The appeal to Enochic authority is explicit in Jude, Barnabas, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. Other authors, although they do not invoke Enoch's name, employ material of Enochic provenance to provide an authoritative explanation for the presence of evil in the world. Some of them cite a form of the tradition that is alluded to but not explicated in 1 Enoch, viz., the idea that the angels were sent to earth for the benefit of humanity and only subsequently sinned with the women (Papias, Justin, Athenagoras, Lactantius, Commodianus, Rufinus, and Pseudo-Clement). Close comparison of the texts may indicate common usage of some single tradition or dependence of one writer on another. It is uncertain whether the tradition was known to some or all of these authors with its pseudonymous (Enochic) identity or in an anonymous form. In any case, these authors recount or allude to the stories as accurate explanations of how things are and how they came to be.

For those who cite him, appeal to Enoch's name has several functions. For Jude and Barnabas, it anchors eschatological prediction in prophetic authority. Tertullian appeals to it as a firm base for his claims about the demonic character of certain practices. Clement and Origen find exegetical support in Enoch for their own particular theological assertions.

6.3.6.2.2. Rejection of This Authority

Alongside these teachers of the early church is the vast majority who ignore or do not use the Enochic material or polemicize against it. The first explicit evidence for the rejection of Enochic authority appears in Tertullian and Origen, who acknowledge that the texts on which they base some of their conclusions are not held in regard by a majority, perhaps, of the churches. The voice of some of these dissenters is heard in Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and Augustine.

The reasons for denying the authority of the Enochic writings were doubtless complex, and one should distinguish expressed reasons from possible real reasons. Origen, who wishes to cite Enoch, indicates some nervousness about the fact that these texts are not Sacred Scripture for the Jewish community. The issue had

already been raised by Tertullian. Possibly this reflects the kind of reasoning that Jerome would express a century later with reference to the Apocrypha (Preface to Samuel and Kings). Jerome, who calls 1 Enoch “apocryphal,” dismisses it because the story of the watchers was a source for Manichaean heresy. For Augustine the text is also apocryphal, and he is skeptical about its authenticity. Perhaps this is a judgment after the fact on a text with which he was particularly uncomfortable because of its popularity among the Manichaeans, whose teachings he had first accepted and then rejected. Certainly, the gnostic and Manichaean use of Enochic material did not boost the book’s popularity among orthodox writers.

As an explanation of the origins of evil, the story of the watchers was bound, for a variety of reasons, to hasten the demise of Enochic authority. First, one had to relate the story to the chronological priority of the Eden story (cf. Epiphanius). Genesis 6:1-4 sits uncomfortably in the sequence between Genesis 1-5 and the flood story. Because they do not recapitulate the whole of primordial history (with the exception of the Animal Vision), the Enochic writings all but ignore the Eden story and thus identify the watchers as the source of all substantial evil. Second, other myths competed with the story of the watchers as explanations for the origin of sin and evil. In addition to the Eden story, the myth of the fall of Athtar, attested in Isaiah 14, which originally described the arrogance of a royal figure,¹⁵⁴ came to refer to the fall of Satan.¹⁵⁵ The increasing emphasis on Adam (and Eve) as the cause of all sin is adequately documented in both Jewish and Christian literature such as *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, the *Books of Adam and Eve*, Romans 5, Irenaeus, and Augustine. Irenaeus is an interesting case in point. He knows the story of the watchers and accepts the authenticity of its Enochic provenance, but, different from Justin, Athenagoras, and others, he does not use the story to explain the origin of a demonic kingdom. At the same time, he develops a complex Adam/Christ

typology from a Pauline nucleus. Third, and related to this, is the tension between a myth that emphasizes human responsibility and one that focuses on the demonic victimization of humanity. One wonders to what extent Augustine’s rejection of the story of the watchers is a function of his development of an anthropologically oriented doctrine of original sin. Finally, the developing interpretation of Gen 6:1-4 and 1 Enoch 6-11 with reference to Sethites and Cainites, widely attested in Jewish and Christian literature, indicates a growing unease with the myth as a story of divine/human intercourse. Whatever the reasons for this exegetical development, the myth of the fall of Satan and story of Eden offered useful alternative explanations for the origin of sin and evil.

6.3.6.3. Geographical Distribution

An attempt to track the geographical dimensions of the popularity and rejection of the Enochic writings is limited by a great deal of silence in the sources. Even when a given writer cites Enochic writings or traditions, we cannot be certain where he received these traditions or whether he learned them from someone who brought them from another place. Moreover, the failure to cite Enochic material does not indicate whether these traditions were accepted or rejected in the place where the document was written. We can only document knowledge of the Enochic material in the place where the document citing the material originated (e.g., Justin in Rome).¹⁵⁶

Palestine: The Qumran finds document knowledge and use in Palestine of the whole Enochic corpus, including the Book of Giants, but excepting the Book of Parables.

Syria: The Gospels’ teaching about the Son of Man indicates that the traditions in the Parables were known in Syria, and Antioch in particular. The *Acts of Thomas* may also attest knowledge of the story of the watchers in Syria, and the *Pseudo-Clementines* are often ascribed to Syria.¹⁵⁷

154 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 78-81.

155 Cf. Luke 10:17-20; Rev 12:7-9; *Adam and Eve* 13-16.

156 It is one of the virtues of Lawlor’s article (“Early Citations”) that he attempts a geographical picture of the use of the Enoch traditions.

157 For the *Acts of Thomas* see Attridge, “Thomas, Acts

of,” 531; on the *Pseudo-Clementines* see Quasten, *Patrology*, 1:62.

Asia Minor: The Fragments of Papias and perhaps the writings of Irenaeus point to knowledge of the Enochic myth in Hierapolis and perhaps Smyrna.

Athens: The *Apology* of Athenagoras was composed in Athens.

Rome: Knowledge of the traditions in Rome is indicated by 1 Peter, possibly 1 Clement, Justin, and possibly Minucius Felix.

Carthage: Enochic ideas were championed in Carthage by Tertullian and Cyprian (though he may simply be drawing on Tertullian's writings) in the third century, and Lactantius early in the fourth century. A hundred years later, Augustine of Hippo argued vigorously against the Enochic writings.

Egypt: Apart from Ethiopia (see §6.3.7), Egypt, especially Alexandria, provides the most copious evidence for the early Christian usage of the Enochic writings and traditions. As we have seen (§6.2.7, 11), knowledge of 1 Enoch in Egyptian Jewry is attested by 2 Enoch and the Wisdom of Solomon. The Egyptian Christian use of Enochic traditions is documented in a variety of texts that span five or six centuries and perhaps longer. The use of 1 Enoch is evident in the following: the *Epistle of Barnabas*, early second century (Animal Vision and Apocalypse of Weeks); Clement of Alexandria, early third century (Book of the Watchers); Origen, mid-third century (Book of the Watchers); Anatolius, late third century (Book of the Luminaries); Chester Beatty Codex, fourth century (Epistle of Enoch); Oxyrhynchus papyrus, fourth century (Book of the Luminaries, Animal Vision); Pandorus and Annianus, late fourth century (Book of the Watchers); Akhmim Codex, fifth to sixth century (Book of the Watchers); Coptic ms., sixth to seventh century (Apocalypse of Weeks) (see §2.6). Indirect witnesses include *Pistis Sophia*, third century (story of the watchers); Nag Hammadi codices, a fourth-century Coptic translation of the second-century *Apocryphon of John* and the third-century treatise *On the Origin of the World* (story of the watchers); Coptic Enoch Apoc-

ryphon, fifth century (Christian Enochic tradition related to the *Testament of Abraham*), and another Coptic ms. of uncertain date about "Enoch the righteous scribe."¹⁵⁸ The *Gospel of Peter* and *Apocalypse of Peter*, both stemming from the early second century and reflecting the Book of the Watchers and the latter reflecting the Parables, are attested in a second- to third-century fragment of the *Gospel*, fifth-century fragments of the *Apocalypse*, and substantial parts of both texts copied in a seventh- to ninth-century hand and bound with the Book of the Watchers in the Akhmim Codex. Citing a couple of other bits of evidence from Egypt, Lawlor concludes that after 1 Enoch began to fall into disfavor in orthodox Christian circles,

its credit was as high as ever among the heretical sects, and its popularity with the general body of less learned orthodox Churchmen diminished but little. The attitude of the teachers of orthodoxy towards it came at length to be one of compromise. In general terms they condemned the book, and branded it as without authority. But they could not altogether ignore the mass of popular beliefs which had their origins in its pages.¹⁵⁹

6.3.6.4. The Petrine Trajectory

One of the fascinating aspects of the Christian reuse of Enochic traditions is the association of these traditions with the figure of the apostle Peter. I have already noted examples in the Gospel of Matthew, 1 Peter, the *Gospel of Peter*, 2 Peter, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*. To these one might possibly add Acts 10. Here Peter sees a vision that authorizes a mission to the Gentiles. In its imagery of clean and unclean animals, reptiles, and birds, unclean animals symbolize the Gentiles, as they do in Enoch's second dream vision. The other major part of the imagery in the second dream vision—shepherd and sheep—appears also in connection with Peter in 1 Pet 5:2-4 and John 21.¹⁶⁰

158 See H. Munier, "Mélanges de littérature copte 3," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 23 (1923) 212-15. On this and other references to Enoch in Coptic literature, see Pearson, "Pierpont Morgan Fragments," 239-45; and idem, "Enoch in Egypt," in Argall, Bow, Werline, *Later Generation*, 224-30.

159 H. J. Lawlor, "The Book of Enoch in the Egyptian

Church," *Hermathena* 30 (1904) 178-83.

160 Cf. also the reference to Levi's tending his father's flock at Abel-Main in the related Levi text (see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6-16).

Lacking any explicit reference to Enoch, these texts depict Peter assuming Enochic roles: he is commissioned (Matthew, Acts, John), makes reference to the sin and imprisonment of the angels (2 Peter, *Pseudo-Clementines*), travels to the places of punishment (*Apocalypse of Peter*),¹⁶¹ and sees a vision (Acts). The cumulative evidence, unless coincidental, indicates that Enochic traditions were known in Petrine circles; the texts exemplify a tendency—documented also in some Jewish texts—to ascribe to one figure traditions that originated in connection with another.¹⁶²

6.3.7. The Ethiopian Tradition

As the only surviving witness to the whole of 1 Enoch, the Ethiopic version has been indispensable to the study of 1 Enoch, early Judaism, and Christian origins. Ironically, however, as Milik has noted,¹⁶³ scholars of 1 Enoch have paid little systematic attention to the historical matrix of the Ethiopic version and to the book's ongoing role in the life and thought of Ethiopian Christianity. Ullendorff touches on it from time to time in his writings on Ethiopia and Ethiopian religion (see below). Milik lists passages in the printed editions of Ge'ez literature that cite or quote 1 Enoch, and refers to the texts when they seem relevant to his discussion of the Aramaic.¹⁶⁴ Berger provides an extensive list of citations together with their readings.¹⁶⁵ Fuhs calls for a new critical text and the study of the settings and use of the original translation and its subsequent recensions.¹⁶⁶ Among the editions of 1 Enoch published since 1821, only the 1983 translation by Isaac has addressed the issue of the

Ethiopian use of 1 Enoch—but then only briefly.¹⁶⁷ Otherwise, 1 Enoch's influence has been discussed only in relation to early Jewish texts and the literature of Western Christianity.

Yet the fact that the Ethiopian church received 1 Enoch into its corpus of sacred books when it was being rejected by the rest of Christendom, and canonized it after it had been dismissed elsewhere, raises two questions for a historian of Christianity: Why did 1 Enoch become popular and eventually authoritative in Ethiopia? How has it functioned in the faith and piety of Ethiopian Christianity? It is useful to pursue these questions in reverse order. Using, unfortunately, only a few scattered examples, we can see how 1 Enoch has influenced Ethiopian religious thought and piety. Then, partly on the basis of this evidence, I shall suggest some factors that may have contributed to the book's inclusion in the Ethiopian Bible.

6.3.7.1. 1 Enoch's Function in Ethiopian Christianity

The *Kebra Nagast* ("The glory of the kings"), the epic that was composed to legitimate the Ethiopian monarchy,¹⁶⁸ integrates an account of the fall of the angels into its retelling of primordial history. It appears to reflect 1 Enoch 6–11, as well as a form of the story preserved in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homily 8* (see §6.3.4.1) and some wording from 2 Peter and Jude.¹⁶⁹ The *Maṣḥafa Mestira Samay wameder* ("The Book of the Mysteries of Heaven

161 In 1 Peter it is Jesus who journeys to the prison of the spirits.

162 On the fluctuation of traditions between Abraham and Job, see Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 98–99 and n. 42. On common traditions about the deaths of Abraham and Moses, see Samuel E. Loewenstamm, "The Testament of Abraham and the Texts Concerning the Death of Moses," in Nickelsburg, ed., *Studies*, 219–25.

163 *Enoch*, 85.

164 For the list see *ibid.*, 86–87. For the texts cited see his index, *ibid.*, 423.

165 Klaus Berger, *JSS* 11 (1980) 102–9.

166 Fuhs, "Übersetzung."

167 Isaac, "1 Enoch," 10.

168 For an English translation, see E. A. Wallis Budge,

The Queen of Sheba & her only Son Menyelek: Being the History of the Departure of God & His Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the Establishment of the Religion of the Hebrews & the Solomonic Line of Kings in that Country. A Complete Translation of the Kebra Nagast with Introduction (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1922). For a recent discussion, see Irfan Shahid, "The Kebra Nagast in the Light of Recent Research," *Mus* 89 (1976) 133–78. The book is dated both early (sixth to eighth century) and late (fourteenth century), *ibid.*, 137–45. Shahid argues that the earliest form of the book may date back to the sixth century.

169 On the text see briefly Edward Ullendorff, "Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity," *JSS* 1 (1956) 232. For a

and Earth”)¹⁷⁰ integrates into its expansive retelling of Genesis (part 1) an account of the rebellion of the angels that contains a long list of angels and their revelations and mentions the predominance of sexual promiscuity, earth’s cry of judgment, and the giants’ war of mutual extermination.¹⁷¹ Part 4 contains a rewritten form of the Apocalypse of Weeks, which interprets the sixth to tenth weeks to refer to the coming of Christ and the history of the church down to the appearance of the Antichrist.¹⁷² The book refers to 1 Enoch 3:1; 18; 22;¹⁷³ the Parables;¹⁷⁴ the Book of the Luminaries;¹⁷⁵ and the Animal Vision.¹⁷⁶

The integration of Enochic material into the liturgical life of the church is attested in the *Maṣḥafa Seneksar*, the Ethiopian Synaxarium, a compilation of readings for saints’ days.¹⁷⁷ A reading for the 27th of Ter (Feb. 1), which commemorates Enoch’s assumption to heaven, summarizes the first four books of 1 Enoch, quoting from the Introduction (1:3-5), the Book of the Watchers (13:7-8; 14:10-18 briefly; 18:7-8), the Parables (40:2; 46:1; 48:3-4), the Book of the Luminaries (72:1), and the Animal Vision (85:3; 90:28-29, 32-33).¹⁷⁸ The material from the Parables is identified as a prophecy of

Christ,¹⁷⁹ and the description of the New Jerusalem in the Animal Vision is interpreted to refer to the church. Another reading for a day in commemoration of the thousands of thousands of intercessory spirits cites Enoch, conflating wording from chaps. 13-14 and 40.¹⁸⁰ This interest in angels is evident throughout the work, once citing 1 Enoch 23 on the Feast of Raguel,¹⁸¹ and often interpolating the names of the archangels (notably Michael) into stories from the Bible and the lives of Christian saints. Enoch’s significance is evident also in the book’s identification of him and Elijah as the two witnesses in Revelation 11¹⁸² and in the setting of a day to commemorate the death of Jared, Enoch’s father.¹⁸³

An interest in angels also governs a fifteenth-century homily in honor of the angel Gabriel.¹⁸⁴ Beginning with Gabriel’s appearance to the Virgin Mary, it recites the angel’s other missions, including his destruction of the giants described in 1 Enoch 10:9, which it quotes along with 20:7 and 40:2, 3, 6, 9.¹⁸⁵ Other influences of 1 Enoch appear in Ethiopian magical texts.¹⁸⁶

detailed discussion of the sources of this complex of traditions, see David A. Hubbard, “The Literary Sources of the Kebra Nagast” (Ph.D. diss.; University of St. Andrews, 1956) 145a-58.

170 For an English translation, see E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bahayla Mikā’el (Zōsimās): The Ethiopic Texts Edited from the Unique Manuscript (Éth 37 Peiresc) in the Bibliothèque Nationale with English Translations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

171 In addition to references to cosmology (sun, moon, clouds) and healing, the list includes the revelation of metallurgy (iron, brass, stibium) and a whole range of practical skills and crafts related especially to building, agriculture, and cooking, as well as musical arts; see Budge, *Mysteries*, 26-29. For another reference to their teaching, see p. 142.

172 See *ibid.*, 141-43. See also the literature cited by Isaac, “1 Enoch,” 10 n. 17.

173 See Budge, *Mysteries*, 34, 36, 85.

174 For a quotation of 60:5-6, see *ibid.*, 18.

175 *Ibid.*, 141.

176 *Ibid.*, 39, 108-9.

177 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1928).

178 *Ibid.*, 555-56.

179 For a nineteenth-century appeal to the Parables for their attestation of the divinity and humanity of Christ, see the text published by Yaqob Beyene, *L’Unzione di Cristo nella Teologia Etiopica* (OrChrA 215; Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1981) 93. The author quotes 1 Enoch 46:1-3 and 49:2-3, to which is added a quote from Isa 42:1, the passage that stands behind 1 Enoch 49:4. For a similar appeal to the Animal Vision to prove that Jesus is the second Adam, see Budge, *Mysteries*, 39-40.

180 Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 235.

181 *Ibid.*, 9.

182 *Ibid.*, 309, 463; cf. also Budge, *Mysteries*, 89. The interpretation appears frequently in Western Christian theology. See VanderKam, “Early Christian Literature,” 89-92.

183 Budge, *Book of the Saints*, 884-85.

184 Getatchew Haile, *The Mariology of Emperor Zār’a Ya’qob of Ethiopia: Texts and Translations* (OrChrA 242; Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1992) 15-60.

185 *Ibid.*, 51-52.

186 For an example see Gene B. Gragg, “A Magic Prayer

The Synaxarium's reference to the Book of the Luminaries hints at the major role that this work played as the basis for the Ethiopian religious calendar.¹⁸⁷ In the words of Emperor Zar'a Ya'qob (1434–68), "No man, may he come from East or West, from North or South, from all the four corners of the world, can compute the time of Fast, of Easter and its feasts, or of the stars, without Enoch."¹⁸⁸ The book also played a major role in Ethiopian chronography.¹⁸⁹

This survey, though only partial, provides a glimpse of some of the ways in which 1 Enoch has influenced Ethiopian science, chronography, and historiography, as well as the theology, piety, worship, and magical practices of Ethiopian Christianity over the course of many centuries. The ancient text was understood to describe the origins of evil and reflected the varieties of angelic activity. It predicted the coming of Christ and the creation of the church, and it informed one's views of heaven and earth and time. As Sacred Scripture, it could be cited to make a theological point.¹⁹⁰ In almost all of these respects, 1 Enoch functioned for the Ethiopians as

it had earlier, in one place or another, in Mediterranean Christianity. But what additional factors led to its use, canonization, and continued influence in Ethiopia when it had fallen from favor in the rest of Christendom?

6.3.7.2. 1 Enoch and the Early Ethiopian Church

The precise circumstances for the acceptance of 1 Enoch in Ethiopia are not clear. What follows is an attempt to clarify the issue. Christianity arrived in Ethiopia in the middle of the fourth century.¹⁹¹ Its founders are said to have been two brothers from Tyre, named Aedesius and Frumentius. Around the year 340, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, consecrated Frumentius as the first bishop of Ethiopia,¹⁹² thus beginning an ecclesiastical association between the Ethiopian Church and the patriarchate of Alexandria that lasted until the consecration of the first native Ethiopian patriarch-catholicus in 1959.¹⁹³ Further evangelization of Ethiopia occurred in the late fifth to sixth centuries with the arrival of the founders of Ethiopian monasticism, "the nine saints."¹⁹⁴

Ethiopian Christianity as it exists today has a strong Judaic character,¹⁹⁵ although the origin of these ele-

of Henoch from a Manuscript of the Goodspeed Collection of the University of Chicago," in Harold G. Marcus, ed., *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1975) 61–71. On the widespread use of magical practices and prayers, see the summary of Ullendorff, "Elements," 229–31.

187 See Otto Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Comptus* (SÖAW, philosophisch-historische Klasse 347; Vienna: Österreich Akademie, 1979) 109–11.

188 CSCO 235, p. 99, 10–14; and 236, p. 87, 17–21; cited in Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy*, 110.

189 Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy*, 109–13, 172–75, 179–82. See also the comments of Milik (*Enoch*, 258) with reference to the interpretation of the Apocalypse of Weeks.

190 See the text published by Beyene (*L'Unzione*, 219), which quotes 1 Enoch 85:2 to make a philological point in interpreting Luke 1:29–30.

191 On the history of Ethiopian Christianity from the fourth to the fifteenth century, see Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450–1950* (Oxford History of the Christian Church; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 4–45. See also Aziz S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1980) 49–55, 146–66. For the early history of the church in the context of pre-Christian religions and the

broader history of Ethiopia, see Sergrew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa: United Printers, 1972) 95–143. On pre-Christian religions, see also Stuart Munro-Hay, *Aksum: An African Civilization of Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991) 196–202. See also Heinzgerd Brakmann, *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum* (Bonn: Borengässer, 1994). On religion and the church in Ethiopia, see Edward Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians: An Introduction to Country and People* (3d ed.; repr. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990) 92–110.

192 Sellassie, *History*, 100–104; Munro-Hay, *Aksum*, 202–4.

193 Atiya, *History*, 120.

194 Sellassie, *History*, 115–19. Recently the Syrian origin of the "Nine Saints" and their involvement in the translation of the Bible has been seriously questioned. See Paolo Marrassini, "Some Considerations on the Problems of the 'Syriac Influences' on Aksumite Ethiopia," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 23 (1990) 35–46; and Michael A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Schweich Lectures; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 22–35.

195 E. Ullendorff, "Elements," 216–56; Maxime Rodinson, "Sur la question des 'influences juives' en Ethiopie," *JSS* 9 (1964) 11–19; H. J. Polotsky, "Ara-

ments is obscure.¹⁹⁶ To judge from aspects of contemporary Ethiopian Christianity, Christianity's earliest forms in this country, as elsewhere, also preserved elements of indigenous pagan religion. In addition to the worship of Greek gods,¹⁹⁷ "There existed a good deal of worship of spirits and genii (*zar*), good or evil, who were associated with trees or fountains, animate and inanimate objects. The mountaintops played a large part in these beliefs as, indeed, did the sky and the sun."¹⁹⁸ Magical practices and prayers were also a natural part of this environment.¹⁹⁹

The Bible was translated into Ge'ez over a period of time, between the fourth and sixth centuries.²⁰⁰ The reasons and circumstances that led to the introduction of 1 Enoch into Ethiopia when the book's fortunes were waning in the West are doubtless complex. Several considerations appear to be relevant.

First, 1 Enoch had not universally fallen from favor among Christians by the fourth century. Indeed, the book enjoyed considerable popularity in Egypt at the time of the establishment of the Ethiopian Church. Thus the close ties between the Ethiopian Church and the patriarchate in Alexandria and the book's widespread and long-standing use in Egypt would have been a factor in the book's importation into Ethiopia.²⁰¹

Second, the book's acceptance was affected by elements and conditions indigenous to Ethiopia and Ethiopian Christianity. With respect to the latter, there is no evidence that the nascent church in Ethiopia interacted with a form of Judaism that was governed by the restrictions that shaped the Hebrew canon of the

rabbis.²⁰² Thus the caution expressed by Origen (*Num. Hom.* 28.2; see above, §6.3.2.13) and the analogy of the Hebrew canon that led Jerome to differentiate between canonical and deuterocanonical books did not apply in the Ethiopian Church. The way was open to include the books of "the Apocrypha," as well as 1 Enoch, *Jubilees*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and the *Paraleipomena of Jeremiah*.²⁰³

Elements that are central in 1 Enoch were also at home in fifth- and sixth-century Ethiopia and would have made the book a comfortable fit in that environment. (1) The story of the watchers' breeding a world of demons, which still prey on humanity, resonated in an environment where demons and spirits were part of one's understanding of everyday life.²⁰⁴ (2) The book's developed angelology, with its plethora of heavenly intercessors and guardian spirits, was also compatible with such a worldview (see §4.2.2). Indeed, some of the attraction of the Book of Parables would have been its depiction of the enthroned Son of Man in the midst of a heavenly world populated with angels. The book's polemic against magic as a demonic invention (see comm. on 8:3) may run against the grain of that component in Ethiopian religion (though it might have supported efforts to root out such practices). But the book's portrayal of angels binding evil spirits (10:4-5, 11) and the inclusion of a text like 69:4-5 were compatible with

maic, Syriac, and Ge'ez," *JSS* 9 (1964) 1-10.

196 On the historical problems, see Ullendorff ("Elements," 219-25), who believes that Christianity, when introduced to Ethiopia, may have met a form of pre-talmudic Judaism, which had been introduced by merchants and settlers and during military interventions. Rodinson ("Question") is skeptical.

197 Sellassie, *History*, 96.

198 Ullendorff, *Ethiopians*, 93-94, 99-100.

199 *Ibid.*, 99-100.

200 Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1967* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 31-72, esp. 55-59; Knibb, *Translating the Bible*, 14-46; Fuhs, "Übersetzung,"

201 The connection with Alexandria should not be overemphasized. The Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch is more closely associated with "the vulgar text that was at home in Upper Egypt" (Codex Panopolitanus) than with the more reliable text of Syncellus, which derived ultimately from fifth-century Alexandria; see Fuhs, "Übersetzung," 47. See above, §2.2-2.3.

202 For Ullendorff's conclusions on this matter, see above, n. 196.

203 For the inclusion of these texts in Ethiopian biblical mss., see the catalogues of Hill Monastic Microfilm Library, *passim*.

204 For an anthropologically oriented analysis of this aspect of modern Amhara religion, see Ronald A. Reminick, "The Structure and Functions of Reli-

magical practice, and magic spells were in fact identified with Enochic revelation.²⁰⁵ (3) 1 Enoch's focus on the created world, its sacred cosmology and geography and its flora and fauna, may have contributed to the book's popularity and helped it to exude a sense of familiarity. In a country of deep ravines and high mountain peaks²⁰⁶—some of them sacred²⁰⁷—the story of the watchers' descent onto Hermon (chap. 6) and the accounts of Enoch's journeys to the great mountain ranges of the west and east²⁰⁸ and the valleys of punishment would have led the reader's imagination through familiar terrain. Enoch's journeys through the spice orchards to the great tree of paradise would have resonated in a world where groves of trees were sacred.²⁰⁹ Many of the wild animals that preyed on the Israelite sheep that populate Enoch's second dream vision were part of the everyday experience of many Ethiopians.²¹⁰

Finally, 1 Enoch's status in Ethiopia may have been fostered by the absence of some the factors that led to the book's rejection in the great metropolitan centers of Mediterranean Christianity. 1 Enoch's mythic worldview did not have to vie with a tradition of rational thinking and philosophical refinement such as characterized many of the writings of the fathers. In the same vein, although Ethiopian Christians took sides on the christological debates that swirled around Alexandria, polemics against mythically and dualistically oriented heretics (Gnostics and Manichaeans) do not seem to have taken hold in this remote country as they did in the great urban centers of the Mediterranean.

In short, 1 Enoch took root in Ethiopia because: (a) it

was brought there by missionaries who came from an environment that had long cherished the book; (b) its worldview spoke to the Ethiopians' worldview, and the environment it imaginatively portrayed resonated with their environment; and (c) Ethiopian Christianity lacked the theological and intellectual counterforces that led to the book's rejection in Mediterranean Christianity.

Nourished within this context, we may infer from the book's influence on Ethiopian faith and piety since its canonization (see §6.3.7.1) that 1 Enoch functioned in Ethiopian Christianity much as it had functioned in second- to fourth-century Mediterranean Christianity. It served as a basis for calendrical calculation, an explanation for the origin of sin and evil, and a source for christological and eschatological speculation.

The book's authority, however, was not undisputed in the Ethiopian Church.²¹¹ Nonetheless, it survived because it continued to be copied for many centuries after it was translated, and it appears to have undergone recensional activity in the second half of the fourteenth century.²¹² Its authority was definitively established in the next century during the reform of Emperor Zar'a Ya'qob, who made it a centerpiece in his apologetical interaction with Judaism.²¹³ Thus the Parable's portrayal of the Son of Man, which had been the first Enochic impulse in the early church's theology and a formative component in its christology, led to the book's preservation in Ethiopia, whence, by poetic justice, it has come to shed light on its own role in Christian origins.²¹⁴

gious Belief among the Amhara of Ethiopia," in Marcus, ed., *Proceedings*, 25–42.

205 Gragg, "Magic Prayer."

206 For summary descriptions of Ethiopian geography, see Alan B. Mountjoy and Clifford Embleton, *Africa: A New Geographical Survey* (New York: Praeger, 1967) 326–29; Irving Kaplan et al., *Area Handbook for Ethiopia* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971) 10–13; William A. Hance, *The Geography of Modern Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975) 347–50. For some visual depictions of the terrain, see *Views in Central Abyssinia* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1868); and Richard Pankhurst and Leila Ingrams, *Ethiopia Engraved* (London: Kegan Paul, 1988).

207 Ullendorff, *Ethiopians*, 94.

208 On Enoch's visit to the "seven mountains of fire,"

see Budge, *Mysteries*, 36.

209 Marilyn E. Heldman, "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem in Ethiopia," in Marcus, ed., *Proceedings*, 43–71.

210 On Ethiopian wildlife see Kaplan, *Handbook*, 23–24; Pankhurst and Ingrams, *Ethiopia Engraved*, 155–76.

211 Kurt Wendt, "Der Kampf um den Kanon Heiliger Schriften in der äthiopischen Kirche der Reformen des xv. Jahrhunderts," *JSS* 9 (1964) 108.

212 Fuhs, "Übersetzung," 45–46.

213 Wendt, "Kampf," 107–13, esp. 111–12. On the reforms of Zar'a Ya'qob, see Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia: 1270–1527* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 220–47.

214 I am grateful to Prof. Michael Knibb, who read these sections on 1 Enoch and Ethiopia and made a number of valuable suggestions, not least about bibliography

7.0. Currents in the Modern Study of 1 Enoch

7.1. The Book's Reappearance in the West

Lost to Judaism and Mediterranean Christianity for four hundred years,¹ 1 Enoch reappeared where it had been last seen. In 1658 Joseph Scaliger published portions of the *Chronography* of George Syncellus,² which included excerpts from 1 Enoch. The Enochic material had last been quoted, to our knowledge, in the twelfth-century chronographies of Michael of Syria (1166–1199) and George Cedrenus of Byzantium (see §6.3.2.23).

In 1773 the whole of 1 Enoch reappeared in the West. While searching for the sources of the Nile, the Scottish explorer James Bruce discovered the Book of Enoch where it had never been lost or forgotten, and he returned to Europe with three Ethiopic MSS. of the text.³ In 1800 parts of the text were published in a Latin translation with introduction by Silvestre de Sacy.⁴

7.2. Major Nineteenth-Century Editions and Studies

7.2.1. Texts, Translations, and Commentaries

Publication of the full text of 1 Enoch had to wait another two decades for the English translation by Richard Laurence of Oxford, soon to be the Protestant archbishop of Cashel, Ireland (1821).⁵ Laurence's transcription of ms. a (1838) was also the first Ethiopic text

of 1 Enoch to be published in the West.⁶ Remarkably, one of the longest nineteenth-century treatments of 1 Enoch appeared already in 1833 and 1838 in a two-volume, 962-page work by the Jena professor of theology, Andreas Gottlieb Hoffmann.⁷ The first volume of Hoffmann's translation was a German rendering of Laurence's English, while volume two was a translation of Ethiopic ms. c, made in comparison with Laurence's 1833 revised translation.⁸ The notes are text-critical, philological, and explanatory, and the major part of Hoffmann's introduction is a translation of the 49-page "Preliminary Dissertation" in Laurence's translation.

Texts and translations of 1 Enoch were published throughout the nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth century. A. F. Gefrörer's Latin translation appeared in 1840,⁹ and a German translation by Richard Clemens was published in 1850.¹⁰ In 1851 the great Ethiopicist from Tübingen August Dillmann (then only 28 years old) issued a text based on five MSS. (abcde),¹¹ and then in 1853, a translation with commentary.¹² These two works, together with his grammar and lexicon of the Ge'ez language (1857, 1865),¹³ made him the most important contributor to Enoch studies in the nineteenth century. Other translations were those of

1 It has been argued that a copy or copies of 1 Enoch existed in Europe in the fifteenth or sixteenth century; see Nathaniel Schmidt, "Traces of Early Acquaintance in Europe with the Book of Enoch," *JAOS* 42 (1922) 44–52. See, however, Fuhs, "Übersetzung," 37–38.

2 Scaliger, *Thesaurus Temporum*, 404–5.

3 See James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773* (5 vols.; London: Robinsons, 1790) 2, chap. 7.

4 Silvestre de Sacy, "Notice du Livre d'Enoch," *Magasin encyclopédique* 6/1 (1800) 369–98.

5 Richard Laurence, *The Book of Enoch, an apocryphal production, supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia; now first translated from an Ethiopic Ms. in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1821). Revised editions appeared in 1833, 1838, and 1842.

6 Richard Laurence, *Libri Enoch prophetarum versio aethiopica* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1838).

7 Andreas Gottlieb Hoffmann, *Das Buch Henoch: In*

vollständiger Uebersetzung mit fortlaufendem Commentar, ausführlicher Einleitung und erläuternden Excursen (2 vols.; Jena: Crocker, 1833–38).

8 *Ibid.*, 1:ix–xvii; 2:iv–x.

9 A. F. Gefrörer, *Prophetarum veteres pseudepigraphi partim ex abyssinico vel hebraico sermonibus latine versi* (Stuttgart: Krabbe, 1840).

10 Richard Clemens, *Die Offenbarungen der Propheten Henoch, Esra und Jesaja im Jahrhunderte des Heils*, Part 1: *Die Offenbarung Henochs oder das sog. Buch Henoch* (Stuttgart, 1850).

11 August Dillmann, *Liber Henoch Aethiopice, ad quinque codicum fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1851).

12 *Idem*, *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853).

13 *Idem*, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1857); *idem*, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1865).

Gustave Brunet (French, 1856),¹⁴ George Schodde (English, 1882),¹⁵ Lazarus Goldschmidt (Hebrew, 1892),¹⁶ and R. H. Charles, whose translation and commentary (1893) ushered in a new generation of scholarship.¹⁷

The advances of this new generation were aided in 1886/87 by a discovery of a Greek ms. in a monk's grave in Akhmim (ancient Panopolis), Egypt. Containing the text of 1 Enoch 1–32, the ms. moved scholars far beyond the Greek extracts in Syncellus and provided access to most of the Book of the Watchers in a textual form prior to the Ethiopic and only one step removed from the book's Semitic original. Ulysses Bouriant and Adolphe Lods published the text in 1892 and 1893.¹⁸ In 1892 Lods also issued an edition with introduction, text-critical notes comparing it with the Ethiopic, and a French translation.¹⁹ Dillmann commented at length on the relationship of the Greek to the Ethiopic (1892).²⁰ The text was reprinted and discussed by Charles in his annotated translation (1893) and was also reprinted by Henry Barclay Swete in 1899.²¹

Other textual resources of less consequence were a Greek Oxyrhynchus papyrus fragment of chap. 89, published by Angelo Mai (1844) and deciphered by J. Gildemeister (1855) and Gitlbauer (1878),²² and a fragment of a Latin translation of chap. 106, published by M. R. James (1893) and discussed by Charles (1893).²³

7.2.2. Discussions of 1 Enoch

The publication of 1 Enoch caused a sensation among biblical scholars and clergy, and the new text spawned a substantial literature—especially in German—consisting of journal and encyclopedia articles, whole monographs, and sections in books.²⁴

The major topics were the standard issues in biblical introduction as practiced by German scholars: the structure of the book, the time and provenance of its various parts, the manner of its growth into the present collection, and its relationship to early Christian messianism. An early landmark was Heinrich Ewald's 1854 study, which argued that 1 Enoch comprised a number of independent works, which in turn were the precipitate of a larger literature written in the name of the patriarch.²⁵ The unitary authorship of 1 Enoch had been posited by Dillmann in 1853 (and abandoned by him in 1860),²⁶ and it would be defended after Ewald. Ewald's discussion of the Enochic corpus in his somewhat later *History of Israel* is remarkable for its sensitivity to the creative matrix of this literature.²⁷

Because of 1 Enoch's parallels to the NT and its citation in the Epistle of Jude, the question of its Jewish or Christian origin was an important topic of discussion. One of the earliest treatments of the work (1836) was a 412-page book by Edward Murray, an Anglican clergyman who attempted to extract from 1 Enoch a basic doc-

14 Gustave Brunet, "Le Livre d'Énoch," in Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes* (2 vols.; Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1856–58) 1:394–514; idem, "Enoch," in *ibid.*, 2:223–26.

15 George Henry Schodde, *The Book of Enoch Translated from the Ethiopic with Introduction and Notes* (Andover [Mass.]: W. F. Draper, 1882).

16 Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Das Buch Henoch: Aus dem Aethiopischen in die ursprünglich hebräische Abfassungssprache zurückübersetzt, mit einer Einleitung und Noten versehen* (Berlin: Richard Heinrich, 1892).

17 R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch: Translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text, emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893).

18 Bouriant, "Fragments grecs"; Lods, *L'Évangile*.

19 Martin, *Hénoch*.

20 Dillmann, "Text."

21 Henry Barclay Swete, *The Psalms of Solomon with the Greek Fragments of the Book of Enoch* (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1899).

22 Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* 2, xi; Gildemeister, "Fragment"; Gitlbauer, *Überreste*.

23 M. R. James, "A Fragment of the Book of Enoch in Latin," *TS* 2/3 (1893) 146–50; Charles, *Book of Enoch* (1893) 372–75.

24 For an almost exhaustive bibliography, see Martin, *Hénoch*, cxli–cli. Charles (*Enoch*, xxx–xlvi) provides an annotated bibliography of works from 1850 to 1906, which summarizes the conclusions of the major treatments.

25 Heinrich Ewald, *Abhandlung über des äthiopischen Buches Henókh: Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zum Göttingen 6; Göttingen: Dieterich, 1854) 1–78.

26 August Dillmann, in J. J. Herzog, *Real-encyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (2 vols.; Hamburg: R. Besser, 1854–68) 12:308–10.

27 Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel* (2d ed.; 8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, 1880) 5:349.

ument that was, in Murray's view, the work quoted in Jude.²⁸ Dillmann considered Murray's book "worthless" and criticized Hoffmann for bothering to answer it with a 46-page excursus at the end of his commentary.²⁹ Other writers sought to identify 1 Enoch as a Christian work, written subsequent to Jude. H. J. Lawlor took a different tack on the relationship between 1 Enoch and early Christianity (1897) in an extensive article that combed early Christian literature for citations of 1 Enoch.³⁰

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the study of 1 Enoch found a new scholarly context. The publication of other noncanonical Jewish apocalypses (*Assumption of Moses* in 1861 and *2 Baruch* in 1866)³¹ and prior knowledge of still other works (*4 Ezra* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) allowed 1 Enoch to be discussed in the light of contemporary parallel texts. Ernst Schürer's handbook on Jewish history (1886–90)³² treated in sequence: Daniel, 1 Enoch, the *Assumption of Moses*, *2 Baruch*, *4 Ezra*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and "The Lost Pseudepigraphic Prophecies" attested in ancient lists; and it integrated material from the published texts into its synthetic discussion of "The Messianic Hope" of the Jews.³³

7.3. Work on 1 Enoch from R. H. Charles to the Discovery of the Qumran Scrolls

With substantial textual resources available, a discussion of major critical issues well underway, and a corpus of other apocalyptic literature also available, the stage was

set in the early 1890s for a new generation of scholarship on 1 Enoch.

7.3.1. Texts and Translations (1893–1902)

The 1893 annotated translation and commentary prepared by Charles represented an important advancement in the study of 1 Enoch. Although it was based on Dillmann's 1851 edition, Charles expanded his textual base by reference to ten additional Ethiopic mss. that had, meanwhile, come into the possession of the British Museum, and he discussed the implications of the Akhmim Codex, which had been published in the previous year.

The year 1900 saw the publication of the two-volume *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, edited by Emil Kautzsch, which dramatized the availability of the newly published Jewish texts and the growing recognition of their importance for the history of Judaism and early Christianity.³⁴ The edition of 1 Enoch, prepared by Georg Beer, used the same textual base employed by Charles in his 1893 edition.³⁵ The availability of many new mss. led Johannes Flemming, an Ethiopist, and Ludwig Radermacher, a classicist, to collaborate on a new German translation that was based on twenty-five Ethiopic mss. and the Akhmim Codex (1901).³⁶ The following year Flemming issued his edition of the Ethiopic text, based on fifteen mss.³⁷ In 1906 François Martin produced an edition of 1 Enoch,³⁸ with an extensive introduction, that covered religious ideas, manuscript evidence, literary and historical matters, an account of the book's influence in early Christianity, and

28 Edward Murray, *Enoch Restitutus; or an Attempt to Separate from the Books of Enoch the Book Quoted by St. Jude* (London: Rivington, 1836).

29 Dillmann, *Hénoc*, lviii.

30 Lawlor, "Early Citations."

31 Antonius M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1861) 1/1:55–64; idem, *Monumenta sacra et profana* (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1871) 5/2:113–80.

32 Ernst Schürer, *Die Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (3d ed.; 3 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901–1909). For an English translation see Ernst Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (5 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885–91).

33 On the texts see Schürer, *History*, 5:44–133. On messianic hope see *ibid.*, 4:126–87.

34 Emil Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1900).

35 *Ibid.*, 2:217–310.

36 Johannes Flemming and Ludwig Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch: Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (GCS 5; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901).

37 Flemming and Radermacher, *Hénoc*.

38 François Martin, *Le Livre d'Hénoc: Documents pour l'étude de la Bible, traduit sur le texte Éthiopien* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906).

a comprehensive bibliography. The French translation was accompanied by text-critical notes and explanatory comments.

7.3.2. R. H. Charles

The generation of Enoch scholarship from 1890 to the beginning of World War I was dominated by Robert Henry Charles, a scholar with a rare and broad combination of intellectual talents and interests: classical and Semitic linguistic skills, a mastery of the newly emerging corpus of ancient Jewish apocalypses, theological interests, historical and literary inclinations, and a critical judgment expressed with candor and fairness. He began work on his 1893 translation and commentary of 1 Enoch³⁹ during a year in Germany in 1890.⁴⁰ Its introduction and comments were conversant with the forty years of scholarship since Dillmann's edition, and the volume as a whole set new agendas for the study of the text. After publishing this edition, he turned to a systematic appraisal of the textual evidence for 1 Enoch; and in 1906, using twenty-nine Ethiopic mss., the Akhmim Codex, and the fragments of Syncellus, he produced an eclectic text with a critical apparatus of variant readings.⁴¹ This edition was in turn the basis for his new commentary, published in 1912.⁴² It was, he noted, "not so much a second edition as a new book."⁴³ Informed by his ongoing work on other apocalyptic works—which had

resulted in two critical editions⁴⁴ and five annotated translations⁴⁵—its detailed introduction, often intelligent conjectures, and mass of informative notes make it a resource still to be consulted. In compressed form it appeared, along with six other of his annotated translations, in his two-volume edition of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (1913).⁴⁶ In this form it was the standard work on 1 Enoch for two generations of biblical scholarship. Although Charles's edition of 1912/13 is still useful in many ways, it is outdated by new textual resources, a larger corpus of related primary literature, and, not least, new methodologies that clarify how Charles's rational Western mind, with its desire for consistency and its aversion to symbolic narrative, sometimes hindered his understanding of the ancient apocalyptic texts that he was otherwise so well informed and gifted to interpret.⁴⁷

7.3.3. Handbooks of Jewish Religion

In the first half of the twentieth century, the work of Charles and his predecessors was incorporated into biblical commentaries and the highly influential handbooks of Jewish religion that were becoming a genre in the library of theological literature. Charles himself published a revised edition of his 1899 Jowett lectures on eschatology (1913),⁴⁸ as well as a two-volume commentary on the Book of Revelation (1920) and a commen-

39 R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch Translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893).

40 George W. Buchanan, "Introduction," in R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism, and Christianity* (repr. New York: Schocken Books, 1963) vii. On Charles's life and work, see C. F. D'Arcy, "A Brief Memoir," in R. H. Charles, *Courage, Truth, Purity* (Oxford: P. Blackwell, 1931) xiii–xxxv; T. W. Manson, "Charles, Robert Henry (1855–1931)," in L. G. Wickham Legg, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography 1931–1940* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949) 169–70.

41 Charles, *Eth. Enoch*. On the other editions, see below.

42 Charles, *Enoch*.

43 *Ibid.*, v.

44 R. H. Charles, *Maṣḥafa Kefal or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Anecdota Oxoniensia; Oxford: Clarendon, 1895); *idem*, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford:

Clarendon, 1908).

45 R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896); *idem*, *The Assumption of Moses* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1897); *idem*, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900); *idem*, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902); *idem*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908). For his 1913 edition of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, he also translated and annotated the Cairo-Damascus Document under the title of "The Fragments of a Zadokite Work" (*APOT* 2:785–834).

46 R. H. Charles, "Book of Enoch," in *APOT* 2:163–281.

47 See the comments already from Charles's contemporaries cited by Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature," 348–50.

48 Charles, *Eschatology*.

tary on Daniel (1929), which bore the imprint of his knowledge of 1 Enoch and other Jewish apocalyptic literature.⁴⁹ Schürer's second edition (1909) incorporated the new scholarship.⁵⁰ The synthetic works on Jewish eschatology by Paul Volz (1903, 1934)⁵¹ and F. C. Burkitt (1914)⁵² and the handbooks on Jewish religion by Wilhelm Bousset (1903)⁵³ and Hugo Gressmann (1926)⁵⁴ digested and integrated the material, as did the three-volume work of George Foot Moore (1927–30), albeit with less enthusiasm.⁵⁵ The material from 1 Enoch and other of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha was employed also by Paul Billerbeck in his multivolume *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (1924).⁵⁶ From these highly influential handbooks, material from and about 1 Enoch and other Jewish apocalypses found its way into other handbooks, as well as the commentaries, dictionaries, and encyclopedias that were written in the first half of the twentieth century.

7.3.4. A New Greek Text of the Epistle of Enoch

The major new resource for Enoch studies in the early decades of the twentieth century was an Egyptian papyrus codex discovered in 1929, which preserved the

Greek text of chaps. 97–107. Like the Akhmim Codex, this document from the Chester Beatty collection brought scholars a step closer to the Semitic original of a substantial part of 1 Enoch, and a flurry of mainly text-critical articles spun off the discovery after its publication by Campbell Bonner in 1937.⁵⁷

7.3.5. The Study of 1 Enoch between the Two World Wars

Apart from the aforementioned textual publications and some articles on specific topics, publications on 1 Enoch between 1915 and 1950 were relatively few and focused on the Son of Man in the Book of Parables (Rudolf Otto, N. Messel, Sigmund Mowinckel, Erik Sjöberg).⁵⁸ These natural products of Christian interest in the Jewish context of Christian messianism were informed by history-of-religions methodology and written mainly by Scandinavian scholars. The one other important work on 1 Enoch during this period, a study of the figure of Enoch, was written by H. Ludin Jansen (1946),⁵⁹ also a Scandinavian history-of-religions scholar. This lull in Enoch scholarship—fostered in part by the previous plethora of publications and the demands of a world at war, out of work, and again at war—would be broken by

- 49 Charles, *Revelation*; idem, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929).
- 50 Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*.
- 51 Paul Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1903); idem, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur* (2d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1934).
- 52 F. Crawford Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (London: Oxford University Press, 1914).
- 53 Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903).
- 54 Idem, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (ed. Hugo Gressmann; 3d ed.; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1926).
- 55 George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927–30) 1:125–31; 2:279–395.
- 56 Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (6 vols. in 7; Munich: Beck, 1926); see esp. the excursuses in 4/2:798–1212.

- 57 For the editio princeps, see Bonner, *Enoch*; and for the plates, Kenyon, *Papyri*. On the discovery, see above, §2.2. Articles written between 1939 and 1944 in response to the publication of the papyrus include: Jeremias, “Ein neuer Textfund”; idem, “Beobachtungen”; Torrey, “Notes”; Zuntz, “Notes”; idem, “Greek Text”; idem, “Last Judgment.”
- 58 N. Messel, *Der Menschensohn in den Bilderreden des Henoch* (BZAW 35; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1922); Sigmund Mowinckel, “Henok og Menneskesønner,” *NTT* 45 (1944) 57–69; idem, “Opphavet til den senjødiske forestelling om Menneskesønner,” *NTT* 45 (1944) 189–244; Rudolf Otto, *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Versuch* (Munich: Beck, 1934); Erik Sjöberg, “Känna 1 Henok och 4 Esra tanken på lidande Människosonen?” *SEA* 5 (1940) 163–83; idem, “Frågan om den lidande Människosonen i 1 Henok,” *SEA* 7 (1942) 141–44; idem, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 41; Lund: Gleerup, 1946); idem, *Der verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien* (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund 53; Lund: Gleerup, 1955).
- 59 Jansen, *Henochgestalt*.

the startling new discoveries in the Judean desert in the winter of 1946/47.

7.3.6. Scholarship on 1 Enoch: Primarily a Christian Enterprise

For a century and a half, scholarship on 1 Enoch and other Jewish apocalypses tended to be primarily a Christian undertaking, for negative and positive reasons. Jewish scholarship focused on the canonical and quasi-canonical literature: the Bible and the rabbinic texts of Talmud and Midrash. The apocalypses, with the exception of Daniel, had been bracketed out in the canonization process and continued to be marginalized.⁶⁰ Christian scholarship, on the other hand, expounded a NT whose texts had been fashioned in a powerfully eschatological environment. Thus it was delighted to have at its disposal texts from Jewish eschatological circles contemporary to the rise of Christianity. 1 Enoch was a special prize because the Book of Parables focused on the figure of a heavenly savior. For these reasons, the anti-Judaic tendencies that permeated much Christian literature on Judaism tended not to cast their shadow over the scholarship on 1 Enoch.⁶¹ Indeed, handbooks such as Schürer's shaped some of their categories for the study of Judaism under the influence of the messianism and eschatology that are so central to the NT. Ironically, however, in the period before 1950, Christian writing on early Judaism found it difficult to balance the components that were represented in the rabbinic and apocalyptic streams. One could appropriate Jewish messianic material as preparation for the gospel and still label Judaism in general as "legalistic."

7.4. The Study of 1 Enoch after the Discovery of the Qumran Scrolls

The discovery of the Qumran Scrolls profoundly changed the study of 1 Enoch and the interpretation of early Judaism in both Jewish and Christian circles.⁶² First, the scrolls provided new textual resources for the study of 1 Enoch; scholars could, in fact rather than in their imaginations, get behind the primary Greek translation to some scattered parts of the Aramaic original. Second, the Qumran caves yielded a wealth of other texts that shed light on the contexts of 1 Enoch. Third, because the scrolls were found in the Holy Land and were written mainly in Hebrew and Aramaic, these non-canonical, nonrabbinic texts became the object of intensive and productive study by Jewish scholars also. What resulted was a new era of cooperative, nonconfessional scholarship in which scholars with Jewish, Christian, or no religious orientation pooled their resources and interests to reshape the study of early Judaism through an infusion of new data and a use of methodologies that are at home in other disciplines.⁶³

The vast quantity of post-World War II scholarship on 1 Enoch makes it impossible to mention every book and article, much less to provide an annotated bibliography like that in Charles's 1912 edition. Instead, I will summarize the literature and discuss currents and tendencies under the categories of the present introduction.⁶⁴ A systematic discussion of the scholarship on the Book of Parables and the Book of the Luminaries will appear in the second volume of this commentary.⁶⁵

60 There are occasional exceptions of Jewish scholars working on 1 Enoch, notably the Hebrew retroversion of the Ethiopic text by Goldschmidt, *Henoch*; and some articles primarily on-linguistic and textual matters, e.g., Chaim Kaplan, "Versions and Readings in the Book of Enoch," *AJS* 50 (1933) 171-77.

61 See, however, the unfortunate comment by Charles (*Enoch*, vi), which makes explicit the perceived contrast between eschatology and legalistic rabbinic Judaism. On this anti-Judaism see Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).

62 See briefly George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Currents in Qumran Scholarship: The Interplay of Data, Agendas, and Methodology," in Robert A. Kugler and Eileen Schuller, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty*

(Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999) 89-91.

63 For an overview, see Kraft and Nickelsburg, *Early Judaism*, 1-30.

64 This section is a summary and updated form of the review article by George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Books of Enoch in Recent Research," *RelSRev* 7 (1981) 210-17. For additional literature, see B. Jongeling, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah: 1958-1969* (STDJ 7; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 100-104; and Florentino García Martínez and Donald W. Parry, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah: 1970-95* (STDJ 19; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 537.

65 For an overview of literature on the Parables up to 1981, see David Winston Suter, "Weighed in the Balance: The Similitudes of Enoch in Recent Discus-

7.4.1. New Textual Tools

7.4.1.1. The Qumran Fragments

As had been the case in the previous 150 years of Enoch studies, the discovery of new texts provided the impetus for a renewed study of this text. After some brief publications on Enochic fragments from Caves 1 and 4 (1951, 1955, 1958),⁶⁶ their editor J. T. Milik discussed “the problems of the Enochic literature in light of the Aramaic fragments of Qumran” in an extensive article (1971)⁶⁷ that anticipated the results of his 1976 publication and discussion of the corpus of Qumran Aramaic fragments (see §2.1).⁶⁸ Although the volume was criticized on a number of counts,⁶⁹ it was the most comprehensive and important discussion of the Enochic literature since Charles’s *Book of Enoch* (1912). Moreover, Milik’s reconstruction of the fragmentary texts (his special gift), his philological comments, the mass of information he gathered about the possible contexts of the Enochic literature and its ongoing life, and many of his judgments and interpretations have made it a lasting and seminal contribution to the study of 1 Enoch and related literature. Full editions of the the Book of Giants (Stuckenbruck and Puech) and MSS. a and b of the Book of the Luminaries (Tigchelaar and García Martínez), anticipated then, would not appear until more than two decades later.⁷⁰

7.4.1.2. Editions and Translations

The discovery and publication of the Qumran fragments spawned a set of new editions and annotated translations of 1 Enoch. Before Milik’s publication of the fragments actually appeared, Matthew Black produced the

first comprehensive edition of the extant Greek texts of 1 Enoch (1970), including the Akhmim Codex, the extracts from Syncellus, the Chester Beatty Papyrus, the fragment of the Animal Vision, and Greek citations from the church fathers.⁷¹

Michael Knibb’s 1978 edition of the Ethiopic text was the first to appear since Charles’s 1906 edition.⁷² In it he reproduced and translated the text of a single ms. from the younger “Vulgate” recension produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,⁷³ but also included an apparatus of all the important variant readings from Charles’s twenty-nine MSS. and two others, systematically cited the Qumran fragments and Greek texts, and offered an extensive discussion of the texts and text criticism of 1 Enoch. Knibb’s translation also appeared with Ethiopic text-critical notes in H. F. D. Sparks’s 1984 edition of the Pseudepigrapha.⁷⁴

Ephraim Isaac produced a second English translation based on a single Ethiopic ms. (1983), this one an older, fifteenth-century ms. hitherto available only in Knibb’s edition.⁷⁵ Because the translator wrote with a native Ethiopian’s familiarity with the Ge’ez language, students of 1 Enoch must consult the edition.

Siegbert Uhlig (1984) translated an eclectic text rather than a single Ethiopic ms., as Knibb had done.⁷⁶ His textual base drew its readings from forty-five Ethiopic MSS., many of them newly available on microfilm, as well as from the Aramaic fragments and Greek texts.

Matthew Black’s 1985 translation and commentary consciously followed the model of Charles’s 1912 edi-

sion,” *RelSRev* 7 (1981) 217–21.

- 66 J. T. Milik, “The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of the Book of Enoch,” *Bib* 32 (1951) 393–400; idem, in DJD 1:84, 152; idem, “Hénoch au pays des aromates (ch. xxvii à xxxii): Fragments araméens de la grotte 4 de Qumran (Pl. I),” *RB* 65 (1958) 70–77.

- 67 Idem, “Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 (1971) 333–78.

- 68 Idem, *Enoch*.

- 69 For a summary of these criticisms and a bibliography of major reviews, see Nickelsburg, “Recent Research,” 210–11. To this bibliography should be added James C. VanderKam, “Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik’s *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments*

of Qumrân Cave 4,” *Maarav* 3 (1982) 85–97.

- 70 Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997); idem, DJD 36:3–94; Émile Puech, DJD 31 (forthcoming); E. J. C. Tigchelaar and Florentino García Martínez, DJD 36:95–171.

- 71 Black, *Apocalypsis*.

- 72 Knibb, *Enoch*.

- 73 Ibid., 2:28, 22, 32–36.

- 74 Michael A. Knibb, “1 Enoch,” in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) 169–319.

- 75 Isaac, “1 Enoch.”

- 76 Uhlig, *Henoch*.

tion, though it was “an entirely new version” rather than an attempt to build on Charles’s edition.⁷⁷ Like Uhlig, Black translated an eclectic text and thus sought to recover the original Enoch as Charles had done. In addition to text-critical notes, Black provided many annotations on philological matters, content, parallel passages, and considerable, though sometimes spotty, additional bibliographical references. All in all, it supplements but does not wholly replace Charles’s 1912 edition.

The renewed significance of 1 Enoch has spawned a number of other translations into Hebrew (Abraham Kahana and Jacob Feitlowitz, 1956), Danish (Erling Hamershaimb, 1956), Italian (Luigi Fusella and Paolo Sacchi, 1981), Spanish (Federico Corriente and Antonio Piñero, 1982), and French (André Caquot, 1984).⁷⁸ Focusing on a narrower segment of 1 Enoch that could be studied against a known historical background—the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90)—Patrick Tiller published an eclectic text drawn from thirty-three Ethiopic MSS. and the Aramaic fragments, a translation based on that text, and an extensive introduction and a detailed commentary on these chapters, which attended to textual, philological, literary, and historical matters (1993).⁷⁹

74.1.3. Textual and Philological Studies

These new editions have naturally been the main location of the text-critical studies on 1 Enoch generated by the new textual resources. Reviews of the editions have

also contributed substantially to the discussion. In a review of Knibb’s edition, Klaus Berger called attention to the text-critical importance of citations of 1 Enoch in Ethiopian literature and provided an extensive list together with their readings.⁸⁰ Some reviewers of Milik claimed that he had underestimated the reliability of the Ethiopic as a valid witness to the form of the original text and that his use of the Ethiopic to help fill lacunae was inconsistent.⁸¹ Others questioned the validity of his Aramaic restorations.⁸²

Apart from the editions and their reviews, only a few articles on text-critical and related philological issues have appeared. Partly on the basis of the Qumran Aramaic evidence, Ullendorff and Knibb have argued that the translator(s) of the Ethiopic version had access to the Aramaic, as well as the Greek (1960, 1978). VanderKam has contested this conclusion and upheld the traditional view that the Ethiopic is solely dependent on the Greek (1987).⁸³ Without reference to the Aramaic fragments, which had not yet been published, Nickelsburg compared the readings of the Chester Beatty Papyrus of the Epistle of Enoch with those of the Ethiopic (1976).⁸⁴ Finally, in an important article Hans Fuhs called for a detailed study of the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch, with a view toward a new critical edition and the attempt to explicate the setting of the original Ethiopic translation and its subsequent recensions (1979).⁸⁵

77 Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes in Consultation with James C. Vanderkam* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985) vii.

78 Abraham Kahana and Jacob Feitlowitz, “חֲנוּךְ א,” in *הספרים החצונים* (Tel Aviv: Masada, 1956) 102–41; A. Sh. Artom, “חֲנוּךְ,” in idem, ed., *הספרים החצונים כרך א* (Yavneh, Tel Aviv [n.d.]); Erling Hamershaimb, “Første Enoksbog,” in *De gammeltestamentlige Pseudepigrapher med indledning og noter* (Copenhagen: Gads, 1956) 2:69–174; Luigi Fusella and Paolo Sacchi, “Il libro di Enoc,” in Paolo Sacchi, ed., *Apocrifi dell’ Antico Testamento* (Turin: UTET, 1981) 2:413–667; Federico Corriente and Antonio Piñero, “Libro 1 de Henoc,” in Alejandro Díez Macho, ed., *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (4 vols.; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1982–84); André Caquot, “Hénoch=I Hénoch,” in André Dupont-Sommer and Marc Philonenko, eds., *La Bible: Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987) 465–625.

79 Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apoca-*

lypse of 1 Enoch (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

80 Klaus Berger, *JSJ* 11 (1980) 102–9.

81 Reviews by James Barr, *JTS*, n.s. 29 (1978) 521–22, 527; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *CBQ* 40 (1978) 415; Edward Ullendorff and Michael A. Knibb, *BSOAS* 40 (1977) 601–2.

82 Barr, review of Milik, 520–22, 526; Fitzmyer, review of Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, *JBL* 99 (1980) 635; Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, “The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch,” *Numen* 26 (1979) 91; Sokoloff, “Notes,” 197–201.

83 On this debate, see the discussion above in §2.6.

84 Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104.”

85 Fuhs, “Übersetzung.”

In a related area, Joseph Fitzmyer (1977) and Michael Sokoloff (1978–79) discussed the new data that the Qumran fragments provide on the vocabulary, orthography, grammar, and syntax of Palestinian Aramaic in the second and first centuries B.C.E., and James Barr (1978, 1979) identified new insights into the techniques and practices of Aramaic-Greek translation.⁸⁶ This issue was taken up by Erik Larson in a detailed and comprehensive comparison of all the overlapping Aramaic fragments and Greek texts (1995).⁸⁷

7.4.2. Literary Aspects

A text as long and complex as 1 Enoch naturally calls for literary analysis. Such analyses—taking the form of source criticism or the division of the book into components of independent origin—were quick to appear in the oldest nineteenth-century discussions of 1 Enoch and were standard fare after Ewald's early and influential study (1854).⁸⁸ It was widely recognized that 1 Enoch divides in five major books (chaps. 1–36, 37–71, 72–82, 83–90, 91–105) with two appendices (chaps. 106–107 and 108).

The rationale for the collection and its order was another matter. Presenting a hypothesis that continues to be influential and taken for granted by many, G. H. Dix proposed in 1926 that 1 Enoch was shaped as a pentateuch analogous to the Mosaic Pentateuch.⁸⁹ The Qumran codicological evidence now entered the discussion. Milik, though he did not cite Dix, argued that the collection was precisely such a pentateuch (1976) and that one of its components, the Book of Giants, was replaced by

the Book of Parables.⁹⁰ Jonas Greenfield and Michael Stone wrote to refute the notion (1977).⁹¹ The codicological evidence and a comparison with the *Book of Jubilees* led Grelot to argue that the corpus had evolved gradually (1975).⁹² Devorah Dimant argued that a corpus consisting of the Book of the Watchers, the Astronomical Book, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle was first shaped as a kind of biography, to present in order the events of Enoch's life (1983).⁹³

As part of the broader interest in methods of literary criticism that were being imported into biblical studies in the 1970s, the notion of genre began to appear in discussions of 1 Enoch. Thus the testamentary characteristics of the Epistle of Enoch were recognized by Anitra Bingham Kolenkow (1973)⁹⁴ and Dimant (1982),⁹⁵ and Nickelsburg (1980) first proposed the thesis that has shaped this commentary, viz., that a comparison of 4QEn^c and material in the Ethiopic text indicated that a penultimate form of 1 Enoch was shaped as a whole to be an Enochic testament,⁹⁶ a finding consonant with the Deuteronomic resonances in 1 Enoch recognized by Dix and Milik.

The issue of genre has also influenced Enochic studies in the discussions of apocalypticism that were catalyzed by the seminal volume of Klaus Koch (1972).⁹⁷ His proposal that one should distinguish between “apocalypse” as a literary type and “apocalyptic” as an historical movement made it possible both to investigate 1 Enoch as a literary work and to seek its roots in intellectual and social history.⁹⁸ The basic work on the typology of the genre of apocalypse, and Enoch's place in

86 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Implications of the New Enoch Literature from Qumran,” *TS* 38 (1977) 334–35; Sokoloff, “Notes,” 201–15; James Barr, “Aramaic-Greek Notes on the Book of Enoch I, II,” *JSS* 23 (1978) 184–98; 24 (1979) 179–92.

87 Erik W. Larson, “The Translation of Enoch: From Aramaic into Greek” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1995).

88 Ewald, *Abhandlung*.

89 Dix, “Pentateuch.”

90 Milik, *Enoch*, 54–55.

91 Greenfield and Stone, “Pentateuch.”

92 Pierre Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” *RB* 82 (1975) 481–500.

93 Dimant, “Biography.”

94 Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, “The Genre Testament

and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu,” *JSJ* 6 (1975) 61–62.

95 Devorah Dimant, “The Testament as a Literary Form in Early Jewish Pseudepigraphic Literature,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division A: The Period of the Bible, Jerusalem, August 18–21, 1981* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1982) 82. The work on the testamentary genre by Eckhard von Nordheim (*Die Lehre der Alten* [2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1980–85]) never mentions 1 Enoch, though he discusses 2 Enoch and a number of other Jewish testaments.

96 Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 150–51.

97 Klaus Koch, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (SBT 2/22; Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1972).

98 For a summary of the discussion of apocalypse,

that typology, was done by a subgroup of the Society of Biblical Literature Genres Project and published in 1979.⁹⁹ However one may modify the notion of genre and limit it as a factor in the analysis of 1 Enoch, all exegetical and historical work on this text must deal with and integrate the heuristic implications of the literary findings of this genre project.

More focused work on sections of 1 Enoch has also been governed by literary considerations. The years 1974–80 saw a discussion of an old topic, the sources and traditions of the story of the watchers in 1 Enoch 6–11 and their development in chaps. 12–36. Dimant analyzed the traditions in her 1974 dissertation.¹⁰⁰ The topic developed into a discussion with articles by Paul Hanson and Nickelsburg (1977, 1978)¹⁰¹ and responses and counter-responses by John Collins, Dimant, Hanson, Nickelsburg (1978),¹⁰² and Carol Newsom (1980).¹⁰³ Parallel but independent contributions came from Mathias Delcor (1976),¹⁰⁴ Rudiger Barthelmus (1979),¹⁰⁵ and David Suter (1979).¹⁰⁶ Careful form-critical work marked Marie-Theres Wacker's analysis of 1 Enoch 22 (1982),¹⁰⁷ and Suter discussed tradition and composition in the parables (1977).¹⁰⁸ A focus on metaphor governed Paul

Porter's literary criticism of the Animal Apocalypse (chaps. 85–90), which is a comparative part of his discussion of Daniel 7 and 8 (1983).¹⁰⁹

The progress made in understanding the literary shape of 1 Enoch and the emphasis on this general topic in contemporary biblical scholarship have not substantially influenced the presentation of the text in the new editions of 1 Enoch. Being a translation of a translation twice removed from the original, Knibb's edition indicates no poetic structure at all and provides no headings. Uhlig also presents margin-to-margin text, though he breaks it up with many headings that indicate the content of the various sections. Isaac and Black are inconsistent in their presentation of poetic structure, and their headings tend to indicate content and not structure. Only Tiller provides headings that combine content and structure.

7.4.3. Historical Contexts

7.4.3.1. Time, Place, Situation

Modern scholarship on 1 Enoch has sought to place the components of 1 Enoch in time, place, situation, and function. Milik argued that the Book of the Luminaries

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- apocalyptic, and apocalypticism, see Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature."
- 99 Semeia 14. See esp. John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," 22–28, 37–40, 45.
- 100 Devorah Dimant, "The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal Books Related to Them" (diss.; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974; Hebrew).
- 101 Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977) 195–233.; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977) 383–405.
- 102 John J. Collins, "Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on the Articles of P. D. Hanson and G. W. Nickelsburg," in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *SBLSP* 18 (2 vols.; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978) 1:315–22; Devorah Dimant, "1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective," in *ibid.*, 323–39; Paul D. Hanson, "A Response to John Collins' 'Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch,'" in *ibid.*, 307–9; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Reflections upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins' 'Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch,'" in *ibid.*, 311–14.
- 103 Carol A. Newsom, "The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment," *CBQ* 42 (1980) 310–29.
- 104 Mathias Delcor, "Le mythe de la chute des anges et de l'origine des géants comme explication du mal dans le monde dans l'apocalyptique juive: Histoire des traditions," *RHR* 190 (1976) 3–53.
- 105 Rüdiger Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seiner Umwelt* (ATHANT 65; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1979).
- 106 David W. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch," *HUCA* 50 (1979) 115–35.
- 107 Marie-Theres Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht: Studien zu 1 Henoch 22* (FB 45; Würzburg: Echter, 1982).
- 108 David W. Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979).
- 109 Paul A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8* (ConBOT 20; Lund: Gleerup, 1983).
- 110 Milik, *Enoch*, 9–10.

was known by the Priestly redactors of the Pentateuch, and suggested that the invention of its calendar, the redaction of the Pentateuch, and the composition of the Book of the Luminaries may well have been the work of the Samaritan priests of Sichem.¹¹⁰ This hypothesis was contested by Greenfield and Stone.¹¹¹ Milik also located the composition of 1 Enoch 6–19 in the Persian period and asserted that Gen 6:1–4 is an epitome of this text.¹¹² Nickelsburg dated the composition of the Shemihazah myth in the early Hellenistic period and saw it as a response to the turmoil created by the wars of the Diadochoi and a parody on Diadochian claims of divine parentage (1977).¹¹³ For Hanson, the Shemihazah myth reflected a sectarian concern about the pollution of the sanctuary, and the material about Asael was a denial of the efficacy of the official Day of Atonement.¹¹⁴ Collins was less optimistic about the possibility of extracting historical information from mythic texts that are not explicit about their historical referents and argued that such texts were open to a succession of interpretations.¹¹⁵

Working independently of the aforementioned discussion, Barthelmus traced the concept of the hero in Israelite history and concluded that the Shemihazah story is an inversion of the hero concept triggered by opposition to claims of the Hellenistic kings and specifically the oppressive tactics of Antiochus IV.¹¹⁶ For Suter the myths in chaps. 6–11 and the “commentary” on them in chaps. 12–16 are concerned primarily with the purity of priestly families, and the sin of the watchers is a paradigm of sinful priestly mixed marriages and sexual misconduct, which are also opposed in the *Testament of Levi* and the Damascus Document.¹¹⁷ Working indepen-

dently, Nickelsburg reached similar conclusions about chaps. 12–16, whose composition he placed in Upper Galilee in circles opposed to the Jerusalem priesthood.¹¹⁸ Thus two motifs emerged, sometimes independently: response to persecution by the Hellenistic kings and opposition to the temple and its institutions. Additionally, departing from a previous consensus that the Book of Daniel was the prototypical apocalypse, most of these scholars have read the Qumran fragments as evidence that the early parts of 1 Enoch antedate the Book of Daniel.¹¹⁹

7.4.3.2. 1 Enoch and the History of Israel's Religion

The relationship of 1 Enoch to the history of Israelite religious institutions and thought is an essential component of the post-World War II discussion of 1 Enoch.

7.4.3.2.1. The Hebrew Scriptures

Relationships between 1 Enoch and the Hebrew Scriptures have been discussed in detail. VanderKam argued for the detailed dependence of 1 Enoch 1:3–9 on scriptural motifs and vocabulary (1973).¹²⁰ Hartman found reflections of many biblical passages in chaps. 1–5 and 10–11 (1979 and 1976–77) and saw in the former an expression of covenantal theology that had been mediated in Jewish liturgies (1979).¹²¹ The obvious relationship between the Shemihazah myth and Gen 6:1–4 has been widely discussed. As noted, Milik asserted that the Genesis text is an epitome of the material in 1 Enoch deriving from the Persian period (1976),¹²² while Nickelsburg (1977) and Barthelmus (1979) analyzed 1 Enoch 6–11 in detail as an interpretation of Genesis 6.¹²³ Suter considered the myths of angelic rebellion in the Book of Parables to be a “midrash” on Isa 24:17–23 that incorpo-

111 Greenfield and Stone, “Pentateuch,” 51–60.

112 Milik, *Enoch*, 31.

113 Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth,” 390–91.

114 Hanson, “Rebellion,” 218–20, 226.

115 Collins, “Methodological Issues.”

116 Barthelmus, *Heroentum*.

117 Suter, “Fallen Angel.”

118 Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter.”

119 Thus also of the Book of the Watchers, Paolo Sacchi, “Il ‘Libro dei Vigilanti,’ e l’apocalittica,” *Henoch* 1 (1979) 42–98, repr. in idem, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1997) 33–71. Priority of 1 Enoch 14 over Daniel 7 has also been argued by Glasson, “The

Son of Man Imagery: Enoch xiv and Daniel vii,”

NTS 23 (1976) 82–90; Pierre Grelot, “Daniel VII,9–10 et le livre d’Hénoch,” *Sem* 28 (1978) 59–83; and Kvanvig, *Roots*, 114–31.

120 James C. VanderKam, “The Theophany of 1 Enoch 1:3b–7, 9,” *VT* 23 (1973) 129–50.

121 Lars Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (ConBNT 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979); idem, “‘Comfort of the Scriptures’—an Early Jewish Interpretation of Noah’s Salvation, 1 Enoch 10:16–11:2,” *SEÅ* 41–42 (1976–77) 87–96.

122 Milik, *Enoch*, 31.

123 Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth”; Barthelmus, *Heroentum*.

rated elements from other texts (1979).¹²⁴ VanderKam surveyed 1 Enoch's broad use of Scripture (1993) and found as a major thread the application of sacred tradition to new situations.¹²⁵ According to Nickelsburg (1995), the Enochic corpus uses material from almost all the books of the Hebrew Scriptures, but the authors claim to transmit ancient revelation received before Hebrew Scriptures were written.¹²⁶ Taking a completely different approach and drawing conclusions more radical than Milik's, Margaret Barker argued that 1 Enoch contains traditions from the preexilic royal cult that were squelched in the postexilic period (1987).¹²⁷

7.4.3.2.2. Jewish Apocalypticism

As noted above (§7.4.2), the study of 1 Enoch's literary features has taken place as part of a broader discussion of apocalyptic literature. This discussion, moreover, has distinguished between the literary genre apocalypse and the apocalyptic worldview expressed in such revelatory texts.¹²⁸ I have written four articles on 1 Enoch's apocalypticism that discussed the apocalyptic eschatology of 1 Enoch 6–11 (1977), the "apocalyptic message" of the Epistle of Enoch (1977), Enoch's revealed wisdom (1985), and the "apocalyptic construction of reality" in 1 Enoch as a whole (1991).¹²⁹ A fifth article (1983) tapped into current interest in the social dimensions of ancient religious texts and discussed the Epistle of Enoch as a problem case in a study of "social aspects of

Palestinian Jewish apocalypticism."¹³⁰ In a study of the apocalyptic worldview of the Book of Parables, Collins construed the term "righteousness" as a designation for one's faith in the heavenly realm and the son of man (1980);¹³¹ and in his introduction to the apocalyptic literature (1984), he discussed the Enochic texts in their broader generic and ideological contexts.¹³² The function of the final judgment in a world whose created order has been disturbed was the topic of Marie-Theres Wacker's 1982 monograph on 1 Enoch 22.¹³³ Mary Dean-Oetting (1984) and Martha Himmelfarb (1993) analyzed apocalyptic texts that narrated journeys to heaven.¹³⁴ While Dean-Oetting focused on the elements that constituted the genre, Himmelfarb was also concerned with the generative dynamics and social contexts of apocalyptic literature. Independently of these discussions, Paolo Sacchi wrote several articles on Enochic apocalypticism.¹³⁵

7.4.3.2.3. Prophecy, Wisdom, and Apocalypticism

The relationship of apocalyptic literature to Israelite prophetic and sapiential traditions has been an ongoing topic of discussion and debate. Some recent studies of 1 Enoch have emphasized similarities between the book's eschatology and the prophetic tradition, while others have focused on the sapiential character of parts of 1 Enoch. Nickelsburg found prophetic forms in the Epistle (1977) and, following Ludin Jansen, posited a

124 Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 39–72.

125 James C. VanderKam, "Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees," in James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, eds., *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity 2; JSPSup 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 96–117.

126 Nickelsburg, "Scripture in 1 Enoch."

127 Margaret Barker, *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1987).

128 Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalypse, Apocalypticism," *IDBSup* 30; John J. Collins, "Apocalypses and Apocalypticism," *ABD* 1:283–84.

129 Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth"; idem, "The Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92–105," *CBQ* 39 (1977) 309–28; idem, "Revealed Wisdom"; idem, "The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in 1 Enoch," in John J. Collins, ed., *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies Since the Uppsala Collo-*

quium (JSPSup 9; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991) 51–64.

130 Idem, "Social Aspects."

131 John J. Collins, "The Heavenly Representative: The 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch," in John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg, eds., *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (SBLSCS 12; Missoula, Mont.; Scholars Press, 1980) 111–23.

132 Idem, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 32–67, 142–54.

133 Wacker, *Weltordnung*.

134 Mary Dean-Oetting, *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature* (Judentum und Umwelt 8; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1984); Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

135 See the articles translated and reprinted in Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic*, 32–149.

close connection between chaps. 12–16 and the form of the prophetic call, showing also its movement in the direction of later texts about mystical ascents (1981).¹³⁶ Robert Coughenour's dissertation studied wisdom elements in 1 Enoch (1972), and two subsequent articles treated the woe oracles in the Epistle of Enoch (1978) and the wisdom stance of Enoch's redactor (1982).¹³⁷ For Newsom (1980), Enoch's journey to the northwest (chaps. 17–19) embodies royal wisdom motifs.¹³⁸ In the first of two articles that sought to balance the scholarly emphasis on apocalyptic eschatology with a recognition of the sapiential elements in the apocalyptic tradition (1976), Stone identified anti-apocalyptic elements in 4 Ezra that drew from the same sapiential tradition employed by the author of 1 Enoch 93:11–14.¹³⁹ Then in a programmatic essay (1978), he emphasized the astronomical, cosmological, and sapiential elements in 1 Enoch as indicators of the variety in the Judaism of the third century B.C.E.¹⁴⁰ Randal Argall's comparative study of revelation, creation, and judgment in 1 Enoch and Sirach (1995) was a step toward isolating points of similarity and difference between texts traditionally identified by the allegedly opposing categories of wisdom and apocalyptic.¹⁴¹ An exploratory essay by Nickelsburg (1994) suggested that the coexistence of prophetic and sapiential elements in 1 Enoch might be explained by a setting in postexilic Judaism in which scribes and sages of different sorts were the carriers and interpreters of the prophetic tradition—on the one hand interpreting a written authoritative tradition, and on the other hand claiming new revelation.¹⁴² In his study of 1 Enoch 1–5

and 72–82, Eckhard Rau had already argued (1974) that the apocalypticists' claims to be transmitting authoritative teaching were essential to this literature and its social context.¹⁴³

A discussion of the relationship of apocalyptic texts to sapiential and prophetic traditions is far from over. However, the study of 1 Enoch in this context indicates that in the late Persian and early Hellenistic periods these two traditions intersected in diverse ways that produced alternative literatures whose precise social settings, and the relationships between them, remain to be clarified (see §5.1.4)

7.4.3.2.4. Astronomy and the Calendar

The cosmological and astronomical elements in 1 Enoch and the related calendrical issues are examples of elements in this text that have close ties with concerns and issues in the wisdom tradition. A good foundation for the study of the technical aspects of this material is the commentary on chaps. 72–82 by Otto Neugebauer, published in 1981 and then included in Black's edition of 1985.¹⁴⁴ A detailed discussion of "Cosmology, Eschatology, and Teaching Authority" in 1 Enoch 1–5 and 72–82 can be found in Rau's unpublished dissertation (1974).¹⁴⁵ Articles on Enochic cosmology, astronomy, and calendar have been published by E. E. Ettisch (1961), Ernst Kutsch (1962), Roger Beckwith (1979), and VanderKam (1983).¹⁴⁶ In 1994 Matthias Albani published a major

136 Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic Message"; idem, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter"; see also Stone, "Book of Enoch," 488.

137 Robert A. Coughenour, "Enoch and Wisdom: A Study of the Wisdom Elements in the Book of Enoch" (diss., Case Western Reserve, 1972); idem, "The Woe Oracles in Ethiopic Enoch," *JSJ* 11 (1978) 192–97; idem, "The Wisdom Stance of Enoch's Redactor," *JSJ* 13 (1982) 47–55.

138 Newsom, "Development."

139 Stone, "Lists."

140 Ibid., "Book of Enoch."

141 Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*.

142 Nickelsburg, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism: Some Points for Discussion," in *SBLSP* 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 715–32.

143 Eckhard Rau, "Kosmologie, Eschatologie, und die Lehrautorität Henochs: Traditions- und formengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äthiopischen Henochbuch und zu verwandten Schriften" (diss., Hamburg, 1974) 305–485.

144 Neugebauer, "Astronomical Chapters."

145 Rau, "Eschatologie."

146 E. E. Ettisch, "Das Buch Henoch und die vier Kardinalpunkte des Sonnenlaufes," *VT* 11 (1961) 444–45; Ernst Kutsch, "Der Kalender des Jubiläenbuches und das Alte und Neue Testament," *VT* 11 (1961) 39–47; idem, "Die Solstitien im Kalender des Jubiläenbuches und im äth Henoch 72," *VT* 12 (1962) 205–7; Roger T. Beckwith, "The Earliest Enoch Literature and Its Calendar: Marks of Their Origin, Date and Motivation," *RevQ* 10 (1979)

monograph on the relationship between astronomy and creation in 1 Enoch.¹⁴⁷

7.4.3.2.5. Social Location

The discovery of Enoch mss. at Qumran and the importing of social scientific methods into biblical studies have catalyzed discussions about the provenance and social location of the Enochic works. For Milik, the composition of the Book of the Luminaries and the Book of the Watchers antedated the formation of the Qumran community, and the Epistle of Enoch was written outside it,¹⁴⁸ although he rightly saw a close connection between the astronomical book and Qumran calendrical works.¹⁴⁹ Bartelmus placed the composition of chaps. 6–11 in the Hasidic circles from which, he claimed, the Qumran community arose,¹⁵⁰ and Dexinger suggested a similar origin for part of the Epistle.¹⁵¹ Nickelsburg was less optimistic about what we can know about “the Hasidim,”¹⁵² but sketched possible points of historical continuity between the authors of the Enochic literature and the authors of *Jubilees*, the Damascus Document, and the Community Rule,¹⁵³ suggesting that all of these writings derived from a common religious reform movement, probably complex and proliferated in its sociology. Gabriele Boccaccini argued that the Qumran community was an offspring of the “Enochic party” that authored a major part of the Enochic corpus (1998).¹⁵⁴ The hypotheses of Suter and Nickelsburg suggested a pre-Qumranic opposition to the priesthood,¹⁵⁵ and Wright argued that the Enochic authors were in fact priests.¹⁵⁶ Although this discussion will continue to be

refined, it has helped to reveal the complexity of the social organization of Second Temple Judaism and to warn against the facile identification of a given work as Pharisaic, Sadducee, Essene, or Hasidic. See §5.2.3–4.

7.4.3.3. Cross-Cultural Elements

Although 1 Enoch is an expression of Israelite religious thought, the cross-cultural roots of the Enochic tradition have been widely recognized and discussed at length. A Babylonian background for the Enoch myth was argued by Jansen (1939)¹⁵⁷ and independently by Grelot (1958).¹⁵⁸ The same point of view was espoused by VanderKam in a monograph on the origins and shape of the Enoch traditions (1984).¹⁵⁹ In a massive monograph, Kvanvig traced the origins of the son of man figure back to Mesopotamian roots.¹⁶⁰ The hypothesis of a Mesopotamian origin for the Enoch traditions has found wide acceptance by such persons as Milik, Stone, and Hanson.¹⁶¹ For the myths in chaps. 6–11, Hanson found a source in Near Eastern mythology about rebels against heaven and culture-bringers.¹⁶² Nickelsburg, however, argued for Greek models in stories about the mating of gods and women and in the Prometheus myth.¹⁶³ Bartelmus, working independently, detailed the evidence on the Prometheus myth,¹⁶⁴ and Delcor also cited the Greek materials.¹⁶⁵

7.4.4. 1 Enoch in the Ongoing Tradition

The use and citation of 1 Enoch in the ongoing Jewish and Christian tradition has been the subject of a number of studies since 1947. The most extensive discussions

323–64; and James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World,” *RevQ* 42 (1983) 271–78.

147 Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1994).

148 Milik, *Enoch*, 8–10, 31, 50–51.

149 Ibid., 61–64.

150 Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 185–87.

151 Ferdinand Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung* (SPB 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977) 188–89.

152 Nickelsburg, “Social Aspects,” 647–54.

153 “1 Enoch and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and Some Prospects for Answers,” in Kent Harold Richards, ed., *SBLSP* 25 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 341–60.

154 Boccaccini, *Essene Hypothesis*.

155 Suter, “Fallen Angel”; Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter.”

156 Wright, “Putting the Puzzle Together,” 133–49, esp. 142–43.

157 Jansen, *Henochgestalt*.

158 Pierre Grelot, “La Géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources Orientales,” *RB* 65 (1958) 33–69; idem, “Légende.”

159 VanderKam, *Enoch*.

160 Kvanvig, *Roots*.

161 Milik, *Enoch*, 30–41; Stone, “Book of Enoch,” 485; Hanson, “Rebellion,” 227–28.

162 Hanson, “Rebellion,” 201–18.

163 Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth,” 395–96, 399–401.

164 Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 161–66.

165 Delcor, “Mythe,” 30–31.

appear in Milik's edition of the Aramaic,¹⁶⁶ in a monograph and in an essay by VanderKam (1996)¹⁶⁷ that supersedes the 1897 article by Lawlor,¹⁶⁸ and in compact form in a wide-ranging article by Berger (1988).¹⁶⁹ Other more focused studies discussed the place of 1 Enoch and the figure of Enoch in a variety of specific texts and contexts. The influence of the Enochic works has been found in the Adam books (Nickelsburg, 1981), the *Apocryphon of John* (Pearson, 1995), and Irenaeus (Schultz, 1978), and other early Christian texts (Adler).¹⁷⁰ Nickelsburg (1999) has discussed the possible functions of the Enochic texts at Qumran, the studies of Robert Kraft (1978) and Himmelfarb (1978) have catalogued the attitudes of Philo of Alexandria and the rabbis with relation to the figure of Enoch, and William Adler's 1989 monograph discussed the chronographers' use and preservation of material from the Pseudepigrapha, especially 1 Enoch.¹⁷¹ Coptic Enochic works mentioned by Milik (1976) were studied in considerable detail by Pearson (1976).¹⁷² Neil Forsyth placed the Enochic myths about the rebellion of the watchers within the trajectories of speculation about a demonic foe from ancient Near Eastern and Greek mythology to early Christian orthodox and heretical literature (1987).¹⁷³ Himmelfarb argued that the journey accounts in the Book of the Watchers are the fountainhead of an apocalyptic literary tradition

that continues into the Middle Ages (1983).¹⁷⁴

7.4.4.1. The New Testament

As has been the case since 1 Enoch's rediscovery in the West, interest in this work has often been linked to its implications for NT studies. Indeed, there is a growing awareness that the Enochic corpus and the kind of apocalypticism that it reflects have influenced the shaping of early Christian theology. Writing a few years after the first publication of the Qumran Scrolls and using material from them (1955), van Andel contrasted the Jewish apocalypticism epitomized in 1 Enoch with the shape of early Christian belief in Jesus Christ.¹⁷⁵ In the same year Sjöberg published a major study of the hidden Son of Man in the Gospels that was based on his earlier and important discussion of the Son of Man in 1 Enoch (1946).¹⁷⁶ Johannes Theisohn's important monograph (1975) studied the Son of Man traditions from Daniel, through the Book of Parables to the NT, where he found significant Enochic influence, especially in Matthew (1975).¹⁷⁷ F. W. Borsch (1968) and David Catchpole (1979) argued for some correlation,¹⁷⁸ and Nickelsburg saw the Enochic form of the son of man tradition as a presupposition for NT christology (1992).¹⁷⁹ Enochic influence on the Petrine literature was argued by E. J. Goodspeed (1954), Dalton (1965), and Pearson (1969),¹⁸⁰ and Nickelsburg (1981) posited an Enochic

166 Milik, *Enoch*, 78–135.

167 On Enoch and 1 Enoch in the Jewish tradition, see VanderKam, *Enoch*; on the Christian use of this material see idem, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in James C. VanderKam and William Adler, eds., *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (CRINT 3/4; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996) 32–100; for a popular treatment of Jewish and Christian material, see idem, *A Man*.

168 Lawlor, "Early Citations."

169 Berger, "Enoch."

170 George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions in the Apocalypse of Adam, the Books of Adam and Eve, and 1 Enoch," in Bentley Layton, ed., *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 2: *Sethian Gnosticism* (SHR 41; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 515–39; Pearson, "1 Enoch"; D. R. Schultz, "The Origin of Sin in Irenaeus and Jewish Pseudepigraphical Literature," *VC* 32 (1978) 161–90; William Adler, "Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *SBLSP* 18 (2 vols.; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars

Press, 1978) 1:271–75.

171 Nickelsburg, "Books of Enoch"; Robert A. Kraft, "Philo (Josephus, Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon) on Enoch," *SBLSP* 18, 1:153–57; Martha Himmelfarb, "A Report on 1 Enoch in the Rabbinic Literature," *SBLSP* 18, 1:259–69; Adler, *Time Immemorial*.

172 Milik, *Enoch*, 81; Pearson, "Pierpont Morgan Fragments."

173 Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan & the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

174 Himmelfarb, *Tours*.

175 Van Andel, *Structuur*.

176 Sjöberg, *Menschensohn*; idem, *Verborgene Menschensohn*.

177 Theisohn, *Auserwählte Richter*.

178 F. H. Borsch, "Mk 14:62 and 1 Enoch 62:5," *NTS* 14 (1968) 565–67; David Catchpole, "The Poor on Earth and the Son of Man in Heaven," *BJRL* 61 (1979) 379–83.

179 Nickelsburg, "Son of Man."

180 Edgar J. Goodspeed, "Some Greek Notes: IV. Enoch in 1 Peter 3:19," *JBL* 73 (1954) 91–92; W. J. Dalton,

background to the call of Peter in Matthew 16.¹⁸¹ The relationship between 1 Enoch and the Epistle of Jude, which entered the discussion early in the nineteenth century, has resurfaced on occasion (Black, 1973; Carroll Osburn, 1977; Richard J. Bauckham, 1981; Boudewijn de Handschutter, 1986; J. D. Charles, 1991; and Stephan Joubert, 1998).¹⁸² Using sapiential and apocalyptic categories, Patrick Hartin has compared and contrasted the Epistle of Enoch and the Epistle of James (1996).¹⁸³ Ryzard Rubinkiewicz has compared the eschatology of 1 Enoch 9–11 with a number of NT texts (1984).¹⁸⁴ David Sim has taken one of Rubinkiewicz's examples and argued for a literary relationship between a Matthean and an Enochic text (1992),¹⁸⁵ which would support the conclusions of Theisohn (above). Daniel

Olson has also sought a relationship between a motif in the Book of Revelation and its counterpart in 1 Enoch (1997).¹⁸⁶ Svere Aalen (1966) argued for a literary connection between the Epistle of Enoch and the Gospel of Luke, and Nickelsburg (1978–79, 1998) underscored similarities and contrasts between the two works.¹⁸⁷ A collection of "Studies in 1 Enoch and the New Testament" was published as the proceedings of the 1983 meeting of the New Testament Society of South Africa.¹⁸⁸

Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits (AnBib 23; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1965) 163–76; Pearson, "Reminiscence."

181 Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter."

182 Matthew Black, "The Maranatha Invocation and Jude 14,15 (1 Enoch 1:9)," in Barnabas Lindars and Stephen S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973) 189–96; C. D. Osburn, "The Christological Use of 1 Enoch 1:9 in Jude 14–15," *NTS* 23 (1977) 334–41; Richard J. Bauckham, "A Note on a Problem in the Greek Version of 1 Enoch i.9," *JTS*, n.s. 32 (1981) 136–38; Boudewijn Dehandschutter, "Pseudo-Cyprian, Jude and Enoch: Some Notes on 1 Enoch 1:9," in Jan W. van Henten et al., eds., *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C. H. Lebram* (SPB 36; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 114–20; J. Daryl Charles, "Jude's Use of Pseudepigraphical Source-Material as Part of a Literary Strategy," *NTS* 37 (1991) 130–45; Stephan J. Joubert, "Facing the Past: Transtextual Relationships and Historical Understanding in the

Letter of Jude," *BZ*, n.s. 42 (1998) 56–70.

183 Patrick J. Hartin, "Who is wise and understanding among you?" (James 3:13): An Analysis of Wisdom, Eschatology and Apocalypticism in the Epistle of James," *SBLSP* 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 483–501.

184 Rubinkiewicz, *Eschatologie*.

185 David C. Sim, "Matthew 22:13a and 1 Enoch 10:4a: A Case of Literary Dependence?" *JSNT* 47 (1992) 3–19.

186 Daniel C. Olson, "'Those Who Have Not Defiled Themselves with Women': Revelation 14:4 and the Book of Enoch," *CBQ* 59 (1997) 492–510.

187 S. Aalen, "St. Luke's Gospel and the Last Chapters of 1 Enoch," *NTS* 13 (1966) 1–13; Nickelsburg, "Riches"; idem, "Revisiting the Rich and the Poor in 1 Enoch 92–105 and the Gospel according to Luke," *SBLSP* 37 (2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 2:579–605.

188 Pieter G. R. de Villiers, ed., *Studies in 1 Enoch and the New Testament* (= *Neot* 17; Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch Press, 1983).

8.0. Agenda for Future Study

A wide range of tasks relating to the interpretation of 1 Enoch present themselves for the next generation of scholarship.

A major desideratum is a new critical edition of 1 Enoch based on the forty-nine MSS. now available (almost twice as many as the base of Charles's edition), the citations in the Ethiopic theological literature, and the Greek and Aramaic evidence. Careful study of this textual evidence and the sorting and dating of the Ethiopic citations of 1 Enoch may shed new light on the dates of the translation and the history of the book's developing authority and canonization in Ethiopia.

A careful study of the citations of 1 Enoch in the Ethiopian theological literature is long overdue, both as a balancing component in the history of Christianity (which has traditionally been dominated by Western Christian scholarship) and as a possible means of understanding how 1 Enoch functioned for its primary and secondary readership.

More work needs to be done on the genetics and historical setting of the Greek translation of the Enochic corpus.

Although I have devoted many pages to the patristic citations of and allusions to 1 Enoch, a computer search of the early Christian texts may identify new material and help to clarify the traditional use of this material.

My reading of 1 Enoch should be complemented by the systematic application of social scientific methods.

There is much that we do not know about the period in Israelite religious history that is framed by Ezra-Nehemiah and the Chronicler at the one end and the

earliest Enoch materials at the other. What were the settings in which later prophetic and sapiential materials were created and functioned? So-called apocalypticism emerges in a complex form in 1 Enoch, which bears the stamp of both traditions. A thorough study of the newly published sapiential texts from Qumran (DJD 20 and 34) will aid this task. Other of the Qumran Cave 4 material published after this commentary was effectively completed needs to be integrated into the study of 1 Enoch.

Clarification of the genetic relationship of 1 Enoch to the prophetic and sapiential traditions will make it possible, in turn, to rethink the relationship of later apocalyptic writings and their settings both to 1 Enoch and to the prophetic and sapiential streams that created the corpus.

In short, the present state of Enoch studies calls for further investigation of the factors that led to the creation of the Enochic traditions, the social settings in which they functioned, the religious and intellectual traditions that its authors engendered in Israel, and the whole range of issues surrounding its textual witnesses in Greek-speaking Judaism and Ethiopian Christianity. Thus this commentary is only the beginning of a major task that others, too, can profitably take up, a task that promises to shed new light on the history of the Israelite and Christian religions and their settings in the Mediterranean world and Africa.

Introduction to the Book

Introduction

Composed in a style that is immediately reminiscent of texts from the prophetic and wisdom traditions, these chapters introduce the Enochic collection by announcing its main theme—the coming of God’s judgment of the whole human race. To understand the text and its function we must attend to the following questions.

(1) What is the literary form of the text, and how has that form been affected by the blending and reshaping of traditional material? (2) At what stage of development of the Enochic collection was the introduction composed? (3) In what circumstances and for what kind of audience did the author write, and for what purpose did the author introduce and present the corpus of Enochic writings?

Literary Form

The pericope divides into five sections:

Superscription	1:1
Introduction	1:2-3b
Theophany for judgment	1:3c-9
Accusation	2:1–5:4
Consequences of the judgment	5:5-9

The formal and thematic unity of these sections is evident internally in their interrelations and externally in relationship to the traditions on which they draw. With the exception of the *accusation*, all of the sections employ or imitate the style, content, and wording of prophetic texts. The *accusation* is most closely paralleled in wisdom texts, but in context it is an integral part of a unit that, as a whole, sounds like a prophetic oracle.

The *superscription* paraphrases the opening words of the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:1). The *introduction* to the pericope claims prophetic authority on the basis of a throne vision that is cited in imitation of the introductory formulas of the Balaam oracles (see esp. Num 24:15-17). The description of the *theophany* draws heavily on the language of biblical theophanic texts. It begins by using the Sinaitic theophany, described in Deuteronomy 33, as a pattern for the future appearance of the divine Judge (1 Enoch 1:3c-4, 9a). Then it conflates this language from Deuteronomy with motifs and expressions from prophetic texts that announce a future theophany and judgment that will have decidedly negative consequences for “the earth” or “all flesh,” viz., Isa 66:15-16;

Jer 25:30-31; Mic 1:3-4.

Once Enoch has announced the theophany and judgment, he moves into a section that is noticeably different in its form, style, and content. Its form is prose rather than poetry, its verbs are second person plural imperatives rather than third person future indicatives, and its content focuses on the regularity of God’s “works” in the heavenly bodies and of the terrestrial progression of the seasons. The closest analogies are the instructional material in such “wisdom” texts as Sir 16:24–28; 42:15–43:33, and *T. Naphtali* 3–4, and in two prayers on related themes, *Pss. Sol.* 18:10-12 and 1Q34^{bis} 3 2. As the last verse of the section (1 Enoch 5:4) indicates, this material is an integral part of the pericope and constitutes an *accusation* against the sinners. Nature’s regular, faithful obedience to God has been cited as a foil to the human perversion and disobedience that will be punished in the judgment. In order to describe the *consequences* of the judgment—both the punishment of the sinners and God’s rewards for the righteous—the author returns to prophetic language and imagery, and specifically to the description of the new creation and New Jerusalem in Isaiah 65. That chapter’s alternation between second person curses addressed to the sinners and third person blessings promised for the righteous (65:8-16) has also provided a stylistic model for the whole of 2:1–5:9, even if the language and content of 2:1–5:3 are most closely paralleled in wisdom texts.

Thus, the internal logic of the passage and the traditions from which its component parts draw their motifs and language indicate that chapters 1–5 were composed as a prophetic oracle, based on a heavenly vision, which announced a coming judgment for all humanity. The repeated emphasis on the judgment and its consequences is reinforced by a recurring literary technique that structures the passage.

Chapters 1–5 make frequent use of repetition or reprise. A motif or set of motifs is expressed; then, after the inclusion of other material, the initial element is repeated. The effect is a set of literary brackets that emphasizes a point by introducing it and repeating it. In a few cases the technique simply effects a stylistic symmetry. Most often the purpose is to emphasize, with the concluding bracket elaborating, modifying, or nuancing the initial bracket. Here

are the occurrences of the device with brief comment on their effect.

1:1 [Enoch blessed the righteous |
|the righteous will be saved]

The text will focus on the righteous; the blessing that Enoch pronounces is explicated as the promise of their salvation.

1:2-3b [He took up his parable and said |
|concerning the chosen I speak now and . . .
take up my parable]

The repetition explicates the content of the parable and moves the discourse from third person to the first person of the fictional author who speaks the oracle.

1:3c–5:9 The tripartite division of the oracle has an a-b-a' structure:

1:3c-9 [A poetic section imitative of prophecy:
theophany and judgment |

2:1–5:4 |A wisdom section in prose|

5:5-9 |A poetic, prophetic section: the
consequences of the judgment]

Part a' enumerates the consequences of the events described in part a. The stylistic differences between a-a' and b reflect the type of material on which they draw, but by not recasting the poetic prose of 2:1–5:3 into genuine poetry, the author enhances the a-b-a' structure.

The oracle itself contains six sets of brackets, some of them interlocking, some enclosing others, some serving a double function.

a 1:3c-4 [Announcement of theophany with
heavenly entourage |

b-b' 1:5 [Watchers fear and quake |
|trembling and great fear will seize them
to the ends of the earth]

In b' the reaction is magnified, and the watchers' location is mentioned.

c 1:7c [Theophany's purpose–judgment—is
introduced |

d 1:8 [The judgment's first consequence: blessing
of the righteous chosen |

a' 1:9a |A one line reprise: God's appearance with
the heavenly entourage]

This reprise is enhanced by a second reprise and a third initial statement:

c' 1:9b-d |a threefold expansion on universal
judgment]

e 1:9ef [Words and deeds are to be judged |

f-f' 2:1–5:3 [“Contemplate all (these) works”]

The double occurrence of this exhortation frames the major part of 2:1–5:3.

e' 5:4 |You have acted, spoken . . .]

The previously announced sins to be judged are now attributed, as accomplished facts, to certain people, who are addressed in the second person form that began at 2:1. One now sees that nature's constancy has been cited as a foil to the change and perversion of human sinful deeds and words.

5:5-9 The final section of the oracle has a tripartite structure; the initial unit serves as both a closing literary bracket to the previous section and an opening bracket to what follows:

d' 5:5-6c |The judgment's second consequence:
curses on the sinners]

g 5:5-6c [An announcement of only the curse |
5:6d-7 |Two sets of alternating blessings and
curses |

g' 5:8-9 |An announcement of only the blessings]

This concluding emphasis on long life is a foil to the curse in 5:5a-c that opens g (5:5a-c). This final section also forms a reprise, almost equal in length, of 1:8. Additionally, it brackets all of chaps. 1–5 by returning to the first line of the superscription: the author's last word in the introduction is a long description of the blessing that had been promised at the beginning, in the superscription.

This analysis allows us to isolate certain strings of motifs that are central to the author's message:

Theophany (1:3c-4) Theophany (1:9a)

Judgment (1:7c) Judgment (1:9bcd)

Words, deeds (1:9ef) |2:1–

5:3 | words, deeds (5:4)

Curse (5:5-6d)

Blessing (5:6e-i), curse
(5:6j-m)

Blessing (1:8)

Blessing (5:7-9)

The point of the passage is obvious precisely because the author has used an effective system of repetitions.

Twice it is announced that God will appear in order to execute universal judgment. In the first string, the author describes some of the blessings that will come to the righteous as a result of the judgment. The second string indicates the sins to be judged. The second section of the oracle introduces a major rhetorical shift that continues into the third section. Here the reference to human words and deeds is redirected to an audience that is addressed in the second person. Their deeds and words, moreover, are defined as alteration and divergence from God's commandments. Now the twofold results of the judgment are announced, and the blessings are elaborated.

These chapters claim, then, to be a prophetic oracle announcing a coming judgment. Although there is no evidence that the real author called himself a "prophet," the rhetoric and form of the pericope imitate prophetic models and suggest that the author saw himself in this role. Like Balaam, Micaiah (1 Kgs 22:13-23), Isaiah (chap. 6), and Ezekiel (chap. 1), the author bases the oracle on a vision of God. The additional phrase "and of heaven" may allude to Enoch's cosmic visions in chaps. 17-36, which enhance the throne vision that is recounted in chaps. 14-16 (see below), and during which he hears the interpretive words of the angels.

But what subgenre of prophetic oracle does the present text represent? Discussions of this problem have not been conclusive. Rau rightly recognizes the interplay between reprimand ("Scheltrede") and prophecy of doom ("Unheilsprophezeiung") in 2:1-5:9, but in so doing he excludes chap. 1 from his discussion of form history. Moreover, he admits that the prophecy of doom includes prophecies of salvation.¹ Hartman locates the text of chaps. 1-5 in the tradition of the *rib*, or covenantal lawsuit, a pattern of expression that has been identified in prophetic indictments of Israel.² This thesis has the advantage of accounting for both the blessings and the curses in the text.

Indeed, the author's eclectic use of a wide variety of biblical material indicates that there will be difficulties in defining the section's form. The use of the Balaam

oracles in Numbers 24, which announce both the blessing of Israel and the destruction of their enemies, suggests already in 1:2-3b that the oracle of blessing that follows will have its negative side; however, it does not prepare one for the lengthy description of a theophany. This theophany is hinted at in the use of Deuteronomy 33 in 1 Enoch 1:1, but that text reminded Israel of the past theophany and predicted almost exclusively Israel's future blessings. The texts in Jeremiah 25 and Micah 1 whose language helps to color this picture of the future theophany are not adequate prototypes for this text, because they announce unmitigated doom. In none of these texts do we find a real counterpart to the wisdom element in 2:1-15:3; such a counterpart occurs only in Jer 5:20-25 (cited by Rau),³ and there it occurs only briefly. The best biblical analogy to 1 Enoch 1-5 seems to be Isaiah 65-66, which is not surprising, given the similarities in wording. That text (like Third Isaiah in general) includes double oracles of salvation and punishment⁴ and provides a prototype for the alternation of second person curses and third person blessings. The enactment of these, moreover, will be the consequence of a theophany and a judgment on "all flesh" (Isa 66:16).

It appears that 1 Enoch 1-5 is a special development of prophetic tradition. A double oracle, like those in Third Isaiah, is supported by an appeal to the authority derived from a heavenly vision. The basis for the judgment is, of course, God's law, but the law is construed more broadly than the Sinaitic revelation. It is cosmic in nature and includes the commands that God gave to "the works" of heaven and earth. The nature of the reprimand is remarkable. The people are not condemned simply for their violation of God's law; this disobedience is exacerbated by comparison with nature's obedience. An appeal to the realm of nature is not unknown in the prophets, but the long citation in 2:1-5:3 is without analogy and is probably related to the author's belief that "the sinners" have violated God's laws about the times and the seasons (see below).

1 Rau, "Kosmologie," 123-24.

2 Hartman, *Meaning*, 49-95.

3 Rau, "Kosmologie," 114-15.

4 On the double oracles in Third Isaiah, see Hanson, *Dawn*, 106-8.

Chapters 1–5: An Introduction to Chapters 6–36

Hartman has provided a long list of parallels between chaps. 1–5 and 6–36.⁵ The following seem especially convincing:

1:2	righteous man	12:4; 15:1 righteous scribe
1:2	vision of God	14:8–16:4 ascent and vision
1:2	angelic interpreters	12:3–6; 18:14; 19:1; 20–33 <i>passim</i>
1:3, 9	God comes forth	25:5 throne where God will sit
1:5	watchers will fear and tremble	13:3
1:5	their places at the ends of the earth	10:4–5, 12; 19:1; chap. 21
1:7, 9	judgment	25:4; 27:4
1:8; 5:6, 7, 9	peace	10:17; 11:2
1:8	protection	10:3, 17
1:8	blessing	10:18; 11:1
1:9	angelic hosts	14:22–23
1:9; 5:4	hard things spoken against God	27:2
2:1–5:3	nature's order	17–18; 33
5:5–6	curse	27:2–3
5:5	years of life perish	10:9–10
5:5	no peace, mercy	12:5–6
5:6, 7, 9	joy	10:16; 25:6
5:6	forgiveness	12:5 no forgiveness
5:6	salvation	10:3, 17
5:7	inherit the earth	10:18–11:2
5:9	long life	10:3, 17; 25:6
5:8–9	no sin	10:20–22
5:9	no anger	10:22

These parallels indicate the extent to which chaps. 1–5 employ words, phrases, and motifs that appear with some frequency in chaps. 6–36, especially in chaps. 10–11, 12–16, and 20–36. Chapters 1–5 announce in programmatic fashion, and in similar language, the judgment and its consequences that are described in chaps. 10–11 under the guise of the flood and that are alluded to in chaps. 20–36 in connection with Enoch's visions of the places of punishment and reward. Thus chaps. 1–5 foreshadow and introduce the message of chaps. 6–36. It is worth considering the relationship between chaps. 1–5 and 6–36 in terms of genre. Chapters 1–5 are a prophetic oracle about the judgment that is based on the visions that are detailed in chaps. 14–36

(see 1:2). Chapters 1–5 announce or predict the events and conditions that Enoch has learned about from the mouth of God in the divine throne room and from the interpreted visions that he saw during his cosmic journeys. The descriptions in 5:5–9 are also paralleled in 10:17–11:2, in a divine speech addressed to the angels.

Although chaps. 1–5 indicate many parallels with the Book of the Watchers as a whole, is it possible that these chaps. originally introduced a text that was either shorter than 6–36 or that included more of the present Enochic corpus? That chaps. 1–5 introduced only 6–19 is unlikely. The focus of the latter chaps. is on the judgment of the watchers, and many of the specific parallels to chaps. 1–5 occur at those points where chaps. 20–36 expand on the journey visions in chaps. 17–19.

Whether the corpus that was first introduced by chaps. 1–5 included chaps. 6–11 is more problematic. The story that is recounted in chaps. 6–11 is presupposed at many points in chaps. 12–36, and 5:5–9 parallels chap. 10 in its interpretation of Isaiah 65. But it is uncertain whether chaps. 6–11 were actually present in the literary corpus that was first headed by chaps. 1–5 or whether chaps. 6–11 were added later to provide the non-Enochic narrative background to what was throughout an Enochic book. On the details of the literary problem, see Introduction §3.1.2.2.

Thus chaps. 1–5 appear to have been written as an introduction to the Book of the Watchers with or without chaps. 6–11. The corpus may also have included, as a conclusion, the narrative in chap. 81, which describes Enoch's return to earth and his commission to write his testament and some of the testamentary material in chaps. 91–94.

Audience, Setting, and Function

To whom does the author address chaps. 1–5 and the book that they introduce? Can we determine the purpose and setting that the author has in mind for the book and the circumstances that led to the collection?

The manner of address in chaps. 1–5 makes it difficult to identify the intended audience. The prophecy is introduced as Enoch's blessing for the righteous (1:1),

⁵ Hartman, *Meaning*, 139–41.

but its use of the second person plural is directed to the sinners (2:1–5:4). The appeals to “observe” and “contemplate” nature’s obedience to God’s commandments can be interpreted as, effectively, a word of damnation to the sinners, who have not obeyed and remained constant. But the righteous and sinners may not be mutually exclusive groups. There are similarities in the terminology that is used to describe the sins that are condemned in 1:9 and 5:4, and the sins of the righteous that will be forgiven and no longer committed by them according to 5:8. This may indicate that those who are called the righteous and chosen in 5:8-9 may include some previously called “the wicked” and “sinners,” who have repented before the time of the judgment. In such an interpretation, the saving wisdom that will be given, according to 5:8, could include an appeal to sinners to repent and become a part of the chosen. Such an appeal could be voiced in the second person address in 2:1–5:4. Support for this interpretation appears in the Epistle, in chap. 101, where the imperatives “observe” and “contemplate” occur in a warning that verges on a call to repentance. The same verbs appear in 100:6 in a passage that predicts that the “wise among men” and “the sons of the earth” will in fact come to recognize *on the basis of the Enochic epistle* that their sins are subject to God’s judgment.

What remains problematic is whether the fictional purpose of this text corresponds to its real purpose. Is this pseudonymous prophetic writing really an appeal for repentance addressed to sinners in the real author’s world? Who was the document’s audience and what was its *Sitz im Leben*? Again some passages from the Epistle may be instructive. Both the Apocalypse of Weeks and the conclusion of the Epistle use the narrative future tense to predict that the Enochic writings will be addressed to “the sons of the earth” as eschatological instruction that can lead to their salvation (91:14; 104:12–105:2). These predictions envision their real author’s own time. In order not to invalidate themselves, they must presuppose that, in point of historical fact, the texts are to be used as instruments of instruction and conversion.

Another piece of converging evidence can be found

in the Qumran Damascus Document. According to CD 1, a remnant come to understand themselves as sinners, God enlightens them through a teacher, and eventually they become the nucleus of the community that has authored the document. Striking in CD 1-2 is the notion of God’s judgment on “all flesh” and the use of direct address to those who “enter the covenant.” The author promises to “uncover your eyes, so that you may observe and consider the works of God” (אגלה עיניכם לראות ולהבין, במעשי אל, 2:14-15). This terminology closely parallels 1 Enoch 2:1. It also indicates a setting in which new converts are addressed on the issue of judgment and salvation. The history of the eschatological remnant is rehearsed, and the hearers are co-opted into that history through a set of appeals to obey God’s commandments.

Thus this nonpseudepigraphical document suggests a model for interpreting the audience and setting of 1 Enoch 1-5 and the document it introduces. The text is written for insiders, identified in 1:1 as the righteous and chosen. This group includes people who were previously numbered among the sinners. The book is part of the edificatory and admonitory literature addressed to people in the kind of process suggested in CD 1. At the same time, it is difficult to imagine the sharp language of the curses in 5:5-7 being directed in a definitive way toward those who are present at a communal reading of the book. The usage appears to be more rhetorical, like the negative paraphrase of the Aaronic benediction in 1QS 2:5-9.

In his extensive discussion of 1 Enoch 1-5, Hartman argues that this text may have been used in a cultic setting on the Day of Atonement, both in a Qumran setting and in the author’s own time.⁶ While this possibility cannot be excluded, much of the evidence that Hartman offers can reflect the use of the sources on which this text draws rather than the setting of the text in its role as an introduction to 1 Enoch.

Although this text and the parts of 1 Enoch that it originally introduced feature the coming of the judgment as their central message, it is difficult to pinpoint certain sins or kinds of sinners as their primary target. Both 1:9 and 5:4 speak of “words” and “deeds,” and 27:2, using similar language, focuses on “those who utter

with their mouth an improper word against the Lord and speak hard things against his glory.” While the terminology may seem to pinpoint blasphemy strictly speaking, the author may well have in mind other kinds of sinful speech, for example, false teaching, which is construed effectively as blasphemy. Perhaps fitting this interpretation are the accusations in 2:1–5:4 that the sinners are revisionists who have changed God’s command-

ments. This accusation appears explicitly in the Epistle (see comm. on 98:9–99:10). Again it is uncertain which specific commandments the author has in mind. In the context of an Enochic writing, however, it seems likely that the author has in mind, in part, violations of calendrical torah. In such a case, the specific examples that are cited in 2:1–5:3 are especially appropriate.

a “The word of the blessing of Enoch, according to which he blessed” (λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ καθὼς εὐλόγησεν; qāla barakat zahēnok zakama bāraka) ᠙^a ㊥ | בִּרְיָן לַבְרָכָה [4QEn^a 1 1:1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 142). My translation follows Deut 33:1 (see comm.) and is supported by the placement of “Enoch” in 4QEn^a 1 1:1.

b ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους ᠙^b | “chosen and righteous ones” (heruyāna wašādegāna) ㊥.

c ἔσονται [Ⓢ] | “must be present” (*hallawu yekumu*) [Ⓢ]; see
Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:57.
d πάντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς [Ⓢ] | “all the evil and wicked
ones” (*kwello ʾekuyāna warasi ʾāna*) [Ⓢ].
e and ---- saved] om. [Ⓢ]. But cf. 10:17.

Different from Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33, where blessing is anticipated for Israel as a whole, this author awaits a judgment that will separate between the righteous chosen, a portion of Israel, and their enemies, whether within or outside the nation. Apart from the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71), the idea of the righteous as “chosen” occurs in 1 Enoch only in 25:5, in the Apocalypse of Weeks (see comm. on 93:9–10), and in

4 See Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu," *JStJ* 6 (1975) 57-71. For three additional testaments, in which blessings are expressed after ethical admonition, see the speeches of Abraham in *Jubilees* 20, 21, 22.

94:4.⁵ As in the Apocalypse, however, the notion is central to the present section (1:3, 8; 5:7-8). For a discussion, see comm. on 1:8.

The future point of reference is “on the day of tribulation” (εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης), a biblical cliché (יום צרה) that denotes the time of terrible distress preceding and including the judgment.⁶ For this term in 1 Enoch with reference to the righteous, see 100:7; 103:9; and of the sinners, 96:2. That this will be a time of judgment is indicated by the opposing fates of the two groups. The enemies (τοὺς ἐχθρούς) of the righteous will be removed,

while the righteous will be saved (σωθήσονται). The idea recalls Deut 33:27, 29: God cast out Israel’s enemies (ἐχθρόν), while the people were saved (σωζόμενος). The two verbs used here are paralleled, however, in judgment contexts in 1 Enoch. For the salvation of the people, cf. 10:17. The same context refers to the “removal” of sin and impurity (10:20). See also 91:9; 91:14; and, of sinners, 38:5; 45:6. In general the language here suggests the Enochic typology of last judgment and deluge.⁷ One group will be removed and the other rescued.

5 The “chosen”: 38:5; 41:2; 48:9; 56:8; 60:6; the “righteous” and “chosen” in parallelism: 38:2, 3, 4; 39:6, 7; 48:1-2; 61:12, 13, 15; 62:12, 13, 15; 70:3.

6 Cf. 2 Kgs 19:3; Pss 50:15; 77:3(2); 86:7; Prov 24:10; 25:19; Obad 12, 14, etc. For a discussion of “time of tribulation” (עַת־צָרָה) and its use in Dan 12:1 in connection with the judgment, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 15. In the NT see Mark 13:19 and Luke 21:23.

7 Cf. the Synoptic saying about the Son of Man and the deluge (Matt 24:37-39 and in its context, vv 40-41); see also *Ps. Sol.* 4:6-8, where the sinners are “removed” (ἐξάλλειν, as here) in the judgment and the righteous are vindicated.

Introduction

And he took up his discourse^a and said,
"Enoch, ■ righteous man whose eyes were opened by God,^b
who had^c the vision of the Holy One and of heaven,^d which he showed me.^e
From the words of the watchers and holy ones I heard everything;^f
and ■ I heard everything from them, I also understood what I saw.^g
Not for this generation do I expound,^h
but concerning one that is distant I speak.ⁱ
And concerning the chosen I speak now,^a
and concerning them I take up my discourse.^b

- 2a καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ ⑥ | "and he took up] hi[s] discourses [and said] (4QEn^a 1 1:2; Milik, *Enoch*, 142). Although Milik translates the noun as sg. (ibid.), he notes that it is pl. and suggests that ⑥ translated it sg. in imitation of Num 23:7 (*Enoch*, 89). See comm. | "and he answered" (*waʿawšēʿa*) ⑥. Cf. n. b on 1:3a.
- b Translation is based on ⑥, Ἐνώχ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος ἔστιν ὅρασις ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτῷ ἀνεφγμένη, emended to E. α. δ. ὅστις ἐκ θεοῦ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ ἀνεφγμένη, following ⑥ (*hēnok beʿsi šādeq zaʿemhaba ʿegziʾabhēr ʿenza ʿaʿyentihu kešutāt*). For ὅρασις meaning the eyes (*aʿyent*), see comm. on 1:2-3a.
- c {ην} ἔχων ⑥ | "and he saw" (*wayerēʾi*) ⑥.
- d and of heaven] ⑥ | "who (is) in heaven" (*zabasamāyāt*) ⑥.
- e <ἥν> (from above, after ⑥) ἔδειξέν με ⑥ | "which the angels showed me" (*zaʿarʾayuni malʾēkt*) ⑥.
- f From ---- everything] καὶ <ἅπὸ> (A110, ms.) λόγων ἁγίων <ἁγγέλων> ἤκουσα ἐγώ ⑥ (see Larson, "Translation," §3.2.1 on 4QEn^a 1 i.3 | om. ⑥. Translation is based on a reconstruction of Aramaic [ܡܢ ܕܠܘܟܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܬܐ] (4QEn^a 1 1:3; Milik, *Enoch*, 142). On the combination "watchers and holy ones," see comm. Missing from ⑥, "everything" appears in ⑥ and ⑥ of the next line and may have been omitted as repetitious (Milik, *Enoch*, 144).

- g καὶ ὡς ἤκουσα παρ' αὐτῶν πάντα καὶ ἔγνων ἐγὼ θεω-
ρῶν ⑥, which is followed closely by ⑥, except that it omits "as" and reads "what I saw" (*zaʿerēʾi*), thus including a relative pronoun necessary for the meaning of the text.
- h do I expound] ⑥ | om. ⑥.
- i ἐγὼ <λαλῶ> (A111Ω, ms.), evidently supported by 4QEn^a 1 1:4, ܠܐܠܡܐ ܢܬܢ (Milik, *Enoch*, 142) | om. ⑥.
- 3a And ---- now] ⑥ | "concerning the chosen I spoke" (*baʿenta heruyān ʿebē*) ⑥.
- b I --- discourse] ἀνέλαβον τὴν παραβολὴν μου ⑥ | "I uttered a discourse" (*ʿawšāʾku . . . mesla*) ⑥. See Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:58. For a similar textual problem, see n. a on 1:2.

■ 2-3b This unit introduces the theophanic oracle in 1:3c–5:9 by making a claim of revelation and prophetic authority. The language and form of the unit closely parallel the Balaam oracles, especially Num 24:15-17,¹ and a similar dependence is evident in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks. See comm. on 93:1-3a. Whether this author intends a specific allusion to the figure of Balaam is unclear; there is a pseudepigraphic anachronism (but see comm. on chaps. 83-84). In the

verse that precedes and the verse that follows this section, he uses language spoken by Moses some time after Balaam uttered his oracles and roughly at the same geographical location (cf. Num 22:1; Deut 1:1-5). Even if no association with Balaam is intended, the form and content of his ancient oracles provide a model (see p. 138), which this author modifies for his own purposes.

The unit consists of four distichs cast in poetic parallelism; the first two describe the source or mode of

1 The parallels to the Balaam oracles have been recognized by all commentators who have had access to the full and more accurate Greek text of this section.

Num 24:15a: And he took up his discourse and said
 1 Enoch 1:2a: And he took up his discourse and said
 1 Enoch 93:1: And after this Enoch took up his discourse and said

Num 24:15b: “The oracle of Balaam the son of Beor
 1 Enoch 1:2b: “Enoch, a righteous man
 1 Enoch 93:2: “I myself, Enoch

Num 24:15c: the oracle of a man whose eye is opened
 1 Enoch 1:2b: whose eyes were opened by God

Num 24:16a: the oracle of him who hears the words of God
 1 Enoch 1:2d: And from the words of the watchers and holy ones I heard everything
 1 Enoch 93:1h: And from the words of the watchers and holy ones I have learned everything

Num 24:16b: and knows the knowledge of the Most High
 1 Enoch 1:2e: I also understood what I saw
 1 Enoch 93:2i: And in the heavenly tablets I read everything and understood

Num 24:16c: who sees the vision of the Almighty . . . ,
 1 Enoch 1:2c: who had the vision of the Holy One and of heaven that he showed me
 1 Enoch 93:2g: there was shown me the vision of heaven

Num 24:17a: I see him but not now, I behold him but not nigh”
 1 Enoch 1:2f: Not for this generation do I expound, but concerning one that is distant I speak

1 Enoch 1:3a: concerning the chosen I speak now
 1 Enoch 93:2a: Concerning the sons of righteousness
 2b: concerning the chosen of eternity
 2c: concerning the plant of truth
 2d: these things I say to you”
 1 Enoch 1:3b: and concerning them I take up my discourse now”
 1 Enoch 93:3: And Enoch took up his discourse and said

Enoch’s revelation, and the last two identify the subject matter of the oracle that is based on the revelation. A pair of matching statements in a-b-b'-a' form frame the unit: “took up his discourse and said | . . . I speak now, and . . . take up my discourse” (vv 2a, 3ab). This formula runs through the Balaam oracles (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3,

15, 20, 21, 23), and its use in this section is derived from this prototype.² The expression also appears in Isa 14:4; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6 (cf. Job 27:1; 29:1; Ezek 17:2; 24:3).

The translation of the word מַשַּׁל in these biblical contexts is problematic, and, indeed, there is a wide-ranging debate about the nature, form, and function of the

2 On the possible influence also of Ps 78:2-3, see Hartman, *Meaning*, 23.

entity or entities denoted by this noun.³ Landes, Suter, and others have argued that comparison of some sort is an essential constituent in a *mašal*, although the nature and function of the comparison vary from place to place.⁴ In his analysis of “the Similitudes of Enoch,” where he finds repeated comparisons between the lot of the righteous and the sinners on the day of judgment, Suter notes that the Balaam oracles “establish various contrasts between the present and future blessing and cursing of the righteous (Israel) and the wicked (Moab).”⁵ If there is such a comparison in Numbers 23–24, it is more explicit in the alternative lines and units in 1 Enoch 1–5. In addition, 2:1–5:3 and 5:4 make an explicit comparison and contrast between the manner in which the world of “nature” and human beings obey and disobey the divine commandments. These considerations suggest that the Aram. מְשָׁל and the Gk. παραβολή in the present context imply a comparative discourse. In any case, “parable” is hardly suitable here, in 93:1-2, or in chaps. 37–71, since none of these texts indicates a comparison of the sort normally associated with that term. In addition, the occurrence of the formula both here and in 93:1-3 indicates that “The Book of Parables” is an inadequate designation for the uniqueness of chaps. 37–71, although I retain it throughout this volume to simplify reference to those chapters.

The א and ב texts of 1:2a present a translation problem. 4QEn^a 1 1:1 reads מְשָׁלָה [“hi[s] parables,” pl.], while the ב uses the singular (παραβολήν) both here and in v 3. Because the Bible never uses the plural in this idiom, I translate in the singular, assuming that the author may have employed a plural by attraction to the plural “words” in 1:1. It is equally possible that this line introduces the whole corpus as a collection of “parables.” Since the Aramaic of v 3 has not been preserved, it is impossible to know whether the author slipped from plural to singular as he led into the opening oracle (cf. 93:1, 3, where the sg. מְשָׁל [“his parable”] occurs twice).

An analysis of this text’s modifications of the Balaam

oracles highlights some of its author’s emphases, which anticipate essential elements in the texts that follow in 1 Enoch. Enoch is not identified as his father’s son, as one might expect from Num 24:3, 15 (Balaam, the son of Beor) and from the prophetic superscriptions in general.⁶ The designation “a righteous man” reappears at 15:1, precisely in the context of Enoch’s vision of God (see comm. on 14:8-23).

Verse 2b-e identifies the source of Enoch’s revelation. Like Balaam he bases his oracle on a throne vision of the Deity. The singular noun could refer simply to the heavenly vision recounted in chaps. 14–15, with “the words of the watchers and holy ones” denoting the discourse in the heavenly court (cf. Dan 4:14 [17]). More likely, perhaps, the singular refers collectively to the whole complex of cosmic visions that were interpreted by angels (1 Enoch 17–19; 21–36).

The main title for God in chaps. 1–36 is “the Great Holy One” (on which see below). The simple title “Holy One” occurs elsewhere in 1 Enoch only in 37:2; 93:11; 104:9, always in the expression, “the words of the Holy One.” This idea is close at hand; the next line refers to the words of the watchers and holy ones. Here, however, one may think of the throne vision of the Holy One in Isaiah 6, which may have influenced the wording of 1 Enoch 14–15 (see comm. on 14:8–16:4). In any case, the title here differs from Balaam’s “God,” “the Most High,” and “the Almighty.” Whereas Balaam states twice that he both had a vision of God and heard God’s words (Num 24:4, 16), Enoch here mentions the role of the accompanying angels who interpreted the visions that Enoch saw (on the vision form, see comm. on chaps. 20–36).

3 See the literature cited in Timothy Polk, “Paradigms, Parables, and *Mēšālīm*: on Reading the *Māšāl* in Scripture,” *CBQ* 45 (1983) 564–83.

4 George M. Landes, “Jonah: A *Māšāl*?” in J. G. Gammie, et al., eds., *Israelite Wisdom: Theological and Literary Essays in Honor of Samuel Terrien* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978) 137–58; David Winston

Suter, “*Māšāl* in the Similitudes of Enoch,” *JBL* 100 (1981) 193–212.

5 Suter, *Māšāl*, 200.

6 Cf. Isa 1:1; Jer 1:1; Ezek 1:3; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Jonah 1:1; Zeph 1:1; Zech 1:1; and in Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1; Nah 1:1, a geographical designator.

Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones

The terminology that various Enochic authors used to designate the members of the heavenly entourage is obscured by the Greek and Ethiopic translations. This situation is evident already at 1:2d, where 𐤄 reads "<from> the words of the holy ones," 𐤅 is defective, 𐤆 indicates "from the words<of the watchers> and holy ones." See 1:2 n. f. In the parallel passage at 93:2, 𐤅 "and from the word of the holy angels" has as its 𐤆 prototype "...] from the word of the watchers and holy ones." This double designation—well known from Dan 4:10, 14, 20 (13, 17, 23)—appears in 𐤆 of 1 Enoch also at 22:6, where 𐤄 and 𐤅 read "angel." "Watcher" alone appears to be indicated also at 33:3, where 𐤅 reads "holy angel." The double designation is suggested by the word pair "watchers"/"holy ones" at 12:2, where there is no extant Aramaic. (Cf. also the parallelism in Dan 4:14 [17].) The Gk. word ἐγρηγόροι, "watchers," is used throughout 1 Enoch 6–16 as the special designation for the rebel angels: "the watchers" unqualified, 1:5; 10:7, 9, 15; 16:2; "the watchers, the sons of heaven," 6:2; 14:3; "the watchers of heaven," 12:4; 13:10; 15:2; "the holy watchers," 15:9 (see also 91:15, where there is a textual problem). Elsewhere in 1 Enoch 1–36 and 83–108, the normal designation of the heavenly beings is "angels" (Gk. ἄγγελοι, Eth. *malā'ekt*), and sometimes "angels of (or 'in') heaven," which formulation parallels "watchers of heaven."

A pattern seems to emerge from this evidence:

(a) Nowhere do the Qumran fragments of 1 Enoch attest the Aram. ܐܢܝܢ, even where the 𐤄 and 𐤅 have ἄγγελος and *mal'ak*; (b) with the exception of 12:3, the 𐤄 and 𐤅 reserve "watcher" as a designation for the rebel angels, with the qualifier "holy" being used only at 15:9 (cf. 5:4); (c) with a few isolated exceptions (19:1, 2; the doublet at 21:10; and 106:5-6, 12, where the counterparts in 1QapGen 2:1, 16 read "watchers, holy ones, watchers, sons of heaven") the 𐤄 and 𐤅 never use "angel" to designate the rebel heavenly beings. This pattern suggests that the Greek translator(s) adopted "watchers" as the designation for the rebels and thus distinguished them from the others, who were almost uniformly known as "angels." Only in isolated contexts (chaps. 12, 19, 21, 106) is this pattern broken. While we cannot be certain, because the

Aramaic evidence is fragmentary, it is possible, and perhaps likely, that the original Aramaic uniformly designated the heavenly ones as ܐܝܪܝܢ ("watchers"), reserved ܐܝܪܝܢ ܐܢܝܢ ܐܝܪܝܢ ("watchers and holy ones") for the unfallen heavenly beings, and used ܐܝܪܝܢ ܕܝ ܫܡܝܐ ("watchers of heaven") as a neutral term that designated both the good and evil beings as entities of heavenly provenance or as those who belonged to God, who is referred to by the circumlocution "heaven."

If the Aram. ܐܝܪ was the chief designation for the heavenly beings, precisely what was the meaning of this word? Thus far I have used "watchers" as a translation, but the situation is not so simple. A derivation from the root ܐܝܪ ("to be awake," "to be watchful") is usually presumed and is reflected in the Greek translation ἐγρηγόρος, as cited above. Fitzmyer suggests, however, that this may be only a folk etymology, although he does not indicate why he thinks so.⁷ Citing Fitzmyer, Murray develops an extensive argument for the meaning "guardian" and for an allusion to the old guardian gods of Semitic antiquity.⁸ Various passages in 1 Enoch appear to apply such a function to these heavenly beings, although it is perhaps more to the point to describe them as advocates or mediators of human prayer (see Introduction §4.2.2.2). Throughout the translation in this volume, I have retained the traditional rendering "watchers," presuming not the notion of watching qua looking, but the first dictionary definition of this noun, "one that sits up or continues awake at night."⁹ I do so for two reasons. First, neither Fitzmyer nor Murray presents a compelling reason for seeking another translation.¹⁰ Second, alongside the ancient translation ἐγρηγόροι, precisely such an interpretation appears to be presumed in 39:12, 13; 40:2; 61:12; 71:7 ("those who sleep not," ܝܠܠܐ ܝܝܢܐܘܘܡܡܐ), and it may also be indicated at 14:23. In both cases, these heavenly beings are on twenty-four-hour duty attending God—whether to praise God or to function as a kind of bodyguard in the throne room (see comm. on 14:21-23). A second connotation appears in 20:1 𐤅 ("These are the names of the holy angels who watch"), which heads a list of the seven who supervise aspects of the universe, that is, they are on night and day duty overseeing the functions of creation. Likewise, 82:10 refers to the angelic leaders who keep watch over (ܐܩܒܐ) the

7 Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 80.

8 Robert Murray, "The Origin of Aramaic 'ir, Angel,'" *Or* 53 (1984) 302–17.

9 Philip Babcock Gove, ed., *Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam, 1971) s.v.

10 Murray ("Origin," 306–7) states only that "ܐܝܪ cannot

be traced in Aramaic earlier than the 'Book of the Watchers.'"

functions of the celestial beings in charge of the seasons. Such an idea would fit the twenty in 6:7 who bear cosmological names. Finally, without having recourse to speculative philology, as Murray does, one can posit a connection between being constantly awake and guarding the righteous (cf. Psalm 121). Indeed, this is what the four are doing in chap. 9 (cf. also 100:5).

The double designations "watchers and holy ones" and "watchers, the sons of heaven," are evidently an attempt to define a generic term with a second expression that indicates function. "Holy ones" and "sons of God" or "sons of heaven" appear to be general designations for the members of the heavenly court. Genesis 6 already speaks of "the sons of God," and "holy ones" is a common designation for heavenly beings, both in 1 Enoch and in parallel literature.¹¹ The two expressions appear in parallelism in 1QH 11(3):22 and Wis 5:5. Added to one or the other of these generic terms, "watchers" defines a particular class of heavenly beings whose function is to act as an *'ir*, as variously suggested.

Enoch's vision. The reference to events in the remote future has a counterpart in Balaam's oracle: "I see him, but not now, I behold him, but not nigh" (Num 24:17). Balaam foresees the coming of the star and the scepter that will execute vengeance on Israel's enemies (vv 17c-19). The introductory formula in Numbers and the complex of ideas in Balaam's oracle are replicated here; the introduction in 1:2-3b leads to an announcement of the appearance of God and the judgment that will occur (1:3c-9). Taken over from Numbers to designate the generation that will be affected by the future theophany, the disjunctive "not now, but then" is modified in the superscriptions in 92:1 and 37:2, which refer inclusively to both present and future generations as recipients of Enoch's wisdom. The final distich of the introduction identifies the intended audience of Enoch's oracle. They are the chosen of the end time, mentioned in the superscription (1:1) and again in the oracle (1:8; 5:<6>, 7, 8).

The concluding two distichs in the introduction define the subject matter of the oracle that is based on

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- 11 On the usage of "holy ones," see C. H. W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High and Their Kingdom," *OTS* 14 (1965) 305-29; L. Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High' in Qumran and Daniel," *OTS* 18 (1973) 108-87.

The Theophany

1 'The Great Holy One^c will come forth from his dwelling
 and the eternal God will tread from thence^a upon Mount Sinai.
 4 He will appear with his army,^b
 he will appear with his mighty host from the heaven of heavens.^c
 5 All the watchers will fear and <quake>^a,
 and those who are hiding in all the ends of the earth will sing;^b
 All the ends of the earth will be shaken,
 and trembling and great fear^c will seize them (the watchers) unto the ends of the earth.
 6 The high mountains will be shaken and ~~fall~~ and break apart,^a
 and the high hills will be made low^b and melt like wax before the fire;^c
 7 The earth will be wholly rent asunder,^a
 and everything ~~on~~ the earth will perish,
 and there will be judgment on all.
 8 With the righteous^a he will make peace,
 and ~~over~~ the chosen there will be protection,^b
 and upon them will be mercy.
 They will all be God's,
 and he will grant them his good pleasure.^c
 He will bless (them) all,^d
 and he will help (them) all.^e
 Light^f will shine upon them,
 and he will make peace with them.^g
 9 Behold,^a he comes with the myriads of his holy ones,^b
 to execute judgment on all,^c
 and to destroy all the wicked,^d
 and to convict all flesh
 for all the wicked deeds that they have done,^e
 and the proud and hard^f words that wicked sinners spoke against him.^g

- 3c On this divine epithet, see comm. The formulation of ^a here (ὁ ἅγιός μου ὁ μέγας, "My Holy One, the Great One") is unique to this verse. "The Holy and Great One" (*qeddus wa'abi*) of ^c is the usual formulation in this version of 1 Enoch.
- 4a from thence] "and from thence" (*wa'emheya*) ^c | "upon earth" (ἐπὶ γῆν) ^a. ^c is best explained as a translation of Gk. ἐκείθεν ("from thence") with "and" prefixed (Radermacher, *Enoch*, 18, et al.). If ^a is correct, we must assume a double reading, and since parallels to Deuteronomy 33 indicate the priority of "upon Mount Sinai" (see comm.), "upon the earth" is reduced to a meaningless gloss. ^c provides good parallelism with v 3c and v 4c.
- b with his army] ^a ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς αὐτοῦ ("from his camp") could be original. But ^c (*bat'eynitu* = ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ αὐτοῦ, "with his army") forms good parallelism with v 4c.
- c from - - - heavens] ^a | "from heaven" ^c-t | "from the heavens" t, omissions in ^c by hmt.
- 5a All - - - quake] "And all will fear and the watchers will believe" (καὶ φοβηθήσονται πάντες καὶ πιστεύουσιν οἱ ἐγγήγοροι) ^a | "And all will fear and the watchers will quake" (*wayefarrehu kwellu wayādlaqallequ teguhān*) ^c. Both versions describe universal fear and a second reaction by the watchers. The parallel in 13:3, on which

- this passage most likely depends (see comm. on 1:5), suggests a uniform reference to the watchers and supports "quake" (^c) rather than "believe."
- b and those - - - sing] ^c omits this line and the next one, but 4QEn^a 1 1:7 (Milik, *Enoch*, 142) appears to require the long reading; so also Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:59. Translation is dependent on ^a (καὶ ἄσουσιν ἀπόκρυφα ἐν πάσιν τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς γῆς, "and they will sing hidden things in all the ends of the earth"), but presumes a mistranslation of *יִרְדּוּ (see Milik, *Enoch*, 145), read by the Greek translator as the object of "sing" rather than its subject; see James C. VanderKam, "The Theophany of 1 Enoch I 1:3b, 7-9," *VT* 23 (1973) 142-43.
- c trembling - - fear] "fear and great trembling" ^c. Cf. 13:3.
- 6a and fall - - apart] om. ^c, most likely by hmt. in *^c, σεισθήσονται - - διαλυθήσονται. The longer reading of ^a is supported by the parallelism between the second and third verbs of v 6a and the two verbs of v 6b, both attested in ^a and ^c.
- b + "so that the mountains may flow away" (τοῦ διαρῆναι ὅρη) ^a, a gloss interrupting the parallelistic juxtaposition of the two verbs.
- c + "in a flame" (ἐν φλογί) ^a, a double reading.
- 7a καὶ διασχισθήσεται ἡ γῆ {σχίσμα} ῥαγάδι ^a, taking *σχίσμα* as a synonymous gloss for the less frequent

- ῥάγας; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 5 | “and the earth will be shaken [will sink]” (*watešaṭṭaṭ* [gqt²T⁹; *watesaṭṭam*, al.] *medr*) \mathfrak{C} . All \mathfrak{C} mss. omit the adverbial ῥάγάδι. The verb of gqt²T⁹ is the equivalent of \mathfrak{B}^a . It could be a correction against the \mathfrak{B} , but the similarity of the \mathfrak{C} *watesaṭṭam* suggests either an inner- \mathfrak{C} corruption or a shrewd scribal revision *ad sensum*. See comm. on 1:6–7.
- 8a With the righteous] \mathfrak{B}^a | “And upon all the righteous/ but to the righteous” (*walā‘la šādeqān kwellomu/ lašādeqān*) \mathfrak{C} , a double reading.
- b and - - - - protection] + “and peace” (*καὶ εἰρήνη*) \mathfrak{B}^a , doubtless an addition from the previous line | “and he will protect the chosen” (*waya‘āqgebomu laheruyān*) \mathfrak{C} .
- c and - - - - pleasure] “and they will prosper” (*wayesērrehu*) \mathfrak{C} , presuming εὐδοκίαν rather than εὐδοκίαν of \mathfrak{B}^a ; Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 5, n. 8) supports \mathfrak{C} and cites Sir 43:26 for the same variants.
- d “and they will be blessed” \mathfrak{C} .
- e Om. line \mathfrak{C} | + “and he will help us” (*καὶ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν*) \mathfrak{B}^a , a double reading, reflecting the confusion of ἡμῖν (“us”) and ὑμῖν (“you”), which in turn reflects an Aramaic corruption of לכול (“all”) to לכוך (“you”).
- f “and the light of God” \mathfrak{C} , probably a gloss.
- g om. line \mathfrak{C} .
- 9a Attested in all witnesses except \mathfrak{B}^a , which reads ὅτι (“for”). *wanāhu* (“and behold”) of \mathfrak{C} may be corrupt for *zanāhu*, which could translate ὅτι ἰδοὺ (“for behold”); see comm. on 1:9.
- b myriads of his holy ones] following 4QEn^c 1 1:15 מרבין קדושים (Milik, *Enoch*, 184). | “his myriads and his holy ones” (*ταῖς μυράσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ*) \mathfrak{B}^a | “ten thousand holy ones” (*bate’elfit qeddusān*) \mathfrak{C} | “his myriads” Jude 14 | “myriads of his angels” (*multis milibus nuntiorum suorum*) Ps.-Cyp. | *milibus* Ps.-Vig.
- c on all] κατὰ πάντων \mathfrak{B}^a Jude 14 Ps.-Cyp.; *lā‘la kwellu* (*la‘la kwellomu*) \mathfrak{C} 2080 T⁹ | “on them” (*la‘lēhomu*) $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{rel}}$.
- d om. “all” \mathfrak{C} . Many mss. of Jude 15 appear to have dropped the next line and used the verb ἐλέγξει (“convict”) here. However, P⁷² \mathfrak{A} (supported by some Syriac, Sahidic, and Bohairic mss.) read καὶ ἐλέγξει πᾶσαν ψυχὴν, which, if original, would correspond to the whole of the next line, while dropping the present line.
- e “for all that they have done and impiously done . . .” \mathfrak{C} , the subject being the godless of the next line (see n. g).
- f proud and hard] וְרַבְּרַבִּין 4QEn^c 1 1:3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 184), which is supported by 5:4 and indirectly by 101:3. | “and for all that they spoke against (him) and the hard words that they spoke” (*καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελάλησαν καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων*) \mathfrak{B}^a , reflecting a conflation of two readings. | om. “words” Jude 15.
- g For this line and the previous one, \mathfrak{C} reads, “for all that the sinners and the godless did and committed godlessly against him,” reflecting omissions in both lines. See Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:60.

■ **3c-9** This initial section of Enoch’s oracle describes the coming of the transcendent God, the divine Warrior, who will appear on earth to execute universal judgment on humanity and the rebel watchers. The section divides into four subunits:

God’s appearance	vv 3c-4
Reaction of the watchers and the cosmos	vv 5-7
Blessing to the righteous and chosen	v 8
God’s appearance and judgment of the wicked	v 9

The section indicates an elaborative repetition of motifs, evident mainly in the opening and closing lines that frame the unit (see comm. on 1:9). The universality of God’s judgment is underscored by the repetition of the word “all,” which appears eleven times, in every subunit that describes the context, cause, or result of God’s appearance (cf. 10:16–11:2 and see comm. on chaps. 6–11).

This section employs traditional language and imagery also found in several biblical theophanic texts, especially Deut 33:1-3; Jer 25:31; Mic 1:3-4.¹

1:3c	The Great Holy One will come forth from his dwelling	Hab 3:3 Mic 1:3; Deut 33:2; Isa 26:21 Jer 25:30
1:4a	The Eternal God will tread on the earth upon Mount Sinai he will appear with his host	Deut 33:27 Mic 1:3 Deut 33:2 Deut 33:2 Ezek 1:14
1:5	ends of the earth singing from ends of the earth	Jer 25:31 Isa 24:16
1:6	hills, mountains wax before fire	Mic 1:3-4 Mic 1:4
1:7	rent asunder	Mic 1:4
	judgment on all	Jer 25:31

1 For detailed discussions see VanderKam, “Theophany”; and Hartman, *Meaning*, 23–24, here with some revisions. See also Rau (“Kosmologie,” 46–49), who draws attention to the parallel in 1QH 11(3):46-49.

1:9 comes with myriads of his holy ones to judge all flesh Deut 33:2 Jer 25:31; Isa 66:16

The variety of texts to which one has recourse for parallels suggests that the present passage reflects unconscious combination rather than explicit selective citation. Nonetheless, read in the light of the superscription, the passage appears to be controlled by the wording of Deuteronomy 33, with the description of the Sinai theophany projected into the future. A similar conflation of language paralleled in Deuteronomy 33, Micah 1, and some other texts appears in *T. Mos.* 10:1-8 in the context of a larger paraphrase of the last chapters of Deuteronomy.² In 1 Enoch the theophany is referred to again at 91:7-9; 100:4; 102:1-3. The succession of the introduction (1:2-3) and the theophany with its accompanying judgment parallels the same order in Num 24:15-19.

■ **3c-4** The description of the theophany itself is cast in a pair of distichs. The first describes the coming of God, using verbs of motion; the second emphasizes the divine glory and refers twice to God's heavenly entourage. The parallelism in both units is virtually synonymous, with the second lines extending the first by means of concluding locative modifiers.

The two lines of the first distich employ titles that characterize God as wholly transcendent. "The Great Holy One" is a favorite divine title in the earlier strata of 1 Enoch, along with "the Great One," "the Holy One," and "the Great Glory."³ "Great Holy One" may have originated as a conflation of the common title "the Holy One" and the rare title "the Great God" (Ezra 5:8; Dan

2:45).⁴ In 1 Enoch it is uncertain whether "the Great One" is a full title for God or whether it is an abbreviation for "the Great Holy One" used in certain formulaic contexts.⁵ The double title in 1 Enoch defines God as the greatest among the holy ones, who are the divine entourage.⁶ In this respect the title here prepares for v 9a, which elaborates on vv 3c-4 by defining the entourage of the coming Deity as "the holy ones."

"Eternity" is the second modifier indicating divine transcendence in 1:3c-4. The notion of God's eternity is widespread in 1 Enoch, appearing most often in the title "King of eternity," but also in "God of eternity" and "Lord of eternity."⁷ Elsewhere in 1 Enoch and in contemporary texts, the contexts indicate that these titles were especially at home in liturgical usage.⁸

God "will come forth" (ἐξελεύσεται, פָּצַח) out of the divine dwelling (κατοικήσεως), the heavenly temple. The corresponding Heb. verb פָּצַח is used in OT theophanic texts in connection with God's activity as warrior and judge.⁹ It occurs in Mic 1:3, which is otherwise paralleled here, and in Judg 5:4-5; Isa 26:21 and Ps 68:8 (7). In *T. Mos.* 10:3 *exiet de habitatione sancta sua* ("will go forth from his holy dwelling") in the context of a paraphrase of Deuteronomy 33 suggests that that text and this one reflect a traditional conflation of Deuteronomy 33 (which uses neither the noun nor the verb) with Mic 1:3-4 ("goes forth from his place") and Jer 25:30-31 ("roars from his holy dwelling"). That the theophany originates from the heavenly or earthly temple is obvious and is implied in the verb. It is also explicit in a number of bib-

2 *Testament of Moses* 10 contains the basic elements in 1 Enoch 1 and 5: theophany, angelic accompaniment (albeit a single angel), cosmic reaction, judgment which includes blessing for Israel and punishment for the Gentiles. For details, see Rau, "Kosmologie," 57-61. It is uncertain, however, whether *Testament of Moses* 10, though it is a Mosaic text, even with its conflation with Micah, is dependent on a tradition other than the present text.
3 "The Great Holy One" appears in 1:3; 10:1; 14:1; 25:3; 84:1; 92:2; 97:6; 98:6. The textual evidence divides, with C reading "Great and Holy" or "Holy and Great," and S omitting "and." But see 1QapGen 2:14; 12:17 for קִדְשָׁא רַבָּא ("the Great Holy One"). For "the Great One," see 14:2; 81:37; 103:1; 103:4; 104:1. "The Holy One" appears in 1:2;

93:11; 104:9; 37:2; "the Great Glory," in 14:20; 102:3.

4 Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 89.

5 Note the fluctuations in the oath formulas in 98:6; 103:1; 104:1.

6 VanderKam, "Theophany," 134.

7 1 Enoch 12:3; 25:3, 5, 7; 27:3. For "God of eternity," see also 9:4; for "Lord of eternity," see 9:4; 22:14; 58:4.

8 Thus all the passages cited in n. 7 except 58:4. Cf. also Dan 3:33; 4:31 (4:3, 34); Sus 42; Tob 13:6, 10; Sir 37:26; *Jub.* 13:8; 1QapGen 21:2; 1QH 15(7):31. See the brief discussion by Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 77, at 1Q20 i 2:5.

9 For the verbs used in connection with the theophany, see Frank Schnutenhaus, "Das Kommen und

lical theophanic texts, although the verbs and the nouns vary.¹⁰

Verse 4a elaborates on v 3c by indicating Mount Sinai as the destination of God's descent. (Contrast 25:3, where the mountain of the northeast is God's judgment throne.) The reference to Mount Sinai appears to have been triggered by Deut 33:2, where it is the place *from* which God appears. According to the present text, however, Mount Sinai is the place *to* which God descends. This idea would elicit in the minds of Jewish readers the memory of Israel's decisive and formative theophany at Sinai,¹¹ and because judgment is the purpose of the coming theophany, the text might suggest that the Torah given on Sinai would be the basis of that judgment (but see Introduction §4.2.5.1).¹² For a parallelism between revelations in the wilderness and at the end time, see comm. on 90:6-9a.

The Sinai reference may have another nuance. In the place of a simple verb for "descend," the text reads *πατέω*, which probably translates Aram. *ܩܪܝ* ("to tread, trample"). The root would be a carryover from Mic 1:3, where God tramples on the high places of the earth, and the mountains melt like wax (1:4), an element reserved for v 6 here. In Mic 1:3-4 and other biblical theophanic texts, the root *קרי* denotes God's triumphant trampling on his enemies and their sanctuaries ("high places").¹³ If such a notion is present here, and the verb is not simply displaced from its biblical objects in v 6, the author may be suggesting a symbolism that parallels Moses' action recorded in Exod 32:19. God descends and tramples on Mount Sinai, thus symbolizing and confirming Israel's

breaking of the covenant. See further the comm. on 5:4.

In the place of the verbs of motion in vv 3c-4a, the second distich twice employs the verb *φανήσεται* ("appear, shine"). In the second instance, the Qumran fragment preserves Aram. *ܦܢܝ* ("shine forth"), one of the two Hebrew roots that describe the theophany in Deut 33:2.¹⁴ As in the biblical text, the image is enhanced, here in both lines, by a reference to God's heavenly entourage. On the textual problem, see n. b on v 4. Greek *παρεμβολή* can designate either the "encampment" from which God goes forth (thus *Ε*, construing the noun in parallel to v 3c) or the arrayed "army" in whose company God marches (*Θ*).¹⁵ Although Gk. *ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ* could be translated abstractly ("in the power of his might," "in his mighty power"), it is better understood concretely of the heavenly army that accompanies God (cf. 1:9).¹⁶ The verse depicts God as the transcendent King who descends to earth to execute judgment, which is construed as a military campaign by the heavenly King and his army.¹⁷ The adverbial modifier that completes the distich ("from the heaven of heavens") rounds off the whole section by returning to v 3c and designating the place from which God comes (contrast the same element in v 4a, the place to which God comes). As is fitting in this picture of God's transcendence, the divine dwelling (v 3c) is in the highest heaven, literally "the heaven of heavens" (v 4c). For the expression, cf., for example, Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; 1 Enoch 60:1; 71:5. Different from *T. Levi* 3:1-4, 2 *Enoch*, and 3 *Baruch*, 1 Enoch does not indicate a specific number of heavens.¹⁸ See also 14:8-23, where the

Erscheinen Gottes im Alten Testament," ZAW 76 (1964) 1-22. See also H. D. Preuss, "צא," TDOT 6 (1990) 232-33.

10 See Isa 26:21; Jer 25:30; Amos 1:2; Mic 1:3; Hab 3:3; Zech 2:13.

11 In addition to Exodus 19, see Judg 5:4; Ps 68:18 (17).

12 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 90; VanderKam, "Theophany," 136-38; Hartman, *Meaning*, 42-44. For a later reference to the Torah as the basis of universal judgment, see 4 *Ezra* 7:37; 13:10, 38.

13 James L. Crenshaw, "W^cdōrēk 'al-bāmōtē 'āreš," CBQ 34 (1972) 39-53; followed by VanderKam, "Theophany," 136.

14 On the divine glory see comm. on 14:18-20.

15 For the two meanings see alternatively Josh 6:11

and Gen 32:2-3 (1-2), cited by VanderKam, "Theophany," 138; see also BAGD, s.v.

16 VanderKam, "Theophany," 138-39. Cf. also 1QH 12(4):32; Eph 1:19; 6:10, the latter in a military context.

17 For the judgment as warfare, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 11-12, 29.

18 On ideas about heaven in Judaism and Christianity, see Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1951).

landmarks of Enoch's journey are not a series of heavens, but the walls and buildings in the heavenly temple complex.

■ 5 In biblical accounts of theophanies, the theophany itself is followed by cosmic upheaval.¹⁹ Here that aspect of the reaction to God's appearance is mainly deferred to vv 6-7. But the triple reference to "(all) the ends of the earth" quickly places the divine descent in its earthly context, and v 5c seems to state that the earth quakes from one end to the other. For this motif in a theophanic text that has other parallels to 1 Enoch 1, cf. Jer 25:31. Nonetheless, picking up an Enochic nuance, this verse focuses primarily on the reaction of the rebel watchers. The text appears to be corrupt in both Ⓢ and Ⓔ, but the reconstructed translation seems feasible (see textual nn. a, b, c).

The reconstructed Greek of v 5a, d closely parallels the description of the watchers in 13:3, when Enoch visits them with the message of divine judgment:

καὶ φοβηθήσεται πάντες καὶ <σαλευθήσεται> οἱ ἐγρήγοροι, . . .

καὶ λήμψεται αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος μέγας (1:5);

καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες ἐφοβήθησαν

καὶ ἔλαβον αὐτοὺς τρόμος καὶ φόβος (13:3).

If my reconstruction is correct, the first line attributes to the watchers the typical reaction to an epiphany, fear and quaking, brought on in this case by their sin, which is now to be judged.²⁰ If the second line also refers to the watchers, it locates them not in the place of their temporary confinement described in 10:12, but in the abyss at the outer edges of the earth. According to 10:13, this is the final place of their confinement, but in 18:10–19:1 and 21:7-10, Enoch sees them already there.

The motif of hiding from the presence of the divine

Judge occurs in Isa 26:20 and in 1 Enoch 100:4; 102:3.

The singing in v 5b has a parallel in Isa 24:16: "From the ends of the earth we hear songs of praise, of glory to the Righteous One" (מִכִּנְף הָאָרֶץ זִמְרָת שְׁמֵעֵנוּ צְבִי לְצַדִּיק), a passage whose context is reminiscent of 1 Enoch 10 (see comm. on 10:4-8). The present text, however, appears to refer to the watchers' lament, and it seems to have been known by the author of 2 Enoch 18:9.²¹ The combination "fear and trembling," often with the verb λαμβάνω, is idiomatic.²² The motif of the angels quaking becomes traditional and may even be ascribed later to the hosts in heaven (cf. 1 Enoch 102:2-3; Mark 13:25 par., of the appearance of the Son of Man).

■ 6-7 These verses depict the total distortion and disintegration of the earth in the presence of the divine Judge. Verse 6 reflects a traditional element in the descriptions of the events associated with a theophany: the mountains quake, fall, and break apart.²³ The picture is enhanced by the simile of the mountains melting like wax before the fire. This image, which suggests an erupting volcano, probably derives from Mic 1:3-4, whose motifs were temporarily abandoned after v 4. The image appears also in Ps 97:5; Isa 64:1 LXX; Jdt 16:15; cf. Nah 1:5.²⁴ The text describes the mightiest structures on earth—the everlasting mountains and hills—disintegrating helplessly before the presence of "the Great Holy One." This notion is elaborated in v 7. Not just the mountains, but the whole earth is torn apart, and everything on it is demolished. The rending of the earth recalls Mic 1:4b ("the valleys will be cleft"), but the picture of complete destruction and judgment here is more consonant with Isa 24:19-20, and it is likely that the present text, like Isa 24:17-23, envisions a judgment like the

19 Jörg Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (WMANT 10; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965) passim, summarized on p. 109.

20 For an alternative reading of the text, see VanderKam, "Theophany," 140: all humanity fear, as all Israel feared at Mount Sinai.

21 Charles (*Enoch*, 6) suggests that the present text is based on a knowledge of 2 Enoch 18:9.

22 Exod 15:15; Ps 47:7 (LXX); Isa 33:14; Dan 4:19.

23 See VanderKam, "Theophany," 144–46. For parallels variously to the shaking, collapsing, and split-

ting of the mountains, see Exod 19:18; 1 Kgs 19:11; Ps 18:8 (7); Isa 40:4; 64:1-3; Nah 1:5; Hab 3:6, 10; Jdt 16:15; Sir 16:18-19; 1QH 11(3):28-36.

24 For the simile of melting wax applied in other ways, cf. 4 Ezra 13:4 (of everything before the fire of the man from the sea); Ps 22:15(14); 1QH 12(4):33; 16(8):32-33 (of heart and flesh). On the last text see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Qumranic Transformation of a Cosmological and Eschatological Tradition (1QH 4:29-40)," in Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Con-*

flood.²⁵ See comm. on 1:1. The imagery of cosmic dissolution is paralleled in Enoch's vision of the flood in 83:1-5, and the motif of complete annihilation, found already in Gen 6:11-13, 17, appears at various points in 1 Enoch. See comm. on 84:5-6. The universality of the judgment (v 7c) will be taken up and elaborated in v 9, where the expression "all flesh" is also reminiscent of Genesis 6.

■ ■ In vv 3c-7 the author has developed a terrifying scenario of cosmic dissolution as the angry warrior God storms onto the earth to execute universal judgment. Before elaborating this latter notion, the author allows a moment of relief. The oracle had been introduced as a *blessing* on the righteous chosen of the end time (1:1). Lest this point be forgotten, the author interrupts the doomsday scenario with a brief enumeration of the blessings that are in store for the righteous. In context the section has three functions. (1) It is an exposition of 1:1a that picks up on three of its key words ("righteous," "chosen," "bless"). (2) It is the first of four sections that enumerate the blessings of the righteous (5:6d-g, 7ab, 8-9), and thus it strikes a note that will be repeated as most of the nouns here recur ("peace," 5:6, 7, 9; "the chosen," 5:6, 7, 8; "mercy," 5:6; "light," 5:6, 8). (3) It is a foil to the first of three sections that enumerate the curses that will befall the wicked (5:5-6c, contrast "curse," "no mercy or peace"). Similar clusters of nouns appear twice in the broader context of 1 Enoch: in the description of the eschaton in 10:16-11:2 ("righteous," "blessing," "peace"); and in the superscription and introduction to the Epistle (chap. 92, "peace," "mercy," "the righteous one," "light"). The verse here is framed by a double assertion that God will make "peace" with the righteous; the repetition reinforces the importance of this term, which will recur four more times in the introduction, doubtless because שלום ("peace") was a catchword that summarized the totality of divine blessing.²⁶

The notion of covenant, rare in 1 Enoch (see Introduction §4.2.5.1), but suggested perhaps already by the

reference to Mount Sinai in 1:4, may reappear in this verse. To begin with, as Hartman has shown, the verse is an elaboration of the key motifs in the Aaronic benediction (Num 6:24-26), placed here in a different order.²⁷

Numbers 6:24-26 LXX

Εὐλογῆσαι σε κύριος

καὶ φυλάξαι σε

ἐπιφάναι . . . ἐπὶ σὲ

καὶ ἐλεῆσαι σε . . .

καὶ δώῃ σοι εἰρήνην

1 Enoch 1:8

πάντας εὐλογήσῃ (v 8f)

ἔσται συντήρησις (v 8b)

φανήσεται αὐτοῖς φῶς (v 8h)

ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γενήσεται ἔλεος
(v 8c)

ποιήσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην
(v 8i)

1 Enoch 1:8 omits mention only of the lifting of God's countenance, and it contains only two terms without counterparts in Num 6:24-26: "help" and "his good pleasure." The latter, however, is the object of the verb δίδωμι ("give"), which appears in the last clause of Num 6:26 (Heb. יָשַׁם).

As Num 6:27 indicates, the Aaronic benediction was the means by which the priesthood affirmed the covenantal relationship and facilitated the blessing that was an integral part of the covenant. "So they shall put my name (YHWH, repeated three times) upon the people of Israel, and I will bless them." In 1 Enoch 1:8 the ancient priestly blessing of the nation is interpreted as the eschatological blessing to a part of that nation, the *true* Israel, here called "righteous and chosen." "Righteous" is the most frequent designator of God's people in 1 Enoch and refers to their faithful obedience to God's will, "the way of righteousness" spelled out in the divine law.²⁸ The biblical technical term "chosen" (רַב־בְּחֹרָה and cognates) originally denoted God's election of the nation, but it came to designate the remnant or portion of Israel that lived out its covenantal responsibilities. This meaning is especially evident in Isaiah 65, a formative text for 1 Enoch 5 and, before it, for 1 Enoch 10 (see comm. on 10:16-21). The combination "righteous" and "chosen" is thus a double assertion of the relationship to God; it occurs in the earlier strata of 1 Enoch only here

gress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991 (2 vols.; STDJ 11/1-2; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 2:649-59.

25 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 90; Rau, "Kosmologie," 46; VanderKam, "Theophany," 146-47.

26 Cf. also *Jub.* 23:27-31, where "peace" appears three times in a description of the eschaton with signifi-

cant parallels to 1 Enoch 5 and 10:16-11:1.

27 Hartman, *Meaning*, 5, 32-38, 44-48, 132-36.

28 1:1, 8; 5:6; 10:17; 22:9; 25:4, 7; 27:3; 82:4; 91:10; 92:4; 93:6, 10; 94:3, 11; 95:3, 7; 96:1, 4, 8; 97:1, 3, 5; 98:12-14; 99:3, 16; 100:5, 7, 10; 102:4; 103:1, 9; 104:6, 12, 13; 108:14. On the way of righteousness, see Excursus: The Two Ways.

and at 93:10, but it is common in the Book of Parables.²⁹ “Chosen” will recur in chaps. 1–5 at 5:<6>, 7, and 8. On its particular connotations in 1 Enoch 1–5, see comm. on 5:8–9.

Several other expressions in 1:8 have covenantal associations. The righteous will belong to God.³⁰ They will be the recipients of mercy and God’s good pleasure (εὐδοκία). This cluster of terms—“righteous,” “mercy,” “chosen,” “good pleasure,” as well as “forgiveness” in 5:6—leads us to three passages in the Qumran literature that use Heb. רצון of God’s “good pleasure” in connection with the righteous of the end time.³¹ In 1QS 8:6 “the chosen of (God’s) good pleasure” (בְּחֵירֵי רִצּוֹן) is one of several terms for the community or its formative element. More significant are 1QH 12(4):32–33 and 19(11):9, which refer to God’s “mercies” (רַחֲמִים) to “the sons of his/your good pleasure” (בְּנֵי רִצּוֹנוֹ/רִצּוֹנְכֶּךָ). In both of these passages, the broader context describes God’s judgment and the salvation that has come to the sectarian, who, different from the rest of humanity (and Israel), stands in the covenantal relationship that provides access to God’s mercy and forgiveness (1QH 12[4]:27–13[5]:4; 19[11]:3–14). It is likely that these Qumran texts represent an anthropologizing of an eschatological tradition closely related to 1 Enoch 1–5.³² Traditional rhetoric about the future judgment and the salvation of the righteous is applied to one’s entry into the Qumran community.

The opening tristich of v 8 serves as a transition from vv 3c–7 to the remainder of this first main section of the introduction. The sequence in these two sections parallels the sequence in 100:4 | 5, which makes evident allusion to this passage: theophany for the purpose of judgment | protection of the righteous. While the nouns “peace” and “mercy” can be read in a theological key, the juxtaposition to the previous section suggests another nuance. Although God appears as the divine Warrior, God “will make peace with the righteous” (μετὰ τῶν δικαίων τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσει). This idiom is

used in narratives about conquering generals.³³ The protection of the chosen can also be interpreted in this way, and the parallelism of the tristich suggests their escape from God’s judicial wrath. See also the comm. on 10:2 and 89:1, where God protects Noah against the judgment that takes place in the flood. The Greek noun συντήρησις (“protection”) appears to be a hapax legomenon in our literature. It probably translates a nominal form of the Aramaic root נָטַר. Coupled with the preposition ἐπὶ (“over, upon” = על), it suggests a protective shield, and the analogy in 100:5 may indicate that “protection” is too abstract a translation, and that the author may have had in mind an angelic guard (cf. the terminological cluster in Psalm 91). While “mercy” could have a theological meaning here (cf. 5:6e, “forgiveness, mercy, peace, clemency”), the Heb. root רָחַם is also used in contexts that describe conquerors showing “compassion” to the vanquished.³⁴ Thus the whole tristich may be describing how the divine Warrior excepts the righteous from the extermination that will take place in the eschatological judgment.

The cluster of terms in this verse is partly paralleled in Wis 3:1–9;³⁵ and the whole of Wisdom 3–4, with its alternation between blessing and curse in the context of a coming judgment, could reflect parts of 1 Enoch 1–5.

■ This verse picks up and elaborates the theme in vv 3c–7:

God will come | with the heavenly host vv 3c–4 |
there will be judgment on all v 7c |
Behold he comes | with the holy ones v 9a |
to judge all | destroy all | convict all v 9b–d |
for their deeds | their words v 9 e–f.

Verse 9 summarizes in one verb (“he comes”) the description of the theophany in vv 3c–4, paraphrases “mighty host” (v 4c) with an expression from Deut 33:2, and elaborates on the motif of judgment mentioned briefly in v 7, emphasizing the universality of that judgment.

29 38:2; 39:7; 48:1; 51:5; (53:6); 58:1, 2, 3; 60:8; 61:13; 62:12, 13, 15; 70:3.

30 For the covenantal connotations of this expression, see Hartman, *Meaning*, 134.

31 Ernest Vogt, “Peace among Men of God’s Good Pleasure” Lk. 2:14,” in Krister Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper,

1957) 114–17.

32 See Nickelsburg, “Qumranic Transformation.”

33 Josh 9:15; 1 Macc 6:49, 58; *T. Jud.* 7:7; Josephus *Ant.* 15.5.2 §124; cf. Job 25:2; Isa 27:5.

34 1 Kgs 8:50; 2 Chr 30:9; Neh 1:11; Ps 106:45; Jer 42:12; Ps. *Sol.* 17:34 (38).

35 Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 5 n. 6; idem, *Enoch*, 7.

“Holy ones” is a common Enochic term for heavenly beings, which appears in the absolute form³⁶ and in combination with “watchers” (see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones). That God comes with the myriads of holy ones derives from Deut 33:2. In 1 Enoch 14:22-23 and Dan 7:10, 18, 22, 25, the myriads of holy ones are present in the divine throne room where judgment is pronounced. Here they accompany the Judge to earth.

The universality of this judgment, indicated already in 1:7, is emphasized here by the fourfold repetition of “all.” Noteworthy in the passage is the doubled qualification of all humanity as wicked and under indictment:

judgment on all | destroy all of the wicked
convict all flesh | for all their wicked deeds.

The assertion is striking because it follows immediately after the promise of blessing for the righteous. The language here should be read in light of three related OT texts. The first is Genesis 6–9, which repeatedly speaks of the corruption of all flesh and of the judgment that falls on all flesh except a very small remnant.³⁷ The paradigm is frequent in 1 Enoch (cf. esp. 10:1-3; 10:16–11:2) and seems to be implied in the parallel verse above (1:7; see comm.). Under these circumstances, 1:8 can be read as an exception to 1:7, and the parallel passages in chap. 5, as exceptions to 1:9; 5:4. See also, however, the discussion at 5:8. Two other OT passages (Jer 25:30-32; Isa 66:15-16) may have influenced the wording of 1 Enoch 1:3c-5, 9. Both texts announce a theophany in which God will execute judgment on “all flesh.” Parallels to the present text are indicated by italics.

YHWH will roar from on high,
and from *his holy habitation* utter his voice. . . .
The clamor will resound *to the ends of the earth*,
for YHWH has an indictment against the nations;
he is entering into *judgment with all flesh*,
and *the wicked* he will put to the sword.
(Jer 25:30-31)

For *behold*, YHWH will come in fire,
and his chariots like the stormwind

to render his anger in fury,
and his rebuke with flames of fire.
For by fire will YHWH *execute judgment*,
and by his sword, *upon all flesh*;
and those slain by YHWH will be many.
(Isa 66:15-16)

It is evident, at least in the case of Isaiah 65–66, that the universal judgment in question does leave room for the saving of some righteous. On other echoes of Isaiah 65 in 1 Enoch 5, see comm. on 5:5-6c.

A major difference from the biblical texts cited above is the explication of humanity’s sin as “deeds” and “words” in 1 Enoch 1:9. For a discussion of this, see comm. on 5:4, where the notion is repeated and elaborated.

Verse 9 is noteworthy for its use in early Christianity. Jude 14-15 quotes all but line c, citing the text as a prophecy by “Enoch, the seventh from Adam.” The quotation is then picked up by Pseudo-Cyprian (*Ad Novationum* 3.67) and by Pseudo-Vigilius (*Contra Varimadum* 1.13), the latter attributing the quotation to Jude.³⁸ It is uncertain to what extent NT passages about Jesus’ parousia may have been affected by this text, as well as by Son of Man traditions.³⁹ 1 Thess 3:13 and Mark 8:38 speak of “the coming of our Lord Jesus *with all his holy ones*” and of the Son of Man, who “comes in the glory of his Father *with the holy angels*.” Perhaps belief in the parousia of the Son of Man triggered the citation of 1 Enoch 1:9 in Jude or its use in the tradition behind 1 Thess 3:13. It is perhaps significant that 52:5-9 interprets 1 Enoch 1:3-7 to refer to the coming of the Anointed and Chosen One.

This verse will also serve as an opening bracket that frames 2:1–5:3 and finds its reprise in 5:4. See comm. on 5:4.

36 See 9:3 c; 14:23, 25; 81:5; 93:11, as well as 47:2, 4; 57:2; 60:4; 61:10, 12; 69:13; 71:4. For its use of the righteous in the Parables, cf. 39:4-5; 41:2; 48:9; 58:3, 5; 61:8.
37 Gen 6:12, 13, 17, 19; 7:15, 21; 8:17; 9:11, 15, 17. The collective term “all flesh” is used of both humans and animals, and a remnant of both is saved.

38 For the texts see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 5. On the text, see n. d to v 9.

39 See the literature cited in Introduction §7.4.4.1 n. 178. On the Son of Man traditions, see Nickelsburg, “Son of Man,” 147–48.

The Indictment

- 1 Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works of heaven,^a how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries <of> heaven,^b that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order.^c
- 2 Observe the earth, and contemplate the works that come to pass on it^a from the beginning until the consummation,^b that nothing on earth changes, but all the works of God ~~are~~ manifest to you.^c
- 3 Observe <the signs of summer and winter. Contemplate the signs of> winter,^a that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it.
- 3:1 Contemplate and observe how all the trees appear withered and (how) all their leaves are stripped, except fourteen trees that ~~are~~ not stripped, which remain with the old until the new ~~comes~~ after two or three years.^a
- 4:1 Observe^a the signs of^b summer, whereby the sun burns and scorches, and you seek shelter and shade from its presence, and the earth burns with scorching heat,^c and you are unable to tread on the dust^d or the rock because of the burning.
- 5:1 Contemplate all the trees; their leaves blossom green on them, and they cover the trees.^a And all their fruit is for glorious honor.^b Contemplate all these works,^c and understand that he who lives for ~~all~~ the ages made all these works.^d 2/ And his works come to pass from year to year,^a and they all carry out their works for him,^b and their works do not alter,^c but they all carry out his word.^d
- 3 Observe how, in like manner, the sea and the rivers carry out and do not alter their works from his words.^a
- 4 But you have not stood firm nor acted according to his commandments;^a but you have turned aside, you have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty.^b Hard of heart! There will be no peace for you!

- 1a and ---- heaven] supported by A (4QEn^c 1 1:18, בְּכֹל לְעוֹבֵד שָׁמַיָּא; reconstructed by Milik, *Enoch*, 184, in keeping with the usual use of double verbs in this section). ~~Ⓢ~~^a ~~Ⓢ~~^c om. “and observe the works” by hmt. and read “in heaven” (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ / *westa samāy*) rather than “of heaven.” On the ~~Ⓢ~~^c variants of the word “contemplate” in these chapters see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:60–61.
- b how ---- heaven] ~~Ⓢ~~^a ~~Ⓢ~~^c (except that they read “in heaven”; see n. a). Milik reconstructs A (4QEn^c 1 1:18–19; *Enoch*, 184) in keeping with the usual use of double verbs in this section. ~~Ⓢ~~^a ~~Ⓢ~~^c om. “and they appear” ~~Ⓢ~~^c. 4QEn^c 1 1:19–20 (Milik, *Enoch*, 184) omits both clauses, by hmt., while 4QEn^a 1 2:1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 145) appears to have had both clauses.
- c and they appear ---- order] καὶ ταῖς ἐορταῖς αὐτῶν φαίνονται καὶ οὐ παραβαίνουσιν τὴν ἰδίαν τάξιν ~~Ⓢ~~^a | om. “and they appear” ~~Ⓢ~~^c. 4QEn^c 1 1:19–20 (Milik, *Enoch*, 184) omits both clauses, by hmt., while 4QEn^a 1 2:1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 145) appears to have had both clauses.
- 2a the works ---- it] ~~Ⓢ~~^a ~~Ⓢ~~^c | “its deed(s)” (בְּעֵבֶרָה) 4QEn^a 1 2:1, (Milik, *Enoch*, 145).
- b + “they are corruptible” (εἰσιν φθαρτά) ~~Ⓢ~~^a, a gloss.
- c that ---- you] ὥς οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦται οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλλὰ πάντα ἔργα θεοῦ ὑμῖν φαίνεται ~~Ⓢ~~^a | “that no work of God changes as it becomes manifest” (*kama*

- ’iyetmayyat kwellu megbāru la’amlāk ’enza yāstare’i*) ~~Ⓢ~~^c, which may indicate that ~~Ⓢ~~^a is expansive. Both 4QEn^a 1 2:2 and 4QEn^c 1 1:21 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146, 184) omit “the works of God,” which may be a gloss.
- 3a Observe ---- winter] The text of this section is wholly uncertain. For the rationale of the translation above, see comm. ~~Ⓢ~~^a ~~Ⓢ~~^c read “Observe the summer and winter” (ἰδετε τὴν θερείαν καὶ τὴν χειμῶνα, *re’eyewwo laḥagāy walakeramt*). A reads . . . עָלֶיהָ וּבְרָגְלֵי שָׁמַיָּא [] חוּ לְרַגְלֵי “Observe the signs of [] . . . upon it and the signs of winter” (4QEn^a 1 2:2–3; Milik, *Enoch*, 146). The remainder of the verse, translated from ~~Ⓢ~~^c, is missing in ~~Ⓢ~~^a but is supported by 4QEn^a 1 2:3–4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146).
- 3:1a Translation of the verse follows ~~Ⓢ~~^c. ~~Ⓢ~~^a om. from “how” to the beginning of 5:1 by hma. A cannot be reconstructed with any certainty (see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:63), but it supports the general shape of ~~Ⓢ~~^c.
- 4:1a 4QEn^a 1 2:6 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146) | “and again they have observed [‘observe’ u]” ~~Ⓢ~~^c.
- b 4QEn^a 1 2:6 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146) | “the days of” (*marwā’ela*) ~~Ⓢ~~^c. See comm. on chap. 3.
- c The original of these lines can be reconstructed with some likelihood, although A and ~~Ⓢ~~^c differ considerably. ~~Ⓢ~~^c reads: *kama kona ḡaḡay lā’lēhā baqedmēhā wa’antemusa tahāššešu mešlāla wašelālota ba’enta wā’ya ḡaḡay, wame-drni tewē’emoqata ḡarur* (“that the sun stood [or ‘was’] upon it, in its presence, and you seek shelter and shade

- because of the burning of the sun, and the earth burns with scorching heat"). Milik reconstructs the Aramaic from 4QEn^a 1 2:7–8 and 4QEn^c 1 1:26–27 as follows (*Enoch*, 146, 185): דִּי שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּהוֹן כִּי־יֵה וְשִׁלְקָהּ וְאִנְתּוֹן מִן קִדְמֵיהּ ["whereby the sun] burns and glows; and you seek shade and shelter before it [on the burning earth . . .]. **A** and **C** agree on the main part of the second clause ("and you seek shade and shelter"). In 4QEn^a "before it" is certain and may be represented by *baqedmēhā*, which appears to be superfluous in the first clause of **C** (but see below). Similarly, *ba'enta wā'ya ḏahay* looks like a glossed form of the similar expression at the end of the verse (*ba'enta wā'yā*, "because of its burning"). In the first clause, the two verbs of **A** are certain. **C** is strange, although *lā'lēhā* could represent בְּהוֹן of **A**. Although "sun" is uncertain in **A**, it is required for the sense of the passage and is supported by **C**. Perhaps **C** contains a scribal comment or comments: "sun" stood over it/before it" (i.e., over or before some word or the passage). Milik's reconstruction of the last clause is wholly uncertain and unsupported by **C**, which could have stood in the lacuna.
- d 4QEn^a 1 2:8 | "earth" (*medr*) **C**.
- 5:1a contemplate ----- trees] Reconstructing **A** from 4QEn^a 1 2:9–10 and 4QEn^c 1 1:28 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146, 185): אַתְבִּינְנָא בְּכֹל אִילָנָא כֹּדְהוֹן. יִתְצִיץ עֲלֵיהוֹן בְּהוֹן יִרְקֹן וְחַפִּין אִילָנִי. Ṣ^a, which is defective from chap. 3, largely supports this: *καταμάθετε καὶ ἴδετε πάντα τὰ δένδρα πῶς <... καταμάθετε πάντα τὰ δένδρα ἐξανθοῦντα> τὰ φύλλα χλωρὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκέποντα τὰ δένδρα*. **C** differs some: *tayequ 'efo 'edaw bahamalmāla 'aqwešel yethad-damu* ("Contemplate how the trees are covered with green leaves").
- b And all ----- honor] om. **C**, but see next note.
- c *διανοθήτε καὶ γνῶτε περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ* ("Contemplate and know concerning all his works") **C**^a | (*wayefarreyu*) *walabbewu ba'enta kwellu* ("And they flower] and know concerning all") **C**. 4QEn^a 1 2:10 is uncertain. In **C** αὐτοῦ ("his") appears to be a corruption of ταῦτα ("these"). In **C**, *wayefarreyu* may belong to the previous verse or could represent a corruption of *διανοθήτε* read as *διανθείτε*. I take the second verb in **C** to be a double reading.
- d and ----- works] καὶ νοήσατε ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ οὕτως καὶ ζῇ πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας ("And understand that the living God made them thus, and he lives for all the ages") **C**^a | *wa'a'meru bakama gabra lakemu la'ellontu kwellomtu zaheyaw la'alam* ("and understand how he who lives forever made them all for you") **C**. On the textual variants, see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:64–65. 4QEn^a 1 2:11: חִין הוּא לְעַלְם דְּעִלְמִין עֲבַר כָּל עֲבַרֵּי אִלָּין (Milik, *Enoch*, 146); 4QEn^c 1 1:30: חִין דִּי לְכֹל עֲלָם (Milik, *Enoch*, 185). The evidence of 4QEn^a ("he who lives") for the age of the ages made all these works") and **C** support the substance of the second Greek clause,

- with 4QEn^c supporting the addition of "all." "Living God" is not attested in **C**, nor can we be certain that it was in **A**. I take it to be a double reading for the second clause; see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:64–65. "Them" of **C**^a and **C** is not attested in **A** and probably represents a corruption of ταῦτα ("these" = 4QEn^a) to αὐτά. "Thus" of **C**^a is not supported by **C** or **A**, and "for you" of **C** is not supported by **C**^a or **A**. "All" of **C** is supported by **A**.
- 2a And ----- year] καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησαν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν γινόμενα πάντα οὕτως ("And all his works that he does forever all come to pass thus from year to year") **C**^a | *wamegbāru qedmēhu lala 'amat zayekawwen* ("And his works are before him year by year") **C**. 4QEn^a 1 2:11, which is fragmented, has "year" immediately after "these works" of the previous clause. *C qedmēhu* ("before him") quite likely translates ἐναντι αὐτοῦ, which is probably corrupt for ἐνιαυτοῦ ("year"). The longer reading of **C**^a ("all which he does forever") may be expansionistic.
- b and ----- him] καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἀποτελοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα ("and all things that the works carry out for him" or "and all the works that they carry out for him") **C**^a | *wakwellu megbāru yetgannayyu lotu* ("and all his works are carried out for him") **C**.
- c καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦνται αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα **C**^a | om. "their works" **C**.
- d "but all come to pass as though ('thus' **C**) according to command ('the command of God' **C**)" (ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰ κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τὰ πάντα γίνεται, *'allā bakama šar'a 'amlāk kamaze yetgabbar kwellu*) **C**^a **C**. Translation follows 4QEn^a 1 2:12 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146): וְכָל־הָעֲבָרִין בְּמִדָּה. For this wording see **C**^a of the next verse.
- 3a ἴδετε πῶς ἡ θάλασσα καὶ οἱ ποτομοὶ ὥς ὁμοίως ἀποτελοῦσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦσιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ. "Behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner carry out their works" **C**. 4QEn^a 1 2:12 om. the verse (see comm.).
- 4a nor ----- commandments] οὐδὲ ἐποιήσατε κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ **C**^a | "nor observed the commandments of the Lord" **C**. Cf. n. d on 5:2.
- b But you ----- majesty] **C**^a **C**. Aramaic according to 4QEn^a 1 2:13 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146) appears to have read: וְאַתָּה מְרִיבִין עֲלֵיהוֹן רַבְרַבִּין וְקִשְׁיִן בְּפִי־כֹסֶם מַמְכֵּן ("You speak against him proud and hard things with your unclean mouth"). The reconstructed *pe* for the *yod* of the ms. is based on **C** and indicates an early Aramaic confusion of two similar letters. The omission of reference to God's "majesty" (if it was not in the lacuna) agrees with 1:9; but cf. 101:3. If the evident omission of "words" is original, its presence in **C**^a would be a gloss based on 1:9. After this line **C**^a adds: *ὅτι κατελαλήσατε ἐν τοῖς ψεύμασιν ὑμῶν* ("for you have spoken against [him] with your lies").

■ **2:1–5:4** A new section of text is indicated at 2:1 by an abrupt shift in form, style, and content. The parallel poetry of 1:3-9 gives way to a run of prose (albeit “a rhythmical or poetic prose”)¹ that extends from 2:1 to 5:3. The section is marked by the repetitious use of second person plural imperatives, which contrasts with the consistent use of the third person in 1:3-9. These imperatives introduce a series of exhortations about the realm of nature that are most closely paralleled in the wisdom literature; the prophetic-like eschatological resonances of 1:2-9 are not to be found here. The new section of text is delimited by 5:4, which is in part a doublet of 1:9 that forms a closing bracket for the section. Although 5:4 retains the second person plural address of 2:1–5:3, and 5:4ab α [†] continues its subject matter, the verse as a whole is marked by poetic parallelism, and 5:4b β recasts 1:9e-f.

The section is addressed in the second person plural to the sinners whose condemnation in the coming judgment has been announced in 1:9. “All the deeds of their wickedness that they have done” and the arrogant words that they have spoken (1:9) are juxtaposed to “all the works” that are “done” in heaven and earth by the obedient elements of God’s nonhuman creation. The sinners are told to observe and contemplate this unchanging faithful obedience to God’s commands, which stands in striking contrast to the sinners’ perverse transgression of God’s word. The largest part of the section focuses on the creation and its regularity (2:1–5:3) and thus establishes an unmistakable paradigm and foil for the human behavior that is then described in two lines (5:4ab). Thus the paradigm prepares for the nuance that 5:4 adds to the description of sin in 1:9: sinners have not stood firm and have veered from the straight path of God’s law. The final line of 5:4 announces the consequences of this conduct. In contrast to the righteous and chosen, who have been promised “peace” (1:8), the sinners are told: “You will have no peace.” This contrast will be elaborated in 5:5-8, in a series of predictions of blessings and curses.

Although textual problems make it impossible to reconstruct with certainty the original form of this text, it is evident that the section is a carefully crafted literary unit.² Its uniform theme is emphasized by the repeated pairs of verbs in the imperative and by the repeated use of the root עָבַד (“to do” or “to make,” “works” and “deeds”) as a catchword. This thematic unity is balanced by the discussion’s progression through the works of creation in heaven and on earth (and the sea). Also remarkable is the carefully constructed symmetry in the description of the works that regularly take place on earth (2:1–5:1). The literary form imitates the reality it describes. This artful internal composition is enhanced by the manner in which the section as a whole is tied to its surrounding contexts by catchwords (as noted above) and by a double set of enclosing literary brackets, which themselves enclose an internal set of brackets:

- a (1:8) blessing
- b (1:9) [sin and judgment
- c (2:1a) contemplate all works
- | 2:1b–5:1c |
- c' (5:1d) contemplate all these works
- b' (5:4) sin and its consequences]
- a' (5:5-6) curses.

The compositional art and symmetry of the section indicates that its author was in full control of his material, and the exposition that follows here will focus on the present shape of the unit and its place in its context. This should not obscure the fact that the author has constructed the section in part from traditional materials, as the many parallels in the literature demonstrate. One may even be able to identify some stages of traditional development in 2:1–5:3, as Rau has attempted to do.³

Excursus: Traditions about Nature’s Obedience and Humanity’s Disobedience

A number of Israelite texts contrast nature’s steadfast obedience to God’s commands with humanity’s divergence from the divine statutes.⁴ The language personifies nature’s activity in a way that remythologizes the

1 The quoted expression is that of Hartman, *Meaning* 13.

2 For details see, in addition to the commentary below, Rau, “Kosmologie,” 68–70; Hartman, *Meaning* 17–21.

3 Rau, “Kosmologie,” 68–72.

4 See the discussions by Rau, *ibid.*, 77–81, 109–19; and Hartman, *Meaning* 53–70.

material creation; the natural elements are given personalities reminiscent of the polytheistic worldview that placed gods and demi-gods in charge of the various parts of the cosmos.⁵ As a result, the human and nonhuman worlds are spoken of in the same terms. The earliest example of the motif is in the preexilic text Jer 5:20-29:

Do you not fear me? says YHWH;
Do you not tremble before me?
I placed the sand as a bound,
a perpetual barrier (חֲקֵי עוֹלָם) that it cannot
pass (עבר);
though the waves toss, they cannot prevail,
though they roar, they cannot pass over it (עבר).
But this people has a stubborn and rebellious
heart;
they have turned aside (סור) and gone away.
They do not say in their hearts,
“Let us fear YHWH our God,
who gives the rain in its season,
the autumn rain and the spring rain,
and keeps for us
the weeks appointed (חֲקוֹת) for the harvest.”
(vv 22-24 RSV adapted)

The contrast between nature and humanity is emphasized through the use of ambiguous words: חֲקוֹת, which can denote the limit that the shore sets on the sea, the times of the seasons, the paths of the heavenly bodies, the ordinances of heaven and earth (Jer 31:35; 33:25), or God’s statutes for humanity;⁶ עבר, a normal term for human transgression,⁷ which here describes how the sea does *not* pass over its shores, though people have turned aside (סור) from God’s law and not feared God. The passage may be implied in 1 Enoch 5:3 and has surely informed language in chap. 101 (see below on *Sipre* Deut 32:1).

Three later texts with an instructional function employ parallel language to contrast nature’s obedience and human disobedience.

Sir 16:24-30

Ben Sira addresses his “son” and sets forth instruction and knowledge (παίδεια, ἐπιστήμη):

The works (τὰ ἔργα) of the Lord have existed
from the beginning by his creation,
and when he made them, he determined their
divisions.

He arranged their works (τὰ ἔργα) forever,
and their dominions for their generations.
They neither hunger nor labor,
and they do not forsake (οὐκ ἐξέλιπον) their
labors (τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν).

One does not crowd its neighbor,
and until eternity they do not disobey his word
(οὐκ ἀπειθήσουσιν τοῦ ρήματος αὐτοῦ).

Although the two negatively formed statements about nature’s obedience are not contrasted *explicitly* with examples of human disobedience, this section is followed by a description of the creation of humanity, God’s command and covenant, and the admonition to repent (chap. 17).⁸

1QS 3:15–4:26

This long section of two-ways instruction is prefaced by a brief description of the creation of all things. God has made all things; “they fulfill their tasks and do not change anything” (ימלאו פועלתם ואין להשנות). God created humanity (3:15-18). The section that follows describes human obedience and sin. These human actions are not explicitly compared with nature’s unchanging obedience; however, the spirits to which human beings are subjected are the spirits of “truth” and “perversity” (עוֹל, אִמְרָה), terms that suggest faithfulness to and diversion from God’s commands.

T. Naph. 3:2–4:1

This text—Christian in its present form—even cites an Enochic source; its very close parallels to 1 Enoch 2–5 may reflect knowledge of that text.

Sun and moon and stars do not change their order (οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦσιν τάξιν αὐτῶν). Thus also you do not change (ἀλλοιώσητε) the law of God in the disorder of your deeds (ἐν ἀταξίᾳ πράξεων ὑμῶν). The Gentiles who went astray and forsook (πλανηθέντα καὶ ἀφέντα) the Lord

5 Michael E. Stone, “The Parabolic Use of Natural Order in Judaism of the Second Temple Age,” in S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G. G. Stroumsa, eds., *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions Dedicated to R. J. Zwi Werblowsky* (SHR 50; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 307.

6 See William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1–25* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 197.

7 The verb occurs in Jer 5:28 MT of human transgression and is supported by LXX, but there is a textual corruption; see *ibid.* 193, n. b on v 28; and William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986–96) 1:134.

8 Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 136–37.

changed their order (ἡλλοίωσαν τάξιν αὐτῶν) and followed after stones and rocks, led astray by spirits of error. But you (do) not (be) so, my children, since you recognize in the firmament, on earth, and in the sea and in all created things the Lord who made all these things, lest you be like Sodom, which changed the order (ἐνῆλλαξε τάξιν) of its nature. Likewise also, the watchers changed the order (ἐνῆλλαξαν τάξιν) of their nature. . . . I have read in the sacred writing of Enoch that you too will turn aside (ἀποστήσεσθε) from the Lord.

Two prayers also parallel 1 Enoch 2–5:

1Q34^{bis} 3 2:1-4

. . . the Great Light (of heaven) for the [day]time, [. . .] without transgressing their laws (לֹא יִן לַעֲבֹר לְחֻקֵּיהֶם). But the seed of man did not understand (וְלֹא חָבִין) all that you caused them to inherit. . . . They did not know you (וְלֹא יָדְעוּךָ) [. . .] your words, and they act wickedly (וַיַּרְשִׁיעוּ) more than anyone. They did not heed (וְלֹא חֲבִינוּ) your power. . . . (trans. Vermes adapted)

Like 1 Enoch 2–5, the prayer begins with reference to the heavenly bodies that do not transgress their statutes (cf. Jer 5:22) and human beings who have not understood God (cf. 4QEn^c 1 1:20, חֲבִין) and have sinned against God. The remainder of the prayer describes God's choosing a new people to be members of a renewed covenant.

Ps. Sol. 18:10-12

Great and glorious is our God, who dwells in the heights,
who ordered the luminaries in (their) course for the determining of seasons from day to day;
and they have not transgressed (οὐ παρέβησαν) from the path that he commanded for them.

In the fear of God is their path each day,
from the day when God created them and forever.

And they have not strayed (οὐ ἐπλανήθησαν) from the day when he created them;
from ancient generations they have not turned aside (οὐκ ἀπέστησαν) from their paths, unless God commanded them by the order of his servants.

All of the texts cited above employ a common vocabulary to describe how nature, and mainly the

heavenly bodies, do not disobey God's ordinances. In every case except *Ps. Sol.* 18:10-12, this obedience is either explicitly contrasted with human disobedience or is set in the context of references to such human disobedience. Without further discussion, it cannot be determined which version of the tradition is earlier: the hymnic version without the reference to human beings, or the instructional version with its comparison with human disobedience. Since this comparative form is paralleled in 1 Enoch 2:1–5:4, however, it is perhaps likely that the Enochic version has drawn on a form of the tradition that made such a comparison.

One rabbinic text also offers a remarkable parallel both to 1 Enoch 2–5 and 101, viz., *Sipre* Deut 32:1 (§306):

Observe (וְהִסְתַּכֵּחַ) the heaven, which I have created for your service, whether it changes (וְשִׁנִּי) its orders, or whether, for example, the ball of the sun does not arise from the East and illuminate all the world. . . . Observe the earth, which I have created for your service, whether it changes its order, whether you sow in it and it does not let it shoot forth, or whether you sow wheat, and it lets barley come up. . . . And thus he says concerning the sea: Will you not fear me, says the Lord; I who have placed the sand as a bound for the sea. For after I have decreed against it, does it change its order? . . . How much more is it not necessary for you not to change your orders? (translation of Hartman)⁹

Like 1 Enoch 2–5, in a context that builds on the last chapters of Deuteronomy, this text from *Sipre* appeals to the reader to observe the heavens and the immutability of the sun, and the earth and the agricultural order; and on this basis it admonishes human beings, albeit briefly, not to change their orders (cf. esp. *T. Naphtali* 3–4). Like 1 Enoch 101, it uses Jer 5:22, both with its reference to the sea and to sinners' not fearing God. This late text knows either a fuller form of 1 Enoch 2–5, both 1 Enoch 2–5 and 101, or tradition that underlies both texts. See comm. on 5:3.

To these six texts should be added a text of undisputedly Christian provenance, *1 Clement* 19–20.¹⁰ As part of his admonition for peace, Clement appeals to the Corinthians to look to the Creator and to the obedient creation, which follows the divine decrees and commands (τάσσω, διατάσσω, ἐπιτάσσω, πρόσταγμα, ὑποτάσσω) and does not alter (ἁλλοιόω) them. Cited as examples are: the heavens, day and night, which do not hinder each other (ἐμποδίξω); the sun, moon, and stars, which do not

⁹ See Hartman, *Meaning*, 56–57, 81–87.

¹⁰ Discussed by Rau, "Kosmologie," 77–78.

swerve (*παρεκβαίνω*) from their courses; the earth and its seasons and agriculture; the abyss and the seas, which do not pass (*παρεκβαίνω*) their barriers; and the stations of the winds. The similarity to *Sipre* Deut 32:1 is notable, including the use of language similar to Jer 5:22. Along with most of the other texts, it may attest a common Jewish instructional tradition.¹¹

■ **2:1** The first clause of this verse provides a general introduction to all of 2:1–5:2, as is evident from 5:2, where the words are repeated in an *inclusio*. To judge from the analogy in 2:2 (attested in 4QEn^c 1 1:20), the initial verbal expression was *אתבוננוא בכול*. The corresponding Hebrew expression occurs in a cosmological context at Job 37:14 *והתבונן נפלאות אל*, “and consider the wondrous [deeds] of God”). It recurs in the Qumran Scrolls, with reference to God’s marvelous deeds, variously in creation and in history (1QS 11:19; 1QH 15[7]:32; 18[10]:2; 19[11]:28), and it is evidently a wisdom cliché. The verb will be repeated in the present context at 2:2; 3:1; 5:1(bis), all but once in conjunction with the verb “observe” or “see” (*חזא*). Together, they constitute a repeated and reinforced appeal to reflect on the basis of what one sees (or God discloses) in the world of “nature.”¹² The same double appeal will recur in chap. 101, a section closely related to the present one. The deeds referred to here include all the activity that takes place at God’s command, in heaven (2:1), on the earth (2:2–5:2), and in the waters (5:3). The crucial point of reference is, however, the deeds of humanity (1:9; 5:4).

The appeal to contemplate is expounded with commands to “observe” (the deeds of) heaven and earth. A similar command occurs at Isa 51:6 and at 2 Macc 7:28. At Isa 40:26 the prophet focuses attention on the heaven and the stars, and the same vocabulary occurs in Ps 8:4(3), without the imperative (“when I see the heavens, the work[s] of your fingers, the moon and stars that you have established . . .”). All of these passages except Isa 51:6 explicitly emphasize God’s creative activity, and all

of them except Psalm 8 juxtapose creation and God’s salvation or beneficence toward humanity. In the present text, explicit reference to the human element is deferred until 5:4, but the repeated mention of the creation’s obedience to God’s commands prepares for an application to the human situation. The motifs and vocabulary of this section appear so widely in wisdom texts that we must consider the present passage as one manifestation of a long tradition. See Excursus: Traditions about Nature’s Obedience and Humanity’s Disobedience.

The reader’s attention is directed first to “the work(s) of heaven” (*לעובר שמיא*), interpreted as a pl. by the Greek translator, *τὰ ἔργα*). For this noun with reference to the heavenly bodies, see Job 37:14; Sir 16:27–28; 42:15–17, 22; 43:2. In Sir 16:26–27, evidently, and in Sir 42:15–43:33, certainly, the noun *מעשה* (“work, deed”) occurs in conjunction with the verb *עשה* (“make, do”); God’s works are what God has made. This notion occurs here in 5:1 (God “made all these works,” *עבר כל עבדיה אלין*). Throughout the passage, however, the term is double-edged and refers both to this idea of creation and to the activity and deeds of God’s works as well as to their “doing” God’s commands (5:2, 3). Thus in 2:1 “the works of heaven” are the subject of a string of five verbs: “they do not alter, they rise, they set, they appear, they do not transgress.”

Although some details in the verse are uncertain, due to textual variation,¹³ the major point in 2:1 is clear. The heavenly bodies move with a regularity that accords with the divinely ordained structures of creation. God has set their paths through the heavens and has fixed the timing of their movement along these paths; as obedient creatures, they do not change God’s order and thus transgress God’s commands. This assertion is demonstrated at great length in the astronomical and calendrical treatise(s) now summarized in chaps. 72–82. The specific wording of this passage, moreover, is paralleled in the Enochic tradition in the later Book of Parables (41:5; 43:2; 69:20).¹⁴ The point is also made, in similar lan-

11 See Rau, *ibid.*, who rightly argues for a Jewish rather than a pagan Stoic background.

12 For the use of these verbs in revelatory contexts, see Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 104.

13 For detailed discussions of some of the problems of

interpretation that depend on one’s solution of the textual problems, see Milik, *Enoch*, 186–88; and Black, *Enoch*, 109–10.

14 Rau, “Kosmologie,” 76; Stone, “Parabolic Use,” 302–3.

guage, in Sir 16:26-28; *Pss. Sol.* 18:10-12; 1Q34^{bis}—evidence that the present text reflects tradition (see Excursus: Traditions about Nature's Obedience and Humanity's Disobedience). Of importance in the present context are the moral connotations that can be read into the language. Human beings turn from the path of righteousness and alter and transgress God's covenant and commands.¹⁵ The point of comparison will become explicit in 5:4. It is prepared for here in the use of two framing negative verbs: "do not alter, do not transgress."

■ **2:2–5:1a** The author now turns the reader's attention from the heavens to the earth, where perennial order also attests nature's obedience to God's commands. This section is much longer than its counterpart about the heavens. It is introduced by 2:2, which is then expounded in two sections whose closely parallel descriptions of the two seasons underscore the order that is present in the earth's part of the creation (2:3–3:1 || 4:1–5:1a).

■ **2** This introductory verse, which is approximately the same length as its counterpart in 2:1, states the author's thesis. Like the heavens, the earth has its "works," which are God's "works," and they too do not change. Like the works of heaven, and inextricably related to them, the earth's works (here the seasons rather than the feasts) "appear" (*φαίνομαι*) with a regularity that marks the passing of time. Although 2:3–5:1 will focus on the realm of nature, the expression "from the beginning to the consummation" calls attention to the historical dimension that is appropriate to a text concerned about God's judgment of human deeds in history. If "the beginning" refers to creation, "the consummation" denotes the time of dissolution mentioned in 1:7.¹⁶

■ **2:3–5:1a** The author has provided his exposition with a symmetrical structure that is itself a mirror of the order of nature:

A. The signs of winter

1. The earth is filled with water
2. The trees wither

B. The signs of summer

1. The earth burns with scorching heat
2. The trees blossom and bear fruit.

Even the introductory verbs have a symmetrical order: a b | b a | a b. More important than the literary order is the created order that it describes. First, this order is perennial; the seasons follow their predictable course in accordance with God's promise (Gen 8:22). Second, and just as remarkable, is the paradox in the orderliness of the seasons.¹⁷ When water and moisture are abundant, the trees wither (except for a carefully enumerated group);¹⁸ when the sun scorches out the moisture and turns the earth to dust, the withered trees come to life. The material here is traditional, although the particular symmetry that marks the present text is not present in the extant parallels. As in the case of 2:1, this passage draws its illustrations from subject matter that appears elsewhere in the Enochic corpus. The varieties of spice trees and the waters that sustain them provide the continuity for Enoch's account of his journey in chaps. 28–32. The forms of moisture and their obedience to God's commands are discussed in 100:10–101:3, and chap. 76 presents an orderly description of the moisture- and drought-bearing winds and their points of origin. A description of the signs of the (four) seasons is included at the end of the Astronomical Book.¹⁹ Outside the Enochic texts, Sir 43:2-4 contains a description of the sun's heat and its effect on the earth that parallels 1 Enoch 4:1.²⁰ When it is viewed in the light of these materials, the present section indicates that its author has crafted traditional material with purpose and symmetry.

Along with the notion of order is a hint of divine providence. The description in 4:1 will ring true to anyone who has suffered from the heat of a Palestinian sun. Along with its paradox of life on a parched earth, however, 5:1 reminds a reader that the leaves that cover the

15 The scheme of the two ways is especially frequent in chaps. 91–105. See Excursus: The Two Ways. On the alteration of God's commands, see comm. on 5:4.

16 Rau, "Kosmologie," 70.

17 Ibid., 74.

18 For an ancient enumeration of the fourteen ever-

green trees, see *Geoponica* 11.1, cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 10; and Milik, *Enoch*, 148. For the text see Henricus Beckh, ed., *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici de re rustica eclogae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895) 326, lines 17–20.

19 Rau, "Kosmologie," 74–75; Milik, *Enoch*, 148.

20 Rau, "Kosmologie," 73.

tree offer precisely the shelter and shade referred to in 4:1.²¹ In this sense there is perhaps also a hint that the trees' fruit is not only splendid decoration (for the wording, cf. Sir 24:16-17), but a doxology to the Creator. Such a reading provides an easy transition to the next unit.

■ **5:1b-2** The section that began at 2:1 is summarized and bracketed by 5:1b-2, which begins by returning to the opening words of 2:1 and continues with various words, expressions, and ideas that have recurred in the section. The chief catchword is the root עָבַד, which occurs here five times in a nominal form ("works, deeds") and once as a verb ("made"). All the things that have been described are God's works, which God made, and in turn they perform their "deeds" at God's command; thus the created sphere is itself an instrument of ongoing creation. The perennial nature of this activity is emphasized in 5:2a, which echoes a similar expression in 2:2:

the works that come to pass on it | from the beginning to the consummation. (2:2)

his works come to pass | from year to year. (5:2a)

Different from 2:2, this summary refers to all of God's works both in heaven and on earth. The perennial character of these deeds is suggested in the divine title "he who lives for all the ages," and it is explicit in the concluding words of 5:2, which echo the earlier references to the unchanging character of nature's performance of God's tasks. The final clause underscores the basic point of the whole section: nature's faithful obedience to God's command, here called God's "word." This noun recalls the biblical notion that God creates by the power of the divine word.²²

■ **3** The sea's obedience to God's command is a well-known motif (see comm. on 101:4-5). From a literary point of view, however, 5:3 seems to be secondary in the context.²³ It stands after the major summarizing statement in 5:1b-2, and it is so short that it seems to be an afterthought. This literary judgment is supported by 4QEn^a 1 2:12, where 5:3 is omitted entirely and 5:4 follows immediately after 5:2.²⁴ Perhaps the verse is a later addition intended to complete the triad: heaven, earth,

the abyss.²⁵ Perhaps more likely, it could be part of the original text, which dropped out and was misplaced. In such a case, it may originally have stood between 5:1a and 5:1b (thus completing the triad: heaven, earth, the abyss) or between 2:2 and 2:3, where it would have been part of the sequence: heaven, earth, sea, and dry land (cf. Hag 2:6; cf. Gen 1:1, 9). In such a position, the reference to the sea and rivers would be in close proximity to the complementary reference to the waters in 2:3.

This judgment is supported by chap. 101, which contains a whole string of parallels to this context—including the notion that the sea is the work of the Most High and obeys the commands of God. Evidently the author of chap. 101 knew a form of chaps. 1–5 that included 5:3 or a longer form of that element. (Less likely, the lengthy exposition about the sea in chap. 101 could have led a scribe or editor to add 5:3 at its present place.)

■ **4** The author now explicates the conclusion to which the whole section has been leading. The unnamed addressees of the second person plural verbs that began at 2:1 are identified as the sinners whose judgment has been announced in 1:9. The repeated emphasis on nature's faithful and unchanging obedience has prepared us for an indictment of humanity's faithless and perverse disobedience of God's commandments.

A comparison of 1:9 and 5:4 indicates the following parallels:

all the *deeds* . . . that they have *done* (1:9)

you have not *acted* . . . (5:4)

the *proud and hard words* . . . they *spoke against* him 1:9

you have *spoken proud and hard words against* his majesty (5:4).

Thus two parallel units bracket the exposition in 2:1–5:3 and determine its meaning. In contrast to "all the deeds of godlessness" that will be judged by God (1:9), the author addresses the sinners and describes "all the deeds" (2:1; 5:1) of the faithful and obedient nonhuman creation (2:1–5:3). Then in the closing bracket (5:4), the author expands on the opening bracket (1:9), partly on the basis of the exposition in 2:1–5:3. The deeds that had been mentioned in 1:9 are now contrasted with nature's deeds mentioned in 2:1–5:3.

21 Cf. Jonah 4:6-8.

22 See Otto Procksch, et al., "λέγω," *TDNT* 4 (1967) 99–100.

23 Rau, "Kosmologie," 68.

24 Milik, *Enoch*, 146, 149.

25 Rau, "Kosmologie," 68. See also Argall (*1 Enoch and Sirach*, 101) and the parallels that he cites from Psalm 104.

they do *not alter* (2:1, 2; 5:2, 3)
 you have *not stood firm* (5:4)
 their *works* carry out *his word* (5:2)
 you have *not acted* according to *his commandments* (5:4)
 they do *not transgress* (2:1)
 you have *turned aside* (5:4)

Two additional changes do not explicitly reflect 2:1–5:3. It is with *unclean mouths* that sinners have spoken arrogantly against the *majesty* (μεγαλωσύνη) of the God who is “the Great (μέγας) Holy One” (1:3c).

The general characteristics of the indicted sins are clear enough, although we can only speculate about the specific sins themselves. As in 1:9 the sins involve deeds and words (cf. also 100:9). Especially significant because of the long preparation in 2:1–5:3 is the notion that sin involves alteration, perversion, and turning aside from the right path (contrast 2:1). The same idea occurs in 99:2; 104:10–11; and evidently 93:9 (cf. *Jub.* 1:12; 1QS 3:16). Running through these texts is the notion that God has revealed torah, which is eternal, and humans have perverted it (see comm. on 99:2). What is called for here (and it will be described later in 5:8) is a return to that right interpretation and practice of God’s law, which is the peculiar possession of the author and his community. The paradigm set forth in 2:1–5:1 and the general content of the Enochic corpus suggests that astronomical and calendrical matters are a major part of the violated torah presently under consideration.²⁶

The second part of the indictment accuses the sinners of arrogance or blasphemy spoken from impure mouths. Again the language is suggestive, but not altogether clear. While the author may have in mind some kind of blasphemy strictly speaking, the detailed explications of sin in the Epistle suggest a number of other possibilities, which need not be mutually exclusive. The accusation of revisionism may imply the *teaching* of false torah, which can be understood as an arrogant speaking against the majesty of the God who gave the torah (cf. 98:9–99:10 and Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). A similar notion, couched in similar words, occurs

later in Dan 7:8, 11, 20, 25, where Antiochus’s arrogant speech is mentioned in connection with the intent to change the times and the law.²⁷

Equally difficult to interpret is the reference to the sinners’ impure mouths. Such impurity might be caused by the eating of unclean food or the consuming of blood. With respect to the latter, one should note 98:11 and its use of two other expressions that appear here (“Hard of heart,” “you will have no peace”). In addition, one may consider the possibility that the present passage is a denunciation of idolatry, which is an ultimate kind of arrogance against the majesty of the God “who lives for all the ages” (5:1).²⁸ The author of *Joseph and Aseneth* several times connects Aseneth’s “unclean mouth” with her consumption of food dedicated to idols and her blessing of those idols (8:6; 11:8–9, 16; 12:5; cf. also 6:2–3, 7; 12:4; 13:13, of her wicked words against Joseph’s God and Joseph, the son of that God). But even with this interpretation, the present text remains unclear; the author of the Epistle construes wrong teaching and the practice that follows it as idolatry (see comm. on 98:15–99:1). Thus the words of 5:4b could be directed against idolatrous teaching of a revisionist torah.

The juxtaposition of “impure mouth” and “hard of heart” in the next line is especially noteworthy since the sinners’ words are also said to be “hard.” The connection may shed some light on the saying ascribed to Jesus in Mark 7:20–23. There defilement is dissociated from food laws and is tied to the evils that come from the human heart. Mark could be drawing on a line of interpretation as old as the present text.

This section of the introduction to 1 Enoch concludes with a sharp rebuke and a threat of damnation. On the hard-hearted, cf. 98:11; 100:8; and the comm. on 98:11. The threat of “no peace” is frequent in the Epistle (see comm. on 94:6–7). Here it contrasts with the blessings promised the righteous in 1:8 and anticipates 5:5–8, where the noun recurs five times as a catchword in a series of curses and blessings.

26 Rau, “Kosmologie,” 86–97.

27 Ibid., 92.

28 For the title “living God” in the context of anti-idol polemics, see H. E. Everding, “The Living God: A Study in the Function and Meaning of Biblical Ter-

minology” (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1968) 58–71, 224–79, 315–29.

Introduction
An Oracle of Judgment

The Verdict

5

Then^a you will curse your days, and the years^b of your life will perish;^c
and the years of your destruction will increase in an eternal curse.^d
And there will be no mercy or peace^e for you!

6

Then^a you will leave^b your names^c as ~~an~~ eternal curse for all the righteous;
and by you all who ~~curse~~ will curse;
and all the sinners and wicked will ~~swear~~ by you.^d

But all the <chosen>^a will rejoice;
and for them there will be forgiveness of sins and all mercy and peace and clemency.
For them there will be salvation, ~~a~~ good light;
and they will inherit the earth.^f

7

But for all you sinners there will be no salvation,
but upon all of you ~~a~~ curse will abide.^g
For the chosen there will be light and joy^a and peace;
and they will inherit the earth.
But for you wicked there will be ~~a~~ curse.^b

8

Then wisdom will be given to all^a the chosen;
and they will all live,
And they will sin no ~~more~~ through godlessness^b or pride.
In the enlightened man there will be light,
and in the wise man, understanding.^c

9

And they will transgress no more,^d
nor will they sin^e all the days of their life,
nor will they die in the heat of <God's> wrath;^a
But the number of the days of their life they will complete;
and their life will grow in peace;
and the years of their joy will increase in rejoicing and eternal peace,
in all the days of their life.^f

5a יִנָּח 4QEn^a 1 2:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146) | “Therefore”
(τοιγάρ, *waba'entaze*) ~~Θ~~^a ~~Ε~~.

b *wa'āmāta* ~~Ε~~, supported by יִנָּח 4QEn^a 1 2:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 146) | κατὰ ἔτη ~~Θ~~^a, corrupt for καὶ τὰ ἔτη = ~~Ε~~
~~Α~~.

c ἀπολείται ~~Θ~~^a | “you will destroy” (= ἀπολείτε) ~~Ε~~.

d and - - - - curse] ~~Θ~~^a, supported by 4QEn^a 1 2:15:
וְשָׁנֵי חַדְשֵׁי יָמֵיךָ בְּלִי לֵךְ (Milik, *Enoch*, 146). ~~Ε~~ om.
“the years of your destruction,” with gtuT⁹ reading
“and it will increase in an eternal curse” (*wayebazzeḥ*
baregmat za'ālam) and q,β reading “and an eternal curse
('eternal curses' q) will increase” (*wayebazzeḥ*
margam[āta] za'ālam).

e or peace] om. ~~Ε~~. The longer reading better parallels
5:4c; cf. also the double nouns in 12:5 and 12:6c.

6a “On that day” (*bawē'etu mawā'el*), a typical equivalent of
Gk. τότε; see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 110.

b Lit. “you will give” (*tehubu*) ~~Ε~~ | “(your names) will be”
(ἔσται) ~~Θ~~^a.

c names] ~~Θ~~^a and ~~Ε~~ gqtuT⁹ (τὰ ὀνόματα, *sema* [sg.], read
by t²,β as *salāma*, “peace”).

d and by you - - - - by you] καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καταράσονται
πάντες οἱ καταρῶμενοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ
ἄσεβεις ἐν ὑμῖν ὁμοῦνται ~~Θ~~^a | “and they will curse you
sinners forever (or ‘and the sinners will curse you for-
ever’), you together with the sinners” (*wakiyākemu*

yeraggemu ḥāṭe'ān zalfa walakemu ḥebura mesla ḥāṭe'ān) ~~Ε~~.
On the difficulties of relating this to ~~Θ~~^a, see Knibb,
Enoch, 2:66. The text from here to the end of the verse
is omitted in ~~Ε~~. See comm. on 5:6d–7.

e οἱ ἁμαρτοὶ ~~Θ~~^a. Following Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 11), I
reconstruct ἁμαρτωλοὶ, which is obviously incorrect
and may well be a dittograph from the previous line.
Some word denoting the righteous is required. I use
“the chosen” by analogy with the parallel v 7. Other
conjectures include ἀμίαντοι or ἀμάθητοι (Raderma-
cher, *Henoch*, 22) and <ἀν>αμάρ<τη>τοι (Charles,
Enoch, 12).

f This distich closely parallels the beginning of v 7ab and
may be a doublet, intended as a foil to the following
distich regarding the sinners.

g Reading κατάλυσιν κατάραν as καταλέσει κατάρα,
following Radermacher (*Henoch*, 22) and Charles (*Eth.*
Enoch, 11).

7a For χάρις (“grace”) of ~~Θ~~^a, ~~Ε~~ has *feṣḥā* (“joy” = χάρα),
which seems correct; see comm., n. 6.

b + τότε δοθήσεται τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς φῶς καὶ χάρις, καὶ
αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν, a veritable duplica-
tion of the first line.

- 8a om. “all” \mathfrak{C} .
 b Reading κατ’ ἀλήθειαν as κατ’ ἀσέβειαν, following \mathfrak{C} (’ibarasī); see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 11.
 c καὶ ἔσται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πεφωτισμένῳ φῶς, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιστήμονι νόημα) \mathfrak{B}^a | “But those who have wisdom will be humble” ($\text{’allā yeganneyy zabomu ṭebab}$). \mathfrak{C} and the second line of \mathfrak{B}^a may reflect Aramaic variants (ܒܦܠܫ, “be humble”; ܒܫܚܠ, “be wise”); see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:66–67.

- d no more] following \mathfrak{C} (’iyedaggemu) by analogy with 5:8, where it translates οὐ μὴ . . . ἔτι. Here om. ἔτι \mathfrak{B}^a .
 e nor -- sin] οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμάρτωσιν \mathfrak{B}^a | “nor will they be judged” (wa’iyethkwēnnanu) \mathfrak{C} .
 9a ἐν ὀργῇ θυμοῦ <θεοῦ?> | “in wrath or in anger” ($\text{bamaqṣaft wa’ibama’āt}$) \mathfrak{C} .

■ 5-9 The great judgment has been announced in 1:6, 9, and alluded to in 5:4. The present section concludes the introduction by explicating the consequences of the judgment in a series of alternating descriptions of the curses and blessings that will befall the sinners and the righteous. Stylistically, the section returns to the parallelistic poetry that preceded 2:1–5:4. Its contents variously contrast with and elaborate on 1:8 and 5:4c, and the second person address to the sinners, begun at 2:1, is retained here throughout in contrast to the consistent use of the third person for the righteous.

Structurally, the section can be divided as follows, with the \mathfrak{B} and the somewhat shorter \mathfrak{C} texts offering different patterns of poetical units.¹

	\mathfrak{B}	\mathfrak{C}
5:5-6c	curse 3 + 3	curse 3 + 3
5:6d-g	blessing 2 + 2	omitted
5:6h-i	curse 2	omitted
5:7a-b	blessing 2	blessing 2
5:7c	curse 1	curse 1
5:8-9	blessing 3 + 2 + 3 + 4	blessing 3 + 2 + 3 + 4

Although it is uncertain whether \mathfrak{B} is expansionistic or \mathfrak{C} is abbreviated, I shall accept the longer and more com-

plex text as original and demonstrate its rationale.² A number of major themes are repeatedly emphasized in the several subsections. This repetition and an explicit contrast between the fates of the righteous and sinners are especially evident when one also takes into consideration 1:8 and 5:4c (see below).

This analysis suggests the following major points. 1:8 and 5:5-6c are structurally a pair of opening and closing literary brackets that define the future of the righteous and sinners in terms of blessing and curse. Fundamental to the fates of these two groups is their receipt or non-receipt of mercy and forgiveness. Blessing and its lack are construed most frequently in terms of “peace.” Additionally light and joy are each mentioned four times. The two major passages describing curse and blessing (5:5-6c; 5:8-9) are to a large extent structured by contrasting emphases on the shortened life of the sinners and the longevity of the righteous.

The basic structure of blessing and curse and some of the specific themes in this section are somewhat reminiscent of the last chapters of Deuteronomy, and this recollection fits well with the use of language from Deuteronomy earlier in the introduction.³ Nonetheless,

1:8	5:4c-6c	5:6d-g	5:6hi	5:7ab	5:7c	5:8-9
peace 2×	no peace 2×	peace		peace		peace 2×
mercy	no mercy	mercy				
blessing	curse 5×		curse		curse	
light		light		light		light
		joy		joy		wisdom 2×
		forgiveness				joy 2×
		salvation	no salvation			
		inherit the earth		inherit the earth		
	short life					longevity

1 Hartman, *Meaning*, 20–21.
 2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., 30–34.

specific elements and expressions in 5:5-9, as well as the alternating use of second and third person with reference to the wicked and the righteous, are most closely associated with the promises of a new heaven and new earth and a new Jerusalem in Isaiah 65-66.⁴ In some of these details, this section of Isaiah parallels the descriptions of the eschaton and the eschatological Jerusalem in 1 Enoch 10:16-11:2 and 25:4-6, as well as in *Jub.* 23:25-31. The eschatological gift of saving wisdom is a frequent motif in 1 Enoch (see comm. on 5:8-9).

■ **5-6c** This pair of tristichs about the curses of the sinners serves as a foil to the blessing on the righteous in 1:8. When the judgment takes place, the sinners will not receive the mercy and peace promised the righteous in 1:8. This threat, that “there will be no mercy or peace for you,” is in turn an expansion of the shorter formula “there will be no peace for you” in 5:4c, and these two verses are linked by the introductory adverb “then.”

The first tristich (5:5a-c) defines the curse of the sinners as perishing or destruction. The common root of the verb and noun (ἀπόλλυμι, ἀπώλεια) is a technical term for damnation (see comm. on 94:1). This destruction will cut off the sinners’ lives forever. The point is made by a string of words denoting increasing time (“days, years, years, eternal”), and the line of thought is punctuated with the assertion that there will be no relenting (line c). The double formula, “there will be no mercy or peace for you,” parallels 12:6, where it punctuates the sentence spoken against the giants. As the contrast with 5:9 indicates, line b is ironic; what will increase is not the sinners’ years but the years of their destruction. This contrast is suggested in Isa 65:20, which is formative for this passage; it appears also in the interpretation of that text in *Jub.* 23:25-28 (cf. 1 Enoch 10:9-10, 17, of the giants and the righteous).

The second tristich connects the curse of the sinners with other people. The passage is a modified paraphrase of three major elements in Isa 65:15-16:

1 Enoch 5:6	Isa 65:15-16
You will leave your names	You will leave your name
to the righteous	to my chosen
for an eternal curse	for a curse

by you will curse
all who curse
sinners and wicked
will swear by you

he who blesses
will bless by the God of truth
he who takes an oath
will swear by the God of truth.

As in Isaiah, the sinners leave their name as (an eternal) curse (cf. 5:5b). “Their names will be used in formulas of cursing, i.e., as an example of one cursed” (cf. Jer 29:22).⁵ The idea is extended into 5:7b, replacing Third Isaiah’s reference to blessing. Also different from Isaiah, the verb is connected instrumentally not with God but with certain human beings. The sinners are, in effect, contrasted with Abraham (cf. Gen 12:3, where both blessing and curse are mentioned). The final line also reverses Third Isaiah: the sinners rather than the surviving righteous swear by their own kind rather than by God. The meaning is not altogether clear. The line seems to envision an ongoing presence of sinners and wicked, but such a notion would be unique in texts of this sort (contrast, e.g., 1 Enoch 10:16, 20, 22).

■ **6d-7** Different from the subsections that precede and follow them, these lines are not limited solely to the description of curse (5:5-6c) or blessing (5:8-9). Instead, they constitute two parallel units with alternating blessing and curse, related in a 2:1 ratio of lines:

5:6d-i	5:7
blessing 4 lines	blessing 2 lines
curse 2 lines	curse 1 line

Of the seven blessings enumerated in the first subunit, mercy, peace, and light have already been mentioned in 1:8, and the pair “all mercy and peace” contrast with “no mercy and peace” in the curse in 5:5-6c.

The first-mentioned blessing of “joy” sets a tone that creates a strong contrast with the previous lines at the outset. This eschatological quality, which is a catchword in Isa 65:17-19, is frequently mentioned in 1 Enoch, sometimes in other contexts affected by Isaiah 65.⁶ It appears also in *Jub.* 23:29-31.

The righteous and chosen will rejoice because of God’s favorable decision at the judgment. The latter act is implied in the triad “forgiveness of sins,” “mercy,” and “clemency.” That the righteous have sinned will again

4 Ibid., 32-33. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 21-22.

5 Quoting Charles (*Enoch*, 12), who also cites the Jeremiah passage.

6 For verbal and noun forms, cf. 5:9; 10:16, 19; and

25:6, which reflect Isaiah 65; 51:5; 81:7; 103:3-4; 104:12-13; 105:2.

become clear in 5:8 (see comm.). Mercy in the context of the judgment is mentioned at 1:8 (see comm.). Forgiveness, as such, is mentioned elsewhere in 1 Enoch only at 12:5; 13:4, 6, where the watchers request it and are refused. “Clemency” (ἐπιείκεια) is a hapax legomenon in 1 Enoch. Its use elsewhere in the literature, usually in parallelism, suggests that it is a virtual synonym of words meaning “mercy.”⁷ The “salvation” of the righteous picks up the verb in 1:1. The root σώζω/σωτηρία appears with some frequency in the Epistle with reference to the judgment, and usually with reference to the sinners’ inability to achieve it.⁸ For its use with respect to Noah, see 10:3 (cf. 17); 93:4; 106:16-18.

“Light” here probably refers to the theophanic glory (see comm. on 108:11-13); at least such an interpretation is consonant with the general use of Third Isaiah in this context (cf. Isaiah 60).⁹ It may suggest a resurrection from the darkness of Sheol to the “light of day”; for this usage see 102:7-8 (cf. 50:1; 58:3).

The locus of salvation is the “earth” or the “land” that the righteous will “inherit.” Given the background in Isaiah 65, with the promise of a new earth and a new Jerusalem, this is not surprising (cf. also 1 Enoch 10:16–11:2 and chaps. 24–25). The notion of inheritance may be drawn from Isa 65:9, although the expression “inherit the earth” parallels Ps 37:9, 11, 22, 29. For the eschatological use of that psalm, cf. 4Q171 (4QpPs^a on Psalm 37), passim, as well as Matt 5:5. It is likely that the author thinks that the righteous do not now possess the earth or the land. The idea appears in the Parables, where, in an idiom that reverses the language of Psalm 37, the kings, the mighty, and the strong “possess” the land (38:4; 48:8; 62:6; 63:1, 12; 67:12).

The final two lines of 5:6 stand in marked contrast to the previous four in 5:6d-g. In the place of a plethora of nouns describing the blessings, the first line speaks only of the negation of one (“no salvation”).¹⁰ In the second line the counterpart to inheriting the land (in the second line of the previous distich) is an abiding curse—the eternal curse of 5:5, 6a.

The second subsection of blessing and curse in 5:7 adds nothing to 5:6d-i and might be considered superfluous. But its comparative brevity (4:2::2:1) provides a summary that emphasizes the point already made. Of the blessings mentioned in 5:6d-i, this unit omits those that were associated with the judgment (forgiveness, mercy, clemency, salvation). Retained are the ongoing conditions pertaining to those who have inherited the land after the judgment. In contrast, we hear starkly only of the curse of the wicked, thus bringing closure to that pervasive theme.

■ 8-9 In contrast to the summary just mentioned, this unit provides a longer account of the blessings of the righteous, which is also a counterpart to the six-line description of the curses in 5:5-6c. The subsection divides into three units; the first two parallel one another:

5:8a-c	5:8d-9a
a wisdom will be given	d light in the enlightened
	e understanding in the wise
b they will live	[9a they will not die]
c they will sin no more	f they will not transgress
	g nor sin . . .

The first two lines describe the communication of the saving eschatological knowledge that gives life. “Wisdom” in combination with the verb “to give” is idiomatic in 1 Enoch (82:2; 93:10; 104:12-13; cf. later Mark 4:11; Luke 21:14-15). The gift of wisdom to the chosen is a concept to be repeated in 93:10 (see comm.). What is not clear here is the chronological relationship of this event to the judgment mentioned in 1:9. The analogy of 93:10 suggests, however, that this passage is describing the constitution of the eschatological community of the chosen; it states in one line what 93:10 describes in three:

the chosen will be chosen
as witness of righteousness . . .
to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom

7 Cf. Ps 85:5 LXX; Wis 12:18; 1 Bar 2:27; 2 Macc 2:22; 10:4; Ps. Sol. 5:12.

8 Cf. 98:10, 14; 99:1; 102:4 (of the sinners); 99:10. For the translation of σώζω and σωτηρία by Eth. *haywa* and *heywat* (“live,” “life”), see also 98:10, 14; 99:1; 103:10. For the notion in the Book of Para-

bles, see 48:7, 8; 50:3; 51:2; 52:7; 62:13; 63:8.

9 Cf. 92:4; 96:3; 108:12; in the Parables see 38:2, 4; 45:4; 58:3, 6.

10 Cf. n. 8.

That they “live” is the primary blessing of the covenant (see comm. on 94:3-5b). The interpretation of 5:8c is crucial. The references to “wickedness” and “pride” (ἀσέβεια, ὑπερηφανία) recall the indictment of 1:9 and thus attribute to the chosen in their previous state (“no more”) the same kind—if not the same degree—of sins for which the “wicked” and “sinners” have been condemned. It is for this reason that 5:6e spoke of forgiveness, mercy, and clemency.

The second unit in 5:8-9 develops the ideas in v 8a-c. The wisdom that was *given* to the chosen of the end time (v 8a) is here seen to *reside* in those who are now the enlightened and the wise. The single line is expanded into two parallel lines, the one metaphorical, the other abstract. The description of revealed, saving knowledge as enlightenment appears in 1QH 12(4):27-29 (cf. 1QS 11:3). In describing his activity as a teacher, the author of 1QH asserts that “through me you have illumined the faces of many” (ובי האירוה פני רבים).¹¹ Earlier (12[4]:5) he thanks God, who has “illumined my face by your covenant.” This possible allusion to the Aaronic benediction parallels the paraphrase of that benediction in 1QS 2:3. It is possible that the same kind of interpretation of the relevant line in the benediction is present in 1 Enoch 1:8.

The third unit reverses the order of elements in 5:8a-c, referring first to the cessation of sin. The single verb of 5:8c is doubled, and the double description of sin as wickedness and pride is replaced by a modifier that emphasizes the permanency of the situation. The phrase “(all) the days of their life” (cf. 5:8b, “they will *live*”) is the first of three occurrences in 5:8-9. In the final line of the unit, the positive “they will all live” of v 8a is replaced by the negative “they will not die.” Death, the curse of the covenant, is a result of God’s judgmental wrath. For the translation “heat of <God’s> wrath,” cf. Isa 42:25, where ὀργήν θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ translates חמה אפּו (cf. חרון אפּו, CD 9:4, 6; 10:9). Perhaps the author alludes to the imagery in 4:1.¹² This line could be a retrospective reference to the great judgment, or more likely the promise that there will never again be a judgment in the new state of affairs (cf. 10:22).

These two units assert, then, that revealed wisdom,

present in human beings, will obliterate and prevent sin in the eschatological situation. This is perhaps a development of the idea in Jer 31:33-34 and Ezek 36:25-27. With the coming of a new covenant, God will forgive former sins and write in human hearts the law that will effectively catalyze obedience. In the present passage, torah is construed as wisdom, as is typical of 1 Enoch. That sin will be obliterated in the eschaton is also a typical notion in 1 Enoch (10:16, 20, 22; 92:5; 91:17). The general scenario presented in these verses also appears at various points in the Qumran literature. CD 1 describes specifically how in the last generations a certain remnant comes to recognize their guilt and seek forgiveness with the help of the divinely sent teacher. The picture is drawn on a cosmic scale in 1QS 4:18-26. All humanity, even the children of light, partake of sin. In the end God will give knowledge to the chosen, cleanse their sins and the world, and completely obliterate sin.

The final unit of this section (5:9b-e) develops a motif that has appeared in the first two units, viz., the “life” of the righteous. They will complete the full “number of the days of their life” (v 8f). This leitmotif is developed by the author’s choice of verbs: “complete,” “grow,” “increase,” and this lengthening of time is also expressed in the order in which temporal expressions appear in the unit: the *days* of their life | the *years* of their joy | *all* the days of their life || peace | *eternal* peace. The quality of this long life is indicated by the two nouns that have already appeared frequently in 5:6d-7: joy and peace. The contrast between blessing and curse, expressed in the alternating units of that passage, is also implicit here when one compares 5:9b-e with its counterpart in 5:5a-c:

the number of the days of their life they	will complete (5:9b)
the years of your life	will perish (5:5a)
the years of their joy	will increase in . . .
	eternal peace (5:9a)
the years of their destruction	will increase in an eternal
	curse (5:5b).

This contrast and the wording of 5:9b-e may be additional examples of this author’s use of material from Isaiah 65, here vv 20, 22. The same element occurs in other texts already cited, 1 Enoch 10:17; 25:6; *Jub.* 23:25-29, where the contrast between short and long life is

11 Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 24 (“There is light within a man of light”) and Matt 6:22-23 || Luke 11:34.

12 See Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 106.

explicit. The present text does not indicate that the righteous will live an eternal, that is, an unending, life on earth; they will complete their days. The analogy of 1 Enoch 25:6 and *Jub.* 23:27 may indicate a life as long as the prediluvian patriarchs.¹³

Thus the introductory oracle to 1 Enoch ends with the promise of an unmitigated blessing for the righteous in which they will realize God's intention in creation. Rhetorically, that promise is enhanced by its contrast with the curses threatened against the wicked and by its placement as a final section after these threats. In its for-

mulation and function, the concluding adverbial qualifier "all the days of their life" is analogous to other such final qualifiers at 11:2; 103:4, 8; 104:5 ("for all the days of eternity and all the generations of men," "for all the generations of eternity"). It underscores the finality of the eschatological scenario that has been painted, here personalizing it for individuals.

13 See comm. on 10:16b-17, esp. n. 42, and comm. on 25:4-6.

The Rebellion of the Watchers

Introduction

These chapters recount the myth of the angelic rebellion, which is foundational and central to the Enochic tradition, particularly as it has been compiled in 1 Enoch. Because this myth is presumed and alluded to throughout, it has been placed at the head of the collection, immediately after the oracular introduction (chaps. 1-5).

The Strata in 1 Enoch 6-11

We may outline chapters 6-11 as follows, with brackets enclosing material that, I will argue, is secondary to the earliest recoverable form of the myth:

A. The conspiracy	6:1-8	
B. The deed	7:1abc	
[Teaching		7:1de]
C. The results	7:2-5	
1. Birth of the giants	7:2	
2. Ensuing desolation	7:3-5	
D. The plea	7:6-8:4	
1. Of the earth	7:6	
[2. What Asael taught		8:1]
[3. Its results		8:1-2]
[4. What the other		
angels taught		8:3]
5. Of men	8:4	
E. The angelic response	9:1-11	
1. They hear	9:1-3	
2. They intercede	9:4-11	
[Asael		9:6]
[Shemihazah and		
the mysteries		9:8c]
F. God's response	10-11	
1. Sariel sent to Noah	10:1-3	
[2. Raphael sent		
to Asael		10:4-8]
[3. Gabriel sent		
against giants		10:9-10]
4. Michael sent		
a. Against Shemihazah	10:11-14	
b. Against the giants	10:15	
c. To cleanse the earth	10:16, 20	
5. The eschaton	10:17-19;	
	10:21-11:2	

Several literary seams and inconsistencies are evident in these chapters. Briefly they are as follows.¹

1. In chap. 8 (D.2-4), the material about Asael (and the other angels) breaks the narrative continuity between earth's plea for humanity (D.1) and the angelic response to it (E).

2. Other tensions exist between the material about Asael and the narrative about Shemihazah. According to chap. 6, Shemihazah is the leader of two hundred angels who proposes the deed (the procreation of the giants) that brings evil into the world. In 8:1-2, 9:6, and 10:4-8 it is implied or stated in a variety of ways that Asael is the primary cause of the earth's desolation. Moreover, the nature of his revolt differs from that of Shemihazah. Rather than proposing marriage with mortal women, he reveals deadly secrets.

3. The element of instruction attached to Shemihazah and his associates does not fit into the Shemihazah story any better than the Asael material does. In addition to 8:3, which is part of the aforementioned, longer interpolation, the references to instruction in 7:1 and 9:8 disrupt the continuity of the narrative (action and consequence; intercourse and conception). Moreover, the element is not prepared for, it serves no function in the narrative, and it has no consequences in it.

4. In God's commissioning of the archangels, there are duplications in their functions (cf. 10:9 and 15; 10:7 and 16, 20).

The Shemihazah Myth

Literary Aspects

The basic stratum of the present form of these chapters was a story that described the rebellion of Shemihazah and his subordinates, and its results; the story continues to provide the main narrative thread of the section. My literary analysis will examine two aspects of this story: its internal narrative logic and its relationship to parallel literature. These aspects are complementary because the internal logic of the text helps to define the nature of the intertextuality.

1 The secondary character of individual passages is discussed below, ad loc.

An Interpretation of Genesis 6–9

Of the various kinds of parallel literature two are fundamental to this exposition. The Shemihazah story has many points of verbal similarity with Genesis 6–9; its narrative line shares a common threefold structure with a number of Jewish apocalypses, specifically *Testament of Moses* 5–10; *Jub.* 23:12–31; 1 Enoch 85–90; 93:1–10; 91:11–17.² As the following outline indicates, counterparts to the text of Genesis occur in all three parts of the Shemihazah narrative, almost always in the order of the Genesis text.

	Unit in 1 Enoch	Words from Genesis	Source in Genesis
I. The crisis			
A. The conspiracy	6:1–8	6:1–2	6:1–2
B. The deed	7:1	7:1ab	6:2b, 4b
C. Its results	7:2–5	7:2, 5	6:4, 7
II. The turning point			
D. The plea	7:6; 8:4	7:6; 8:4	(4:10)
E. The angelic response	9:1–11	9:1	6:11–12
III. The resolution			
F. God's response	10:1–11:2		
1. Sariel sent to Noah	10:1–3	10:2–3	6:9, 17; 7:1
2. Michael sent	10:11–11:2	10:16ab 10:16cd 10:17 10:18–19 10:20 10:22–11:2	6:7, 11, 13 6:9; 7:1; 9:20 9:1 9:20 7:4, 23; 8:20 8:20–9:1, 11

There is broad consensus concerning the nature of the relationship between 1 Enoch 6–11 and Genesis 6–9: the Enochic text is, in some sense, an interpretation of Genesis.

All modern commentators have noted a relationship between 1 Enoch 6–11 and Genesis 6–9, especially between 1 Enoch 6:1–7:1 and Gen 6:1–2, 4. Perhaps only Milik and Barker claim that the mythic fragment in Gen 6:1–2, 4 refers to 1 Enoch 6–11.³ Neither of

the two arguments that Milik presents to support this claim has any probative value. Verbal similarities between 1 Enoch 6:1–2, 7:1–3, and Gen 6:1–2, 4 do not in themselves prove the *direction* of dependency. That parts of 1 Enoch summarize other parts of 1 Enoch does not prove that Gen 6:1–4 is such a summary. Barker states simply that “it seems more likely” that Genesis 6 is a condensed version of the Enoch material.⁴

Other considerations indicate that 1 Enoch is, rather, dependent on Genesis, even if Gen 6:1–2, 4 is a fragment of an earlier tradition.⁵ First, one must compare *the whole* of the Shemihazah myth with Genesis 6–9. If one posits the dependence of Gen 6:1–4 on the Enochic version of the myth, one must propose the following scenario. 1 Enoch 6–11 was an expansion of the flood narrative in Gen 6:5–9:20. A redactor of the Pentateuch, drawing on 1 Enoch 6:1–7:1, inserted Gen 6:1–4 into the pentateuchal text. In doing so, however, he dropped all the features unique to the Enochic version of the Shemihazah myth, notably those linking the myth with the story of Noah (see the comm. ad loc.). That is, in Genesis the story stands as an isolated fragment and not as part of an integrated whole as it is in 1 Enoch 6–11. Alternatively, if 1 Enoch 6–11 is an interpretation of Genesis 6–9, the manner of paraphrase and expansion closely resembles that in parallel works (see below § Genre). This type of paraphrase is certainly present in 1 Enoch 9–10. The same explanation of similar types of parallels between 1 Enoch 6–7 and Gen 6:1–4 is consistent and reasonable.

An examination of the narrative logic of the Shemihazah story, especially its threefold structure and the nature of its imagery, reveals how this text has transformed and interpreted the Genesis text.

Part I of the Shemihazah story, which corresponds to Gen 6:1–2, 4, describes the cause and nature of the wickedness that God determines to punish and extermi-

2 For a discussion of these passages see Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth,” 392–93.

3 Milik, *Enoch*, 30–32; Barker, *Older Testament*, 18–19.

4 On the broader methodological problems in Barker’s book, see the review by George W. E. Nickelsburg, *JBL* 109 (1990) 335–37.

5 That these verses are a fragment of a longer tradi-

tion has long been argued by commentators. See, e.g., Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997) 59 (“a torso”); Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972) 113 (“A cracked erratic boulder,” quoting Otto Procksch); Claus Westermann,

nate according to Gen 6:5-7, 11-13. The intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men—described in Gen 6:1-2, 4 without comment and with no explicit connection to what follows—is a deliberate act of rebellion against God, stemming from lust and resulting in the procreation of “bastards” (1 Enoch 10:9). These giants—mentioned without comment in Genesis—are here a malevolent and belligerent breed of warriors, who prey on the human race by devouring their crops and eating their flesh, and who violate God’s law (Gen 9:2-4) by turning on the animal world and devouring their flesh and consuming their blood. By identifying these deeds as the wickedness mentioned in Gen 6:5-13, the author makes the human race (and all flesh) victims to be vindicated rather than the perpetrators of violence.

Since the wickedness and violence of Gen 6:5, 11-13 are construed as murder of the innocent, the author draws on Gen 4:10. In part II, the cry of murdered humanity ascends to heaven, where it is received and relayed by angelic mediators. This complex of events constitutes the turning point in the story, which causes God to see the wickedness and catalyzes his judgmental activity. Consistent with part I, the angelic prayer is an indictment of the rebel watchers and their offspring rather than a call for judgment on the human race and all flesh.

Part III announces the divine resolution of the crisis depicted in part I. God will now act as judge. First he dispatches the angel Sariel to instruct Noah, so that he can escape the judgment and become the patriarch of a renewed creation. This element presents some difficulties in the context of the story, for we have not yet heard of a wicked humanity to which Noah is the righteous exception. Primarily, however, God’s judicial orders are issued against the rebel watchers and their offspring. The giants will be destroyed, and when their fathers have endured the agony of witnessing this destruction, Michael will imprison them until the great day of

judgment, when they will be committed to eternal punishment.

Although the scheme of temporary imprisonment and final punishment indicates an extensive period of time between the primordial events and the eschaton, the description corresponding to Genesis 9 flows without interruption into an extensive description of the eschaton. That the eschaton is meant is indicated by the radical incompatibility of this description with the post-diluvian world as it is described in Genesis and as the author would have experienced it. Contrary to 1 Enoch 10:17, lifespans declined sharply in the generations after the flood (Gen 11:10-25). Moreover, 1 Enoch 10:16–11:2 describes a *total* and *permanent* elimination of sin and evil. The new start described in Genesis 8–9 becomes here a reversion to creation. The world will be cleansed of all perversion and pollution, which will be replaced by righteousness and blessing in the form of paradisiacal fertility. All humankind will convert to the worship of the true God, whose sovereignty will be universally in effect among humankind and in nature.

One should seek the point or message of the Shemihazah story in the storyteller’s transformations of and digressions from his prototype in Genesis. These include the narrative line of the story, as well as its details. Taken as a whole, the story deals with the origins and final obliteration of evil. Although part III promises the annihilation of all evil, the story focuses on a particular evil, of which humankind is the victim rather than the perpetrator, viz., the giants’ reign of terror. To this end, the sexual image in part I serves three purposes.

1. It asserts the quasi-divine nature of the giants and hence their qualitative difference from the human race.

2. This in turn stresses the helplessness of the human race, which is in the hands of powers with which it cannot cope. This helplessness is further underscored by the fact that the cause of this evil occurred in the divine sphere, beyond the ken and control of humanity.

Genesis 1–11 (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 369 (“the myth that underlies Gen 6:1-4”). Although Bartelmus (*Heroentum*, 195) speaks of “seiner fragmentarischen Kürze” (“its fragmentary brevity”), he sees this not as an abbreviation of a single ancient myth, but as a reference to Israelite ideas of the divine descent of rulers.

3. The sexual image asserts and explains the malevolent character of the giants. Their very conception was an act of rebellion, through which their fathers incarnated their rebellious nature into the world and the events of history.

The prayer explicates the theological problem inherent in the crisis described in part I. The overloaded doxology of the sovereign, omniscient, and all-seeing God is set in stark contrast to God's initial inaction in behalf of beleaguered humanity. The problem of theodicy is explicit (9:11). Rather than being a plea for judgment, the prayer is effectively an indictment of God, whose failure to act against a horrendous evil of which he is well aware contradicts the traditional assertions of Jewish religion. In relation to part III of the story, the prayer presents a paradox. Although the God of 1 Enoch is a remote God—far removed from this world and resident in a heavenly palace, surrounded by an angelic entourage—he is nevertheless accessible. Although he must be reached through angelic intercessors, he *can* be reached. Thus human prayer and angelic intercession are effective in triggering divine intervention.

According to part III, God will adjudicate the injustice and resolve the crisis described in part I. Although history appears to be marked by the absence of God, and the phenomenal world contradicts belief in his sovereignty and justice, his inaction reflects only the delay of his judgment and salvation. He will not permit the world to disintegrate into total chaos. The widespread havoc wreaked by the giants will be reversed. All evil will be obliterated. God's intent in creation will become fact finally, fully, and forever. With this universalistic sweep, the denouement carries the story far beyond a statement about God's individual, ad hoc answers to prayer and God's interventions in history.

In short, the story asserts the radical wrongness of the world as it is experienced, and it views humankind and the whole creation as victims of demonic forces. Paradoxically, it expects a reversal and a solution of universal proportions.

The author of the Shemihazah narrative interpreted Genesis in the context of his own time and transformed

that text in response to the events of his own time. The causal sequence—devastation—cry/prayer—judgment—is integral to the narrative. Since Michael's eschatological cleansing responds to the devastation and pollution described in part I, it follows that the events in part I are understood, at least on one level, to be taking place immediately before the end time in the author's own time. His transformations of Genesis reflect his world as he sees it. Humankind and all creation are being victimized by the bloody deeds of "giants." The angels' prayer, which in the logic of the story is the prayer of their human clients, is not the product of theoretical speculation. It is the impassioned cry of beleaguered humanity, tottering on the brink of despair. Part III, put forth as divine speech, is the author's assurance to his people that God will vindicate them speedily.

Genre

Before turning from the literary (the author's narrative world) to the historical (the specifics of his real world), to which I have just alluded, some brief observations on the genre of this story are in order. Clarification of this issue will underscore some of the points already made and will relate this text to the subsequent history of Jewish biblical interpretation. As we have seen, the earliest recoverable form of the story is a paraphrasing interpretation of Genesis. Below I shall argue that this story can be dated to the end of the fourth century B.C.E. By this time, Genesis was regarded as authoritative written religious tradition—whatever term may have been applied to it. Thus the Shemihazah story is our earliest datable example of a particular kind of biblical interpretation. Thus it is important in itself and for its relationship to later Jewish biblical interpretation.

A discussion of the genre question is hindered by a lack of satisfactory descriptive categories.⁶ Terms such as *targum* and *midrash* are unsatisfactory as simple descriptive terms for the Shemihazah story, because they are typically applied to later literary types that differ significantly from the Shemihazah story. Nonetheless, they provide useful points of reference.

The Shemihazah narrative interprets the Hebrew text

6 See Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977) 195–97.

of Genesis by paraphrasing it in Aramaic. In this paraphrase, especially in chaps. 6 and 7, verbatim parallels with the Genesis text, usually only a few words in length, are interwoven with supplementary nonbiblical phrases or sentences that sometimes are roughly equivalent to biblical expressions and sometimes move far beyond the Genesis text. Thus the paraphrase differs from two later alternatives: the more or less “literal” translation typical of certain Targumim; and the method of the Qumran *pešarîm*, which juxtapose formal quotation of the text and explicit commentary on it. This method of paraphrase will be used for longer segments of biblical text in documents such as *Jubilees*, the Qumran Genesis Apocryphon, and the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, although each of these has its unique features.⁷

The biblical paraphrase in the Shemihazah story employs features and techniques typical of later midrashic exegesis. The author interprets the biblical text in terms of his own time. He employs paronomasia. He interweaves the primary text with phraseology and ideas that can readily be traced to other texts now part of the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures.⁸ Especially noteworthy in this last category is the use of material from Third Isaiah to create the eschatological scenario in two poetic stanzas that forms the climax of the story (see comm. on 10:16c-17). The use of this Trito-Isaianic material is paralleled in apocalyptic texts such as *Jubilees* 23, 1 Enoch 1-5, and Dan 12:2.⁹ Here, however, the prophetic material is not attributed to a revealer figure such as an angel or Enoch. It is part of a divine commissioning speech that is a component of a narrative recasting of a narrative text.

The eschatological viewpoint that permeates the Shemihazah story also has some later parallels in texts such as the *Testament of Moses*, Daniel 9, and the Qumran *pešarîm*, but there are important distinctions. These texts find the author’s own eschatological time predicted in the ancient prophetic oracles. The Shemihazah story interprets a biblical narrative about primordial time as, at least in part, a description of events in the end time. The Trito-Isaianic oracles are used to embellish and

interpret in an eschatological key the description of the primordial, postdiluvian situation.

This last observation touches on a final literary aspect of the Shemihazah story—its mythic character and function. As the author tells a story about ancient times, he makes a statement about the nature of reality in his own time. The bellicose “giants” of his own time embody a demonic evil that dominates the world as he knows it and does so in defiance of a benevolent Creator. But the myth has its positive side. The *ancient* story of restoration after the flood promises that the *present* evil is not permanent. The accusing skepticism of a desperate humanity notwithstanding, the presently experienced brutal power of evil will collapse under the superior, all-compassing power of the beneficent Creator. The dramatic juxtaposing of intolerable evil, tottering faith, and the promise of divine triumph indicates the practical function of the speculative myth: the quelling of despair and the refurbishing of a faith that sustains life in a broken and evidently meaningless world. This mythic character and function of the Shemihazah story will be complemented in chaps. 92-105 in explicit references to the author’s own time.

Date and Setting

Further precision regarding the message and function of the Shemihazah myth presupposes knowledge of the historical context that generated the myth. In order to allow time for this myth, which is the nucleus of chaps. 1-36, to generate the numerous layers of accretion that constitute the Book of the Watchers, which is attested by two Qumran MSS. from the first half of the second century B.C.E., we must place the composition of the primary myth in the early Hellenistic period, or even earlier.

Several considerations support an early Hellenistic date for the Shemihazah myth. Two Qumran MSS. containing these chapters (4QEn^{ab}) can be dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E. (see Introduction §2.1.2.1) These MSS. contained at least chaps. 1-11 (for the content, see *ibid.*). Since nothing in

7 See briefly Nickelsburg, “Bible Rewritten,” 110.

8 On this factor in this passage, see Hartman, “Comfort,” 92.

9 On *Jubilees* 23 and Daniel 12, see Nickelsburg, *Resur-*

rection, 32-33, 20-22. On 1 Enoch 1-5 see comm. on 5:5-9.

chaps. 6–11 indicates a connection with the figure of Enoch, much less a reference to his visions, the Enochic ascription in 1:1–3 presupposes at least chaps. 12–16 in addition. More likely, chaps. 1–5 were composed as an introduction to chaps. 6–36 (see comm. on chaps. 1–5). Thus we must posit several stages in the transmission and development of the Shemihazah material before 160 B.C.E. (see the next section): the original composition of the myth; the first addition to it of material about angelic instruction (7:1; 9:8; 8:3); the composition of chaps. 12–16; the addition of the Asael material to chaps. 12–16 and to chaps. 6–11; the composition and addition of chaps. 17–19; the composition and addition of chaps. 20–36 and the prefacing of all this with chaps. 1–5. All these stages would have taken place before the writing of 4QEn^a in the first part of the second century B.C.E. That terminus is also corroborated by the fact that at least chaps. 6–19 were known in 165 B.C.E. by the author of the Animal Vision (see comm. on chaps. 85–90). Thus the lower limits for the composition of the Shemihazah story can safely be set well before 200 B.C.E., at least in the early third century B.C.E.

Identification of the historical events to which part II alludes must, of necessity, remain hypothetical. These events are masked by the fictional character of the story and the mythic nature of its symbolism, which is open to reinterpretation and reapplication in a variety of new situations.¹⁰ The problem is complicated because we cannot be certain of the geographical provenance of the tradition. Similarities to Babylonian traditions (see Introduction §5.1.2.1) indicate a Babylonian provenance for some of the Enochic material, but do not explain all of it. On the other hand, geographical references in chaps. 12–16 suggest that the tradition was known early in

Upper Galilee (see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16). If we accept a provenance in Syria-Palestine, two possible settings suggest themselves. The reference to miscegenation may indicate incorrect priestly marriages, paralleling the concern in chaps. 12–16.¹¹ This issue, however, is less prominent here than the emphasis on the violence that directly results from the birth of the giants and that triggers divine intervention. This emphasis suggests a setting in the wars of the Diadochi (323–302 B.C.E.).¹² A large cast of Macedonian chieftains corresponds to the giants. These two decades are a period of continued war, bloodshed, and assassination. Palestine especially felt the brunt and changed hands at least seven times in twenty-one years. So widespread were these wars, however, that one need not posit a Palestinian provenance in order to identify this period as the historical context of the story.

Such a context may allow a more specific definition of the myth's message and function. The image of divine begetting is reminiscent of claims that some of the Diadochoi had gods as their fathers.¹³ If this similarity is to the point, the myth would be an answer to these claims in the form of a kind of parody. The author would be saying, "Yes, their fathers were divine; however, they were not gods, but demons—angels who rebelled against the authority of God." If the author began with already proffered claims of divine parentage, the stories in Genesis 6 would provide a natural starting point for his response to these blasphemous claims.

In finding a suitable setting for the myth at the end of the fourth century, I do not exclude the possibility that it could have been composed earlier. To argue for such, one would have to find an equally suitable historical catalyst for the transformations of the Genesis text that have been noted above. In any case, similarities to

10 See John J. Collins, "The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 97–98.

11 See comm. on 14:24–16:4. See also comm. on 10:9a–d, n. 3.

12 For a summary of these events, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 50–53, who draws his information from Diodorus Siculus and Appian.

13 Such a context for this story was argued independently by Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 396–97; and Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 180–83. But the paleogeographical considerations discussed in the

Introduction do not allow Bartelmus's dating of the tradition to the time of Antiochus IV.

For the relevant texts relating to the Diadochoi, see Elias Bickerman, *Institutions des Seleucides* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 26; Paris: Geuthner, 1938) 244 n. 4 (Seleucus I—son of Apollo); and Fritz Taeger, *Charisma* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1957–1960) 1:271 (Demetrius—son of Poseidon). On the claims of Antigonos and Demetrius that they were descended from Heracles through the line of Philip of Macedonia, see Charles F. Edson Jr., "The Antigonids,

the kind of Semitic mythology preserved by Philo of Byblos may indicate an earlier, non-Israelite form of the myth that was attached to the area around Mount Hermon and later was joined with an interpretation of Genesis 6.¹⁴

The Growth of the Tradition in Chapters 6-11

Literary analysis of these chapters and their context (chaps. 12-16 in particular) indicates a series of expansions, elaborations, or accretions to the basic myth about Shemihazah, which ascribe the origins of various kinds of evil to angelic instruction.¹⁵

The first expansions, in 7:1de and 9:8cd, assert that the watchers taught their wives about magic, incantations, potions or medicines made from herbs, and devices to ward off rivals in love. These expansions reflect a concern that is very different from the initial setting of the Shemihazah myth. The watchers are responsible not simply for the violence of massive and universal bloodshed; their influence is felt in the private crises of the individual's everyday life. Moreover, the specific issue of concern relates to a sphere of knowledge and activity that we might call "scientific" or "quasi-scientific" and was one that was surely affected by aspects of Hellenistic culture.¹⁶

The second expansion of the Shemihazah myth was a partial list of the subject matter taught by the watchers (8:3). To Shemihazah and Hermani are attributed the instruction in magic previously mentioned. The motif is expanded, however, by including astrological and related kinds of prognostication, which were often the fare of magicians. Perhaps the addition was intended as a foil to the true astronomical instruction revealed by Enoch, which would have been known to the interpolator even

though his received text was not considered to be Enochic. In any case, this second addition again reflects a concern with quasi-scientific matters that were of interest to Greeks and to the Jews who would create and transmit the Enochic tradition.

The final expansion in chaps. 6-11 was the interpolation of material about Asael, which was drawn largely from an independent myth about the rebellion of a single angelic figure. According to that myth—which was modeled after something very close to the Prometheus myth, as we know this from Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*—the central figure rebelled against the Deity by revealing forbidden knowledge about metallurgy and mining, which led to the creation of the instruments of death and destruction, as well as the jewelry and cosmetics that facilitate sexual seduction. Different from the first two levels of expansion, the interpolations about Asael (and the original myth itself) focus on the issues that were of concern to the author of the Shemihazah myth: violence and bloodshed of warfare, and forbidden sexual relations. The difference between the myths is the manner in which these were introduced into the world: Shemihazah and his associates bred them into the world; Asael taught them to human beings.

Although this interpolator has identified Asael as the tenth of the subordinates of Shemihazah listed in 6:7, he has identified this mythic figure as the one chiefly responsible for the introduction of violence and the primary cause of the earth's desolation. He makes this point, first, by the placement of his interpolations. In 8:1-3, 9:6, and 10:4-8 Asael's activity and punishment are mentioned prior to that of Shemihazah and his associates. To make the point unambiguous, in 9:8 "all sins" are ascribed to him.

The addition of the Asael material creates a number

Heracles, and Beroea," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 45 (1934) 221-22. On Ptolemy I see W. W. Tarn, "Two Notes on Ptolemaic History," *JHS* 53 (1933) 57-61.

14 On the texts in Philo, see Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 89; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 153-57. Zvi Uri Ma'oz (correspondence 1/31/2000) has suggested to me that the story of the watchers should be tied to Mount Hermon subsequent to the installation of the cult of Pan there ca. 260 B.C.E., an

assertion he will develop in *Paneion II*, chap. 1. On the cult of Pan at Mount Hermon, see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6-16.

15 For details see comm. on chap. 8.

16 Although the Hebrew Bible has many strictures against magic, I assume that in this period even Jewish magic would have been influenced by its pagan counterparts.

of tensions, disjunctions, and contradictions in chaps. 6–11 that are typical of Jewish religious and literary expression in the Greco-Roman period. Two are worthy of note. (1) One could emphasize a point through the additional material that, strictly speaking, contradicted the original text. The origin of the evil under consideration is given an alternative explanation that stands side by side with the first one, joined cleverly, it must be admitted, by 8:2. An attempt to round out the number of archangels to a traditional four leads to the addition of Gabriel's mission against the giants, which duplicates Michael's functions but has the effect of emphasizing the certainty of their destruction. (2) Hellenistic religion and culture were not a monolithic entity that was uniformly opposed by pious Jews. Although the various authors and interpolators have a brief against aspects of Hellenistic culture and religion, the final interpolator uses Hellenistic mythology to make his point, just as the creator of the Shemihazah myth had stood on its head the mythology that legitimated Hellenistic royal claims. Viewed as a whole, their various strata notwithstanding, chaps. 6–11 find their unity in a mythic genre that recounts primordial history in order to explain present evil, which is seen as the result of angelic rebellion.

Asael in the Continuing Tradition

The identification of Asael as the archdemon marks the beginning of a tendency in most of the strata of 1 Enoch and in other Jewish literature: (a) to continue to mention the descent of the watchers and the procreation of giants; (b) to expunge the name of Shemihazah; (c) and to emphasize the name of Asael/Azazel, though not necessarily the sin of angelic instruction.

1 Enoch 12–16 emphasizes the sin attributed to

Shemihazah and his associates, but his name is not mentioned. In what appears to be an interpolation made by the final interpolator of chaps. 6–11, however, Asael and his sin of revelation are mentioned (13:1–3). In the Animal Apocalypse (chaps. 85–90), Asael descends first and then a leaderless multitude of watchers, who mate with human women (chap. 86). The Book of Parables takes note of the giants but emphasizes the revelations of “Azazel” and his associates. In 4Q180 1 6–8, the process of assimilation is complete: Azazel is identified as the leader of the angels who procreate giants.¹⁷

The sole exception to this tendency appears to have been the Book of Giants. The published Jewish and Manichaean texts uniformly mention Shemihazah as the father of the giants. Azazel is mentioned only once.¹⁸

Excursus: The Book of Giants and 1 Enoch

The Book of Giants comprised a set of narratives about the activities and fate of the progeny of the watchers and the women. Only parts of the work remain. Some of them have been recovered from fragments of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*,¹⁹ while others can be teased out of the remnants of nine Aramaic mss. of the work found among the Qumran Scrolls (see Introduction §2.1.2.3). Parts of these Qumran mss. were first published by Milik, along with a discussion of their relationship to the Manichaean works.²⁰ Reeves then produced a more comprehensive discussion of the available fragments and their relationship to their Manichaean counterparts.²¹ Most recently Stuckenbruck has published a critical text, translation, and preliminary commentary on all the Aramaic fragments.²² The present excursus limits its discussion to the problem of the relationship between this ancient Jewish work and the certain parts of 1 Enoch.

Although the fragmentary condition of the mss. limits our ability to determine its plot and outline,

17 See Milik, *Enoch*, 314.

18 4QGiants^a 7 1:6; *ibid.*, 313.

19 See W. B. Henning, “Ein manichäisches Henochbuch,” SPAW 1934.5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1934) 3–11; *idem*, “Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus,” ZDMG 90 (1936) 1–18; *idem*, “The Book of Giants,” BSOAS 11 (1943) 52–74. For further publications see John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 7 n. 19.

20 See J. T. Milik, “Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen,” in Gert Jeremias, et al., eds., *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in*

seiner Umwelt, Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1971) 117–27; *idem*, *Enoch*, 298–339.

21 Reeves, *Jewish Lore*.

22 Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997).

there is some agreement about the general content of many of its episodes. The following is Stuckenbruck's reconstruction of the book's sequence.²³ Brackets enclose sections for which there is no direct textual evidence, but which are implied by the extant sections.

1. Narrative account of the fall of the watchers, birth of the giants, and the giants' misdeeds on the earth
2. Report of these events to Enoch
3. Enoch's petitionary prayer
4. Conversations among the giants concerning their deeds
5. First pair of dream visions by the giants
6. [Mahaway's first encounter with Enoch]; [Mahaway returns with two tablets]; [the first tablet from Enoch to the watchers and giants is read]; Ohyah is incredulous about the message from Mahaway
7. A watcher tells of his powerlessness against God's angelic forces; Ohyah and Gilgamesh express conflicting interpretations of their dreams
8. [Initial punishment of Azazel]; giants anticipate their judgment
9. Initial punishment of the giants
10. The second tablet
11. Gilgamesh remains hopeful
12. Second pair of dream visions
13. Mahaway's second encounter with Enoch; Enoch's interpretation of the dreams
14. An announcement (by Enoch?) of postdiluvian bliss

Although one may dispute some of Stuckenbruck's interpretations of the fragments, as well as details of his sequence, the text clearly relates to parts of 1 Enoch. The most obvious point of contact is the narrative in chaps. 6-11, which turns on the giants' violent acts and their desolation of the earth. But what that narrative recounts pithily in a few sentences (7:2-6; 9:9; 10:9-10) is now subject to elaborate exposition. The stock figures of the giants come alive. They have names, they have dreams, they worry over them, discuss them, and seek to have them interpreted. In various of these respects, they recall the narratives about their fathers, the watchers, not simply in chap. 6 but also in 12:1-13:8, where the watchers interact

with Enoch the scribe, petitioning him to intervene with the divine Judge.

Other aspects of the story tie it to other parts of 1 Enoch. Symbolic dream visions and the need to interpret them play an important role (cf. chaps. 83-84 and 85-90). In particular, Mahaway's journey to Enoch in search of an interpretation and their conversation are reminiscent of two narratives in 1 Enoch: the story of Noah's birth, where Lamech sends Methuselah to seek an explanation from Enoch (chaps. 106-107); and Noah's interaction with Enoch in 65:1-67:3.

In short, while the subject matter of the Book of Giants relates to the core myth in 1 Enoch 6-11, its narrative details are strikingly similar to elements in the broader Enochic elaborations in various parts of 1 Enoch. Especially noteworthy, of course, is the figure of Enoch, who is not even mentioned in chaps. 6-11. Yet, in spite of Enoch's crucial role in the Book of Giants, the work seems not to have been an Enochic pseudepigraphon, since Enoch is always referred to in the third person.²⁴

The fragmentary condition of the Qumran MSS. hinders certain conclusions about the precise relationship of this work to components of 1 Enoch. The story in 1 Enoch 6-11 was subject to a great deal of haggadic elaboration (including also the early columns of the Genesis Apocryphon). It was obviously of considerable religious (and social) significance to the people that preserved it, and its elaborations recall the haggadic interpretation of the pentateuchal narratives. The codicological relationship between the Book of Giants and (parts of) 1 Enoch is uncertain. Nonetheless, the nine MSS. of this work at Qumran must be taken into consideration as one assesses the importance of this mythic material in the lives of the people who imported, copied, and read the texts that were deposited in the caves by the Dead Sea.

23 Ibid., 20-24.

24 Ibid., 25-26.

The Conspiracy

- 1 And when the sons of men had multiplied, in those days,^a beautiful and comely^b daughters were born to them.^c 2/ And the watchers, the sons of heaven,^a saw them and desired them.^b And they said to one another, “Come,^c let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men,^d and let us beget for ourselves children.”^e
- 3 And Shemihazah, their chief,^a said to them,^b “I fear that you will not want to do^c this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin.”^d
- 4 And they all answered him and said, “Let us all swear^a an oath,^b and let us all^c bind one another^d with a curse, that we of us turn back^e from this^f counsel until we fulfill it and do this deed.”^g
- 5 Then^a they all swore together and bound one another^b with a curse.^c 6/ And they were, all of them,^a two hundred, who descended^b in the days of Jared onto the peak of Mount Hermon.^c And they called the mountain “Hermon” because they swore and bound one another with a curse on it.
- 7 And these are the names of their chiefs:^a Shemihazah—this one was their leader; Ardeqoph, second to him; Remashel, third to him; Kokabel, fourth to him; <Armumahel>, fifth to him; Ramel, sixth to him; Daniel, seventh to him; Ziqel, eighth to him; Baraqel, ninth to him; Asael, tenth to him; Hermani, eleventh to him; Matarel, twelfth to him; Ananel, thirteenth to him; Setawel, fourteenth to him; Samshiel, fifteenth to him; Sahriel, sixteenth to him; <Tummiel>, seventeenth to him; Turiel, eighteenth to him; Yamiel, nineteenth to him; Yehadiel, twentieth to him. 8/ These are their chiefs of tens.^a

- 1a in those days] 𐤓𐤁 𐤕𐤓 | om. 𐤓 | The proposed column width for 4QEn^b probably indicates that the phrase was in that ms. See Milik, *Enoch*, 164–65, 4QEn^b 1 2:2-4.
- b beautiful and comely] 𐤔𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | om. 𐤕𐤓𐤁𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓, perhaps due to hmt. or parablepsis to the following 𐤕𐤓 | Again probable column width of 4QEn^b supports the long reading.
- c to them] 𐤕𐤓 | om. 𐤓𐤓 | “to the sons of men” 𐤓.
- 2a 𐤓𐤓 𐤕: “the angels, the sons of heaven” (οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ; *malā'ekt welud samāyāt* [*w. sabe* “sons of men” q]) | 𐤓𐤓 𐤓: “the watchers” (οἱ ἐγγρήγοροι; ʿyr²). Here and at 10:7, 𐤓𐤓 reads “watchers” against “angels” of 𐤓𐤓 𐤕. For the preferability of “watchers” in these chapters, see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones | “Sons of heaven” (𐤓𐤓 𐤕) is supported by the probable column width of 4QEn^b (see Milik, *Enoch*, 164–65, 4QEn^b 1 2:2). For the expression see comm. on 6:1-2.
- b saw --- them] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕: ἐθεάσαντο αὐτάς . . . 𐤕𐤓 ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτάς | 𐤓𐤓 𐤓: “desired them and went astray after them” (ἐπεθύμησαν αὐτάς . . . 𐤕𐤓 ἀπειπλανήθησαν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν) (om. “after them” 𐤓). “Saw” reflects Gen 6:2 and is doubtless original. The second verb in 𐤓𐤓 may be an anticipatory paraphrase of 8:2, q.v.
- c Come] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | om. 𐤓𐤓 𐤓.
- d daughters of] 𐤕𐤓 𐤓𐤓 | om. 𐤓𐤓 by hmt. | + “of earth” (τῆς γῆς; *dʿr^{c2}*) 𐤓𐤓 𐤓. For this expression, which could be original, cf. 9:8. Cf. also 8:1, 2, 4, where reference to “the earth” occurs in 𐤓𐤓 against 𐤓𐤓 𐤕.
- e and ---- children] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤓 | om. 𐤓𐤓.
- 3a their chief] 𐤕𐤓 𐤓𐤓 | om. 𐤓𐤓.
- b to them] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | om. 𐤓.
- c you ---- do] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | “you will not do” 𐤓.
- d a great sin] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 gmt(?)uT⁹ 2080 6281 | “this great

sin” 𐤕 qt² (?) β.

- 4a And ---- swear] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕: καὶ (om. 𐤓𐤓) ἀπεκρίθησαν (+ οὖν 𐤓𐤓) αὐτῶ πάντες καὶ εἶπον (om. κ.ε. 𐤓𐤓) ὁμόσωμεν; *waʿawṣe'u lotu kwellomu wayebēlu* (om. gmT⁹ 2080 6281) *mahlā namḥal* | 4QEn^a 1 3:1: “and they all said to him, ‘Let us s[wear . . .]’” (𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓; Milik, *Enoch*, 150) | 𐤓: “and they answered him, ‘Let us say . . .’” (*wḥnyw lh ʾnʾmr*). The text of this passage can probably not be settled. The coincidence of 𐤓𐤓 and 𐤕 on the long reading “and said” speaks for its originality in 𐤓. 𐤓 could compromise 𐤓. Brock (“Fragment,” 630) emends *nʾmr* (“let us say”) to *nʾmʾ* (“let us swear”). But we may have a corruption of *wʾmrw nʾmʾ*, which would support 𐤓. For other examples of a word order that interposes the subject between the verbs “answered” and “said,” cf. 1 Enoch 21:9 (𐤓𐤕); 22:3 (𐤓𐤕); 23:4 (𐤕); 24:6–25:2 (𐤓𐤕); 32:6 (𐤕). Although the two verbs are sometimes juxtaposed (15:1; 22:7, 9; 25:3), they are never followed by a nominal subject. This may speak against Milik’s reconstruction, 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 (Enoch, 151 note on lines 1–2). In such a case, the coincidence of 𐤓𐤓 and 𐤕 here may indicate an original expansionistic rendering into Greek.
- b an oath] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | om. 𐤓.
- c all] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 gmt | om. 𐤕^{rel} 𐤓𐤓.
- d one another] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | om. 𐤓.
- e that ---- back] 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 4QEn^a 1 3:1-2 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150) | “not to turn back from” 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 𐤓.
- f this] 4QEn^a 𐤓𐤓 𐤕 | om. 𐤓.
- g until ---- deed] 𐤓𐤓: μέχρις οὗ ἂν (om. 𐤓𐤓) τελέσωμεν αὐτήν καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο (om. κ.π.τ.π.τ. 𐤓𐤓) | 𐤕: “and let us do this deed” (*wanegbarā lazāti gebr*)

- | On the basis of a very fragmentary נַעֲבֹד in 4QEn^b 1 2:8, Milik (*Enoch*, 151), following Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 13 n. 2), takes ποιήσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο to be original, with τελέσωμεν αὐτήν καὶ as a gloss, a classicizing variant on it. But the coincidence of 𐤓 and 𐤔 argues for the originality of the first clause, and the *wa* (“and”) in 𐤓 implies the first clause according to Milik’s theory. Moreover, the fem. αὐτήν must refer to the previous γνάμην and not to the neuter πρᾶγμα (“deed”). Thus it is not a stylistic variant, but the two clauses describe two aspects of the same action: carrying out the counsel and doing the deed.
- 5a “to him then” 𐤓.
- b one another] 𐤓^{as} 𐤓 | om. 𐤓.
- c + ἐν αὐτῷ (lit. “on it”) 𐤓 𐤓, a dittograph from the last line of the verse, where it refers to Mount Hermon | 𐤓 omits the rest of the verse and the next one by hmt.
- 6a all of them] *kwellomu* 𐤓 | “these” (οὗτοι) 𐤓 𐤓 | + “in number” 𐤓, a gloss.
- b + “from the mountain” 𐤓, a gloss.
- c in - - - Hermon] 𐤓, supported by 4QEn^a in the first six words, which are corrupt in 𐤓.
- 7a And these - - - Yehadiel]
1. Shemihazah: שְׁמִיחָזָח 4QEn^a 1 3:6; 1 4:1 (8:3) (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 157).
2. Arteqoph: אֲרַעֲקֹף 4QEn^b 1 3:4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 170) | αταρκουφ 𐤓 | ἀραθακ κιμβρα 𐤓 | *arākiba* (var.) 𐤓 | *artāqifā*, *arstāqifā*, *arstiḡifā* 69:2 𐤓.
3. Remashel: רַמְשָׁאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:5 (Milik, *Enoch*, plate 3, as read by Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:72). Milik (*Enoch*, 150) reads רַמְשָׁאֵל (“burning ashes of God,” on which see comm.), but the broken letter, with the tick of a NE/SW line at the bottom left, seems to be a *šin* rather than a *tet*.
4. Kokabel: כּוֹכְבָּאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:7; 4QEn^c 1 2:25 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 188) | 𐤓^{as} 𐤓 appear to presume כּוֹכְבָּאֵל.
5. Oramel: No Aramaic evidence | Οραμμαμη 𐤓 | Ταμηηλ 𐤓 | *tamiʿel* 𐤓. These last two appear to be a duplication of no. 17.
6. Ramel: רַעֲמָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:7 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150) | 𐤓^{as} 𐤓 appear to presume רַעֲמָאֵל.
7. Daniel: דַּנְיָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:8 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150).
8. Ziqel: זִיקְאֵל 4QEn^a 1 4:3 (8:3), 4QEn^c 1 2:26 (Milik, *Enoch*, 157, 188) | 𐤓^{as} appears to presume זִיקְאֵל.
9. Baraqel: בַּרְקָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:8 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150) | 𐤓^{as} appear to reflect בַּרְקָאֵל.
10. Asael: אֲסָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:9, 4QEn^c 1 2:26 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 188).
11. Hermani: חֲרַמְנִי 4QEn^c 1 2:27 (Milik, *Enoch*, 188).
12. Matarel: מַטְרָאֵל, מַטְרָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:9, 4QEn^c 1 2:27 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 188). 𐤓^{as}, though corrupt, appear to reflect מַטְרָאֵל.
13. Ananel: אֲנַאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:10, 4QEn^c 1 2:27 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 188).
14. Sētawel: סְתָוָאֵל 4QEn^c 1 2:27 (Milik, *Enoch*, 188) | θανσαηλ 𐤓, which seems more likely to reflect this reconstruction (so also Black, *Enoch*, 122), than Knibb’s סַתְוָאֵל (“God has hidden,” i.e., protected, *Enoch*, 2:72).
15. Shamshiel: שְׁמִשְׁיָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:10, 4QEn^c 1 2:28, שְׁמִשְׁיָאֵל (8:3) 4QEn^a 1 4:4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 188, 157).
16. Sehariel: שְׁחַרְיָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:11, 4QEn^c 1 2:28 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 188).
17. Tummiei: תְּמִיָאֵל, תְּמִיָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:11, 4QEn^b 1 1:16 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150, 166).
18. Turiel: תּוּרִיָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:12 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150) | ευμειηλ 𐤓 | θωνιηλ 𐤓.
19. Yamiel: יַמְיָאֵל 4QEn^a 1 3:12 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150), supported by ιωμειηλ, ιουμειηλ, *yomāʿel* 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓.
20. Yehadiel: יְהַדְיָאֵל 4QEn^b 1 1:17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 166). Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:74–75), followed by Black (*Enoch*, 122–23, 234), reads זְהוּרִיָאֵל (*zehorīʿel*, “light of God” or “moon of God”), which appears to be supported by 𐤓 סαριηλ and 𐤓 *arāzāʿl*. Such a reading would support *yomīʿel* for the previous name and fit the context nicely. However, the questionable letters in 𐤓 are almost certainly a *yod* and certainly a *dalet* (see plate VI, frg. d).
- 8a The original reading of this verse is uncertain. 𐤓: “These are the leaders of their tens” (*ʿellu ʿemuntu ʿabayta ʿāšartu zīʾahomu* g) | 𐤓^a: “These are their ten leaders” (οὗτοι εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ [txt.: *APXE*] αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα) | om. 𐤓 | 4QEn^a 1 3:13: רַבְנֵי עֶסֶן with רַבְנֵי written over the first רַבְנֵי and a final *nun* written under it (Milik, *Enoch*, plate III). 4QEn^b 1 2:17a appears to have אֲלֵין with רַבְנֵי עֶסֶן written above the line and before אֲלֵין (ibid., plate VI and p. 166), but the fragments are tiny and the reading is uncertain. Black (*Enoch*, 123) reconstructs the original 𐤓^a: אֲלֵין אֲנֵין רַבְנֵי (“These are their dekadarchs”), which was corrected to אֲלֵין אֲנֵין רַבְנֵי וְרַבְנֵי עֶסֶן (“These are leaders and leaders of their tens”). He finds his original confirmed by a slight emendation of 𐤓 (o.e.a.α.ο. δεκα-δάρχαι), which, however, misreads the ms. of 𐤓 (his transcription †δεκακαυ† wrongly assimilates the conjunction καὶ from the next clause (“And they took”). Radermacher (*Henoch*, 34) emends o.e.a.α.ο. οἱ <ἐπὶ> δέκα (“These are their dekadarchs”). For a discussion see Larson, “Translation,” §3.2.1 on 4QEn^a 1 iii.13.

This section corresponds to Gen 6:1-2. The biblical passage is paraphrased in vv 1-2 and is expanded through dialogue in vv 3-4 and a narrative conclusion in vv 5-6. Two factors are operative in this process. First, an event that the Bible narrates without critical comments is here described as a deliberate sin, the result of a conscious conspiracy sealed by an oath. In the context of the whole narrative, this section foreshadows what is to come. One knows at the beginning how the story must end. Its consequences will be disastrous for all concerned. Second, vv 5-6 locate the story in time and space by means of wordplays.

■ 1-2 Verse 1 follows Gen 6:1 quite closely. Untranslated above is וְהָיָה (4QEn^b 1 2:2; Milik, *Enoch*, 165; cf. ἔγένετο, “and it came to pass”), found also in 4Q. The paraphrase drops the biblical “began to” and “on the face of the earth,” and in the place of the latter adds “in those days,” a biblical cliché. The description of the women is drawn into this sentence from the following one (Gen 6:2), and the single adjective is doubled. For the double expression, cf. Gen 39:6; Cant 1:16; 6:4. The present formulation appears to be known in 4Q^{on} Gen 6:1, where שְׂפִירָהּ (= 4QEn^b 1 2:3; Milik, *Enoch*, 165) occurs in the first sentence, and in MSS. 58 76 346 319 of Gen 6:1 LXX, where ὥραιαι καὶ καλαί are added to the end of the verse.

For “sons of God” (Gen 6:2) 1 Enoch 6:2a reads “sons of heaven” (cf. also 13:8; 14:3), a typical circumlocution.¹ Cf. 1QS 4:22; 11:7-8; 1QH 11(3):22 and frg. 2:10.² To this title is prefaced “the watchers” (so also 14:3). On this angelic title see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones. Here and elsewhere in these chapters (cf. 10:7, 15), the additional substantive “and holy one(s)” is dropped with reference to the rebel watchers (cf. also 12:4; 13:10; 14:1, 3; 16:2, but note 15:4 and 15:9). Whatever may have been the later Jewish and Christian interpretations of “sons of God” in Genesis 6,³ here, and most explicitly in chaps. 12-16, they are identified as heavenly beings.

The most significant addition to Gen 6:2 in 1 Enoch 6:2a is the clause “and they desired them.” The verb ἐπιθυμεῖν seems to have the pejorative meaning “to lust after.” Since this desire and its fulfillment are outlawed, as the context will indicate, the use of this verb introduces the motif of sin.

Verse 2b develops from Gen 6:2b, the precise counterpart of which is in 1 Enoch 7:1. Here a dramatic dialogue is begun that will culminate in the oath and conspiracy (vv 3-6). The action implied in Gen 6:2 is spelled out step by step. The verb “to choose,” subordinate in Gen 6:2, here governs its own clause. To the sin of the watchers’ lust is added their intention both to marry (see comm. on 7:1) and to beget children. The heaven/earth distinction explicated in chap. 15 (see comm. on 15:4-7a) may be implied in the reading of ὧς, “the daughters of the men of earth” (see textual n. d). The initial interjection “Come,” whether or not it is original (textual n. c), is a typical introduction to proposals of conspiracy. Cf. Gen 11:3-4; 37:20, 27; Exod 1:10; Wis 2:6.

■ 3 Perhaps the author intends in the name Shemihazah the ironic fact that God will see the watchers’ sin. On the name, see comm. on 6:7. Here and in 6:7; 8:3; 9:7; 10:11; and 4QGiant^a 8:5, Shemihazah is depicted as the chieftain of the watchers. For the development of the tradition in a direction that de-emphasizes Shemihazah and raises Asael to prominence, see comm. on 8:1-2.

Shemihazah’s statement is the only reference to an individual in these verses and suggests that the idea is his, although the previous verse already indicates a group decision. What does he hope to accomplish by seeking the safety of numbers? Does he suppose that God would not act to punish so many? Is he plotting to overthrow God? Does he fear that his companions will abandon the plot and leave him alone guilty?

With this verse the sinful character of the proposed deed is explicit, as is the watchers’ consciousness of this fact. Sin is here construed as a debt: ὀφειλέτης

- 1 For rabbinic passages using “heaven” for “God,” see Str-B 1:862-65. For earlier usage see 1 Macc 3:50, 60; 4:10, 40; 9:46; 12:15; Mark 11:30f.; Luke 15:18; Matt passim.
- 2 On these and similar passages see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 60 n. 37.
- 3 For the Jewish interpretations see Philip S. Alexan-

der, “The Targumim and Early Exegesis of ‘Sons of God’ in Genesis 6,” *JJS* 23 (1972) 60-71. On Christian interpretation, see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 113-31.

ἀμαρτίας μεγάλης, lit. “a debtor of a great sin” (cf. Polycarp *Phil.* 6:1 for the construction). The idea of sin as debt is a developing concept in postbiblical Jewish writings and in the NT.⁴ Consonant with the idea here is the reference to forgiveness in 12:5. In biblical and post-biblical usage, “great sin” (חטא גדול; cf. פשע רב, Ps 19:14 [13]; 1QH 11[3]:21) describes adultery (Gen 20:9; cf. Gen 39:9; רעה גדולה) or incest (*T. Reub.* 1:10; *T. Jud.* 14:3, 5; cf. *Jub.* 41:25), idolatry (Exod 32:21, 30, 31; 2 Kgs 17:21; 1 Enoch 104:9), and perhaps murder (*T. Gad* 6:2-5). When it becomes a technical term for the three “cardinal sins” mentioned in later rabbinic literature is uncertain.⁵ Here the “great sin” is sexual relations between forbidden degrees, i.e., between species.

■ 4-6 These verses are tied together by the theme of oath and anathema and the triple occurrence of the pair of verbs denoting these. Having decided to execute the deed, the watchers formalize the conspiracy with an oath that is sealed with sanctions against anyone who reneges. For the idea and the terminology employed here, cf. Acts 23:12-14 (cf. also the *Gospel of the Hebrews* cited in Jerome *De viris illustribus* 2; 1 Sam 14:24-30).⁶ Different from the usual formulation, the oath here does not require some form of abstinence; indeed, it seals the intention for sexual activity. There is perhaps an intended irony in the idea of the watchers binding themselves with a curse. By avoiding that curse (i.e., by carrying out the deed), they fall under the terrible curse of God’s eternal punishment. With the taking of the oath, the watchers have agreed to a deliberate act of rebellion against God, and our text has moved far beyond its biblical prototype.

The two wordplays in v 6 link the actions of the watchers with a pair of proper nouns,⁷ thus giving the story a temporal and geographical setting. The first

wordplay is an implicit etymologizing possible in Hebrew (יורדו בימי ירד) but not in Aramaic, where the word for “descend” is נחת. The precise point of comparison in the wordplay is disputed. A reference to the name of Enoch’s father, Jared (ירד), seems the best explanation, not least because it is explicit in some of the earliest ancient interpretations of this text (*Jub.* 4:15; 1 Enoch 106:13; 1QapGen 3:3).⁸ Milik suggests that the date of the descent fits better with the Enoch-Irad sequence of the Cainite genealogy (Gen 4:18), arguing that the fall of the watchers took place after Enoch’s removal to paradise (12:1-4).⁹ While this date appears to be correct for the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:3-4), it cannot be verified for chaps. 12-16, and it does not fit the sequence in chaps. 86-88. Lipiński finds an allusion to the ritual of hydrophory, descending to draw water for a libation.¹⁰ The suggestion is ingenious, but his extratextual evidence finds no corroboration in the text apart from the disputed word itself.

The second wordplay is an explicit and typical etymologizing on the name of Mount Hermon (cf. Gen 4:17; 28:10-19; 31:46-49), possible in both Hebrew and Aramaic. The mutual anathematizing of the watchers (for the verb חרם see 4QEn^a 1 3:3; Milik, *Enoch*, 150) explains the name of the mountain on which it took place (חרמון). The long history of religious activity in the environs of Hermon is well documented. See Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6-16. It seems quite likely that the association of this old tradition with Mount Hermon gave rise to this particular element in the narrative.

That the first wordplay is possible only in Hebrew need not indicate that this tradition was composed in that language.¹¹ The association of these events with the time of Jared is natural enough. For a skilled author,

4 Cf. F. Hauck, “ὀφείλω,” *TDNT* 5 (1967) 562-63, 565. Cf. also the targumic renderings of “great sin” in the passages cited in the comm.

5 On the term see Solomon Schechter, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (repr. New York: Schocken, 1961) 222-27; Moore, *Judaism*, 1:466-67.

6 Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (3d ed.; New York: Scribner’s, 1966) 211-16.

7 Joseph Halleui, “Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d’Énoch,” *JA* 6/9 (1867) 356-57.

8 Enoch’s father is mentioned by Hoffmann (*Enoch*,

1:102-3), and the parallel passages are cited by Dillmann (*Enoch*, 92-93) and Charles (*Enoch*, 15).

9 Milik, *Enoch*, 31.

10 Edward Lipiński, “El’s Abode: Mythological Traditions Related to Mount Hermon and to the Mountains of Armenia,” *OLP* 2 (1971) 29-30.

11 Milik, *Enoch*, 214.

who could think in Hebrew while writing in Aramaic, the wordplay would be difficult to bypass.

Another text about the curse on Mount Hermon, which Syncellus preserves and ascribes to the Book of the Watchers, may have derived from the Book of Giants.¹²

■ **7-8** The account of the conspiracy concludes with a list of its ringleaders, twenty heads of groups of ten. The list is framed by a superscription and subscription as is the case in the onomasticon of archangels in chap. 20. There is nothing in the present text to indicate that the list is a secondary addition to the story. It is true that nine of the names appear in chap. 8 in connection with the secondary motif of revelation (see comm. on 7:1).

The present list, with its superscription and subscription, appears again in 69:1-3, where it is followed in 69:4-13 by another list that corresponds to chap. 8. This reflection of the double tradition that includes the revelatory activity of the watchers indicates that chap. 69 is secondary to the present text, even though it may preserve some of the names better than 6:7 𐤒𐤁𐤁 𐤀.

As is often the case with proper names, the onomasticon in 6:7 has been badly corrupted in 𐤒𐤁𐤁 𐤀. However, the imaginative emendations by the commentators since Hoffmann have largely been outdated by the publication of 𐤒𐤁𐤁^{abc}, on the basis of which it is now possible to identify with considerable certainty the original form of all but one of the names. Since the textual evidence for 𐤒𐤁 𐤀 has been presented in convenient and detailed form by Milik, Black, and especially Knibb,¹³ the discussion and textual notes here will refer only to relevant and disputed matters.

Of the nineteen names that are preserved or can be reconstructed with some certainty, sixteen are compounds with 𐤒𐤁 (ʾēl, “God”): nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12,

13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. The three remaining names (1, 2, 11) can perhaps be explained in the context of the story, as the others can be.

Of the sixteen compounds with 𐤒𐤁, two indicate functions of God: judge and creator (7, 10). Thirteen of the remaining fourteen ʾēl compounds are linked in their first element with astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena.¹⁴ The names are of obvious relevance in the Enochic tradition with its interest in cosmology and astronomy and its frequent association of the elements and the angels in charge of them.

Knibb has indicated three different kinds of meanings for these names.¹⁵ For example, 𐤒𐤁𐤁𐤁 may be translated “God is my sun,” “God is sun,” or “sun of God.” The first of these meanings, which is accepted by Sokoloff,¹⁶ understands the *yod* at the end of the first element as a first person singular suffix. Such a meaning is also possible for the names where no *yod* appears in the preserved 𐤒; the presence of an *i* vowel in 𐤒 in such cases (nos. 4, 6, 8, 9, 12) indicates either that a *yod* stood in the text that was translated, or that the translator presumed a defective vowel by analogy with the names that had the *yod*. For the second set of meanings Knibb gives no explanation. The third type of meaning, which is espoused by Black, posits a so-called *yod compaginis*, said to be the remnant of an old case ending that denoted a genitival relationship.¹⁷ In his judicious discussion of *malki-sedeq*, Fitzmyer contests the presence of such a *yod* in proper names and argues that the *yod* indicates the first person singular suffix in all cases.¹⁸ Indeed, the many names adduced by him lend themselves to such a translation, for their first element contains nouns that can understandably be attributed to the Deity: “king,” “father,” “brother,” “god,” “kinsman,” “protection.”

12 For the text and a translation and discussion, see Milik, *Enoch*, 317–19.

13 Ibid., 152–56; Black, *Enoch*, 118–24; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:69–72.

14 Milik, *Enoch*, 29; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:70; Black, *Enoch*, 123.

15 Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:70.

16 Sokoloff, “Notes,” 207.

17 Black (*Enoch*, 119), who cites Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (BWANT 3/10; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928) 33–34.

18 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “‘Now this Melchizedek . . .’ (Heb 7:1),” in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971; repr. SBLBS 5; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1974) 229–30. The idea of the *yod compaginis* is discussed in the standard Hebrew grammars but is rejected by Hans Bauer, “Semitische Sprachprobleme,” *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 597–99; see also Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962) 525–27. See, however, Paul Joüon and T.

In the present text, where the nouns denote various cosmic elements, this interpretation is problematic. A meaning such as “God is my shooting star” hardly makes sense. For this reason I suggest a genitival construction, which can be documented in the Greco-Roman period, where, for example, the *yod* in *malkî-sedeq* is read as a sign of the genitive and the name is imitated in *malkî-rešaʿ* (surely “king of wickedness”).¹⁹ Alternatively, the names in the present text can be read as imitations of the old morphology with no specific translation in mind, or one might read ʾēl to refer to the angel, i.e., “the angel in charge of x.” The names without the *yod* can be read as defective forms or as simple constructs. My transliterations indicate an *i* vowel where the *yod* is present in א.²⁰

1. שמיחזוה (*šēmîḥāzāh*, “My name has seen”). The reference is to the name of “my” God.²¹ The angelic name may be an ironic anticipation of the motif of God’s seeing the sins committed on earth (9:1, 5, 11), a motif picked up from Gen 6:5, 12. In the very name that the angelic chieftain bears is the recognition that his sin will be found out.

The juxtaposition of this name and the second name, however, suggests a heaven/earth pairing, which corresponds to similar pairs or groups elsewhere in the onomasticon and which may indicate an alternative meaning and vocalization for שמיחזוה, viz., *šēmayyāḥāzāh*, *šēmay-hāzāh* (“Heaven has seen”). For “heaven” as a circumlocution for God, see the one-for-one replacement in the interpretation of Gen 6:1 at 1 Enoch 6:2 and cf. the passages cited in comm. on 6:1-2 and n. 1 above. There are two difficulties in positing that such a vocalization was original. (a) As the names cited by Fitzmyer indicate, the *yod* at the end of the first element is usually a first person singular suffix.²² (b) With this meaning one would

expect one of the following spellings: שמיחזוה or שמיחזוה. The dropping of an ʾalep is not to be expected, and the assimilation of a *nun* with the following *het* would be unusual. Nonetheless, the heaven/earth juxtaposition in the first two names is striking. Given the number of wordplays in the Aramaic text of 1 Enoch (see Introduction §3.3.2.2), it is not unlikely that the person composing this onomasticon took a name originally meaning one thing (“My name has seen”) and played with the consonants by juxtaposing a name that suggested another meaning (“Heaven has seen”), one quite consonant with this text’s use of the noun “heaven”. The function of this angel is mentioned in 8:3.

2. ארעתקוה (*ʾar-tēqōh*). Milik translates “the earth is power.”²³ The expression is obscure. A more nuanced meaning of תקוה is suggested by later Aramaic usage in the Targumim, where this noun translates words denoting a variety of fortifications: ט Judg 6:26, for א מִבְּצָר (“refuge”); Judg 9:37, for א תַּבְּבֹר (“high place”); Jer 10:17 and Zech 9:3, for א מַשְׁדֵּר (“entrenchment”). Hence one might translate here “Earth is a stronghold.”²⁴ This would offer an interesting foil to the previous name: Heaven may see what we do, but Earth will provide a defensible fortress against Heaven’s wrath. To this wrath there could be a reference in the next name. The second angel’s function is mentioned in 8:3.

3. רמשאל (*remaš-ʾēl*, “evening of God,” an appropriate name before the next one). Alternatively, one might read with Milik רמשאל (*ramš-ʾēl*, possibly “burning ashes of God”; see n. a). This translation and its interpretation are uncertain, but if correct the name could refer to “the volcanic activities of the earth’s crust.”²⁵ Such a reference is reminiscent of a theophanic text like Ps 18:8-20 (7-19), where divine judgment and wrath are associated with imagery descriptive of lightning storm

Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (2 vols.; SubBi 14; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970) 1:282.

19 See Fitzmyer, “Now this Melchizedek,” 230–31; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 56.

20 Black (*Enoch*, 119 n. 1) claims that the *yod* was not pronounced in any of the names in the onomasticon.

21 For this vocalization and translation, see Milik, *Enoch*, 152; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:67–68. According to Black (*Enoch*, 119), the reference was originally to the god Esmun. Concerning this, he cites Noth, *Personennamen*, 123–26.

22 See Fitzmyer, “Now this Melchizedek,” 229–30. The name type here does, however, differ from Fitzmyer’s examples. Here the first element is theophoric and is followed by a verb.

23 Milik, *Enoch*, 155.

24 Cf. 1QapGen 22:31, which describes God as סַעַד and תַּקִּי, as well as “shield . . . and buckler.” One might posit a consistent imagery, first to a building “foundation and fortress,” and then to the implements of war.

25 Milik, *Enoch*, 155, who is followed by Black, *Enoch*, 119–20.

and volcanic activity.²⁶ In such a case, as with the first name, there is again a recognition of God's activity as judge.

4. כוכבאל (*kôkab'el*, "star of God"). This is the first of a number of names that compound 'el with reference to one kind of heavenly body.²⁷ This angel's function is mentioned in 8:3.

5. Of all the angelic names, textual evidence makes this one the most difficult to reconstruct. Two different emendations of ^{6s} OPAMMAMH, both borrowing a final *l* from ^{6a} M, suggest two possible reconstructions. Best fitting the contextual references to the "star of God," the "shooting star of God," and the "lightning of God" (nos. 4, 8, 9) is Dillmann's suggestion, אורמאל (*orām'el*, "God is their light").²⁸ The emendation posits three dittographic letters and possibly the only Hebrew name in the list (see no. 10). A second emendation is ארמומה (*armûmāh'el*, "God is prudence"), which posits a metathesis and allows one to retain two of the *mus* as original.²⁹ The name might foreshadow the seventh name.

6. רעמאל (*ra'm'el*, "thunder of God"). This name will be matched by n. 9. The association with theophany is reminiscent of one interpretation of n. 3 above.

7. דניאל (*danî'el*, "God is my judge"). Milik identifies this angel with the sage Dan'el in Ezek 14:14, 20; 28:3; notes that Enoch married the daughter of Dan'el according to *Jub.* 4:20; and connects this with the fact that the angel occupies the same position on this list as Enoch

does in the list of antediluvian patriarchs.³⁰ Although the names are the same, these speculations are uncertain. In context the name is one more reference to God's function as judge. This irony could explain its place in the list.

8. זיקאל (*zîq'el*, "shooting star of God"). For this meaning of זיקא see comm. on 14:8. His function is mentioned in 8:3.

9. ברקאל (*baraq'el*, "lightning of God"). The name pairs with no. 6 on the list and is a natural sequel to no. 8. His function is described in 8:3. According to 6Q8 1, a ms. of the Book of Giants, Baraq'el is the father of the giant Mahawai.³¹

10. עשאל (*āśa'el*, "God has made"). This name, which occurs several times in the Hebrew Bible for other persons, designates God's creative activity.³² In 8:3 it may refer to that angel's function as fabricator. In that text the angel is identified as an archdemon derived from another tradition (see comm. on 8:3). Whether that identification has influenced this angel's place as no. 10 on this list is uncertain. In later traditions, and at various points in the ms. tradition of 1 Enoch, he has come to be identified with Azazel in Leviticus 16 (see comm. on 8:3).

11. הרמני (*hermānî*,³³ "the one of Hermon"). Whatever the origins of this name and of the name of Mount Hermon,³⁴ in context the present angelic name is surely related to the story's setting on the mountain. For this angel's function, cf. 8:3.

26 For the presence of volcanic imagery in the account of the Sinai theophany in Exod 19:10-15, which tradition is doubtless reflected in Psalm 18, see Martin Noth, *Exodus* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962) 159-60.

27 Pace Black (*Enoch*, 120), who cites Isa 14:13 (כוכביאל, "the stars of 'El"), where the pl., a remnant from the old Canaanite myth, suggests a generic meaning.

28 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 94. Black (*Enoch*, 120) suggests 'ūr'el, but this ignores the *m* common to ^{6s}, ^{6a}, and ^{6c}.

29 For the Aram. noun ערמומה, cf. 4QMess ar 1:1 (where it is an attribute of the Elect One) and the discussions by Jean Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân," in *École des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris: Mémorial du cinquantenaire 1914-1964* (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10; Paris:

Bloud et Gay, 1964) 57; and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran," *CBQ* 27 (1965) 364; repr. in idem, *Essays*, 149.

30 Milik, *Enoch*, 29.

31 See Milik (*Enoch*, 300), who cites Henning's identification of this same angel in the Manichaean version of the Book of Giants.

32 Cf. 2 Sam 2:18-32; 3:27-30; 23:24; 2 Chr 17:8; 31:13; Ezra 10:15, where it is written in its full Heb. form, אשאל. According to Milik (*Enoch*, 156), the name need not be considered as Hebrew, since it occurs elsewhere in Phoenician and Aramaic anthroponomy. This may have some bearing on the reconstruction of the name in no. 5.

33 Accepting the vocalization of Sokoloff ("Notes," 207) over that of Milik, *Enoch*, 153.

34 See Black, *Enoch*, 122.

12. מטראל (*māṭār'ēl*, “rain of God”). This is the first of a group of three angelic names denoting related meteorological elements. For all three combined in a description of the winter or rainy season, cf. 2:3–3:1.

13. ענאל (*'ānān'ēl*, “cloud of God”).

14. סתואל (*sētāw'ēl*, “winter of God”).

15. שמשאל (*šamšī'ēl*, “sun of God”). Following upon three names denoting the dark, rainy season, this is the first of a pair of names related to the great light-giving bodies. For the function of this angel, see 8:3.

16. שחראל (*šahrī'ēl*, “moon of God”). For this angel's function, cf. 8:3.

17. תמאל (*tummī'ēl*, “perfection of God”). Perhaps this is a reference to the perfection of God's creation.

18. טוראל (*ṭūrī'ēl*, “mountain of God”). This is one of the few names referring to a geographic phenomenon.

19. ימאל (*yamī'ēl* or *yōmī'ēl*, “sea of God” or “day of God”). 𐤓𐤓 accept the latter vocalization, but after no. 18, a geographical connotation seems preferable.³⁵

20. יהדאל (*yēhaddī'ēl*, “God will guide”).

Two overall patterns are noteworthy among the angelic names. First, according to the interpretation above, several names emphasize God's judicial activity. The conspiracy is carried out in spite of the awareness that God judges those who oppose him. It is an act of deliberate rebellion carried out with full knowledge of the consequences (cf. 6:2-4).

Second, the names help to identify the conspirators and give some sense of the authority and the scope of the conspiracy. The names suggest that the chiefs are high angels in charge of the orderly functioning of the heavenly and earthly phenomena: in heaven, not Uriel to be sure, but the angels over sun, moon, stars, shooting stars, thunder, and lightning; on earth, the angels in charge of sea and mountains, as well as the crucial rainy season and its clouds and rain. At the same time, the list lacks names associated with many other cosmic, meteorological, and geographic phenomena, and the total of two hundred angels is a small part of the thousands that a text such as 82:4-20 associates with the stars alone.

The precise denotation of the term רבן in v 8 is uncertain. The division of the two hundred watchers into groups of ten reflects Israelite practice from early biblical times to the Second Temple period.³⁶ According to Black's interpretation (see textual n. 8a), it refers to the watchers' functions both as archangels and as heads of ten in the conspiracy, but the text is uncertain. Whether there are any military connotations in the arrangement here is uncertain, although the lack of reference to fifties and hundreds is noteworthy.

³⁵ Thus Milik, *Enoch*, 156.

³⁶ See the discussion by Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) 59–61.

The Deed and Its Results

7

- 1 These and all the others with them^a took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose.^b And they began to **go** in to them, and^c to defile themselves^d through them, and to teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants.^e
- 2 And they conceived from them and^a bore to them^b great giants. And the giants begat Nephilim, and to the Nephilim were born †Eliond†. And they **were** growing in accordance with their greatness.^c
- 3 They **were** devouring the labor of all the sons of men,^a and^b men were not able to supply them. 4/ And the giants began to kill men and to devour them.^a 5/ And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish,^a and to devour **one** another's flesh. And they drank the blood.
- 6 Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones.^a

- 1a These ----- them] om. “with them” **Ⓢ** | om. “these” **Ⓢ** | om. the whole phrase **Ⓢ** | The length of the line in 4QEn^a 1 3:13 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150) requires the phrase. For Milik’s בְּיָמֵיהֶם (v), one may read בְּיָמֵיהֶם, which is supported by **Ⓢ** *mestēhomu*. (Cf. also 10:11.) In any case, the comparatively small size of the script of the word above on this fragment (7שע) suggests caution about placing the fragment (as Milik does) so that this word is on a line rather than a supralinear addition. In the place of “with them,” **Ⓢ** adds a chronological note, “in the 1170th year of the world” (ἐν τῷ χιλιοστῷ ἑκατοστῷ ἑβδομηκοστῷ ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου). See also n. d. Such chronological additions are typical in Syncellus’s chronography (see Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 179–80).
- b took ----- chose] All the texts differ. 4QEn^a: בָּרַח מִן כָּל בְּחֹרֵי דִי (“wives from all that they chose”) | **Ⓢ**^{as}: (+ καὶ **Ⓢ**^a) ἑλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας (+ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐξ-ελέξαντο ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας **Ⓢ**^a) (“[And] they took for themselves wives; [+ each of them chose for themselves wives]”) | **Ⓢ**: *wanašʷu lomu ʿanesta waharayu kwelhu lala reʷsu ʿahata* (“And they took for themselves wives, and each one chose one for himself”). The first half of **Ⓢ**^a **Ⓢ** (om. “and”) agrees precisely with Gen 6:2 and *Jub.* 5:1. The second half of **Ⓢ** agrees precisely with the Bible and *Jub.* 5:1. Thus the line must have originally read like the biblical text. **Ⓢ**^a and **Ⓢ** are in agreement (except the final “wives,” for which **Ⓢ** has “one”) and appear to indicate a corruption from ἐκ πάσων (“from all” = כָּל, **Ⓢ**) to ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. **Ⓢ** may have dropped the second half by hmt. (γυναῖκας) or because it seemed repetitious. This is the first of several short readings. Cf. nn. c, e, and v 2, nn. a, c.
- c to go --- and] This biblical phrase is missing in **Ⓢ**. Line length in 4QEn^a 1 3:14 requires it.
- d For “defile” (μαίνεσθαι), **Ⓢ** reads “mingle” (*tadam-maru* = μείγνεσθαι). **Ⓢ**^{as} are also supported by 12:4; 15:3 | **Ⓢ**: + “until the flood” (ἕως τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ); cf. n. a.
- e and to teach ----- plants] In these two clauses, **Ⓢ** and **Ⓢ** have finite verbs. For the first of these 4QEn^a 1 3:15

- has an infinitive (וְלִמְדוּם), which by analogy is here carried into the next clause. So also Milik, *Enoch*, 150. **Ⓢ** omits the second clause and places the first clause (also with a finite verb) at the end of v 2, adding to it “and their wives” because of the placement of the clause.
- 2a conceived -- and] Text follows 4QEn^a 1 3:16 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150), . . . וְהָיוּ בָּסֵן בְּמֶנָּה | om. “from them” **Ⓢ**^a **Ⓢ** | om. the clause **Ⓢ**.
- b to them] **Ⓢ** | om. **Ⓢ**^a **Ⓢ** | Lacuna in 4QEn^a. Phrase is supported by Gen 6:2 and *Jub.* 5:1 | + “three kinds. First” **Ⓢ**. The women do not bear three kinds, however; each kind begets the next.
- c And the giants ----- greatness] Text follows **Ⓢ**: οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἐτέκνωσαν ναφηλείμ, καὶ τοῖς ναφηλείμ ἐγεννήθησαν ἐλιούδ. καὶ ἦσαν αὐξανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν | **Ⓢ**^a **Ⓢ** om. the first sentence and give the giants’ height in the place of the second: “of 3000 cubits” (ἐκ πηχῶν τρισχιλίων); “and their stature was 300 cubits each” (*waqomomu baba 300 baʿemat*) | Milik (*Enoch*, 150, 157) reconstructs **Ⓢ**: “And they . . . ba[re giants three thousand cubits high who] were born (and multiplied) on the earth [according to the kind of their childhood . . .]” יִלְדוּהָ גִבְרִין רַמִּין כְּתַלְתָּ אֶלְפִין . . .]” אָמַר דִּין הוּא מִתִּלְדִּין עַל אֶרֶץ (כִּלְדוּתָהּ וּמִתְרַבֵּין כְּרִבּוּתָהּ). The extant Aramaic text is taken from 4QEn^a 1 3:16-17, except for כִּלְדוּתָהּ (“according to their kind”), which Milik reconstructs from 4QEn^b 1 2:21, frg. h (כִּלְדוּתָהּ, *Enoch*, 166). He reconstructs the first sentence by retroverting **Ⓢ**^a **Ⓢ**, and his second sentence follows somewhat **Ⓢ**. The procedure is highly questionable. The word כִּלְדוּתָהּ, which is drawn from a fragment so small that its placement is uncertain (so even Milik, *Enoch*, 157), has no counterpart in **Ⓢ**, **Ⓢ**^a, or **Ⓢ**. Further, in dismissing the first sentence in **Ⓢ**, he must maintain that it is a borrowing from *Jub.* 7:22 (*Enoch*, 157), a dubious assumption (see comm. on v 2). Moreover, he fails to note that הוּא מִתִּלְדִּין (v 2) corresponds to ἐγεννήθησαν in **Ⓢ**. The expression עַל אֶרֶץ (“upon the earth”) very possibly corresponds to Gen 6:4, “The Nephilim were on the earth in those days” (הַנְּפִלִים הָיוּ)

הם (בארץ בימים ההם); however, the precise nature of the paraphrase has been lost. Perhaps the phrase dropped out of \mathfrak{S}^s due to a confusion between it and whatever word is now represented by the corrupt $\epsilon\lambda\iota\upsilon\delta$. See comm. on v 2. The reading of $\mathfrak{S}^a \mathfrak{E}$ may be a gloss on the reading in \mathfrak{S}^s , which then subsequently dropped out. Vv 3, 5-6 are totally missing in \mathfrak{S}^s , and v 4 is briefly paraphrased after 8:3. See n. a on v 4.

3a the labor ----- men] Text follows 4QEn^a 1 3:18 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150): \mathfrak{S}^a : עמל כל בני אנוש | \mathfrak{S}^a : “the labors of men” ($\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \tau\hat{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$) | \mathfrak{E} : “all the labors of men” (*kwello dāmā sab*). *kwello* (“all”) quite possibly reflects the כל of \mathfrak{A} , which could have dropped from \mathfrak{S}^a * \mathfrak{S}^E by hmt. ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu \tau\hat{\omega}\nu$) and have been misplaced in \mathfrak{E} . Note also \mathfrak{E}^{2080} : *kwellomu dāmā sab*², indicating that “all” modifies a pl. noun; and \mathfrak{E}^{U11} : *dāmā kwellu sab* (“the labor of all men”). For the regular tendency of \mathfrak{S}^a to translate “sons of men” as “men,” see Larson, “Translation,” § 3.2.1 on 4QEn^a 1 iii.18.

b וְכַּחַן 4QEn^a 1 3:18 | \mathfrak{S}^a $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (“and when”) was corrupted to $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\tau\epsilon$ in * \mathfrak{S}^E ($\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\kappa\alpha \mathfrak{E}$); see Charles, *Enoch*, 18.

4a And the giants ----- them] 4QEn^a 1 3:18-19: וְשָׂרִין לְאִנְשָׁא לְקַשְׁלָהּ, following Sokoloff and Beyer (see Larson, “Translation,” loc. cit.) rather than Milik (*Enoch*, 150), who reads שָׂרִין $\bar{\varsigma}$ (“conspired”) | \mathfrak{S}^a : $\omicron\iota \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\omicron}\lambda\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\iota\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (“the giants grew bold against them and devoured men”) | \mathfrak{E} : *watamaytu ra’āyet lā’lēhomu wayebēlle ewwomu lasabe* (“and the giants turned against them and

devoured men”). The reading “began” is supported by \mathfrak{S}^s ($\eta\rho\xi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron \omicron\iota \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\iota\epsilon\iota\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha\varsigma \tau\hat{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$ [“the giants began to devour the flesh of men”]), which has placed the verse after 8:3 and prefaced it with “after these things” ($\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$). The differences between \mathfrak{E}^s and $\mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{S}^s$ are difficult to explain. Perhaps * \mathfrak{S}^E reflects a form of $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$ (“turn”), which was a corruption of a form of $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ (“slaughter”).

5a And they --- fish] $\mathfrak{S}^a \mathfrak{E}$ | om. \mathfrak{S}^s | 4QEn^a 1 3:20-21 had a longer text, which Milik (*Enoch*, 150) reconstructs as follows: מִן קִיבֵל כָּל כְּנֶפֶת תְּחִינֹת אֶרְעָה וְרַחֲשֵׁי דִי רַחֲשֵׁי יָמָה (“against all birds and [beast]s of [the] earth [and reptiles that creep upon the earth and (creatures) in the waters and in] heaven and the fish of the sea”). The reference to the earth and the sea support the rest of the substance of his reconstruction, which in general reflects the language of Genesis 1 (thus my italics). But the reading “[and in] heaven” is not certain and could be out of place (note that “fish of the sea” had been dropped and added later).

6a This line is attested by $\mathfrak{S}^a \mathfrak{E}$ and by 4QEn^b 1 2:25 (Milik, *Enoch*, 166), which appears to add at the end “for all that was done on it” (עַל כֹּלֵן מֵאֵל בְּהַ מִּתְעַבֵּד). It is omitted by \mathfrak{S}^s , which has a different order, with the equivalent of 7:5-6 in very compressed form after 8:3, thus making an easier transition to 8:4.

Introduction

Having concluded their conspiracy, the watchers put their plot into action, and its inevitable results follow. They marry and beget children in their own rebellious image. These giants devastate the creation. As in chap. 6, the paraphrase of Genesis 6 interpolates and emphasizes the idea of the watchers’ sin. Through their intercourse with their wives, they defile themselves. In a similar vein, but secondary to the original Shemihazah story, they reveal forbidden secrets to their wives. The revision of Genesis also emphasizes the disastrous results of the watchers’ sin. The giants, mentioned in neutral and perhaps admiring terms in Gen 6:4, are here depicted as brutal, violent, and cannibalistic. In Gen 6:5-

7, 11-12, all flesh (the human race and the animal kingdom) perpetrates the wickedness and violence that brought on the flood, but the giants are not mentioned in this connection. 1 Enoch 7 singles out the giants as the ones who have desolated the earth; in addition, they have victimized humankind, the birds, beasts, creeping things, and fish. This important shift in focus will continue to govern the narrative in chaps. 9-10.

■ 1 This section begins with a paraphrase of Gen 6:2b + 4bc. The opening phrase indicates that the rebel angels include both the chieftains named in 6:7 and their 180 subordinates, the two hundred mentioned in 6:6. The remainder of the sentence follows Gen 6:2b verbatim. The idiom denotes marriage (cf. Gen 4:19).¹

1 See Franz Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1888) 1:225.

The paraphrase skips to Gen 6:4b. The verb “began to” is inserted from Gen 6:1, the counterpart of 1 Enoch 6:1, where it is omitted. To “go in to” is a normal biblical expression for sexual intercourse (Gen 30:16, בוא, *είσερχομαι*, עלל \mathfrak{T} ; here *είσπορεύομαι*, perhaps following the unusual use of that verb in Gen 6:4 LXX; cf. Tob 6:14 [S]; 7:11). The author makes no attempt to explain how such intercourse could take place between divine and human beings. See also 1 Enoch 39:1, which speaks of angelic “seed.” By contrast, *T. Reub.* 5:6-7 denies that there was actual intercourse between the watchers and the women. (For a parallel to the idea, cf. Gen 30:37-42.)

The watchers’ intercourse renders them unclean. See comm. on 14:24–16:4. Here and in 9:8, different from 10:11, the uncleanness is due simply to sexual contact and not contact with women’s blood. Cf. 12:4 and 15:3 over against 15:4. While the author here does not spell out the implications of angelic defilement, as this is done in chap. 15, the inappropriateness of this state for the watchers is obvious and the motif underscores the sinful character of their deed.

Suter and Molenberg have stressed the motif of pollution and see it as central to the narrative.² For Suter the narrative is concerned mainly with the pollution of the angels, while the effect of their actions on humanity is secondary. Molenberg maintains that the story is primarily about the pollution of the earth. But the motif of pollution does not appear to be as central as either suggests. Here, in 9:8, and in 10:11 it pertains only to the sexual defilement of the watchers. Only in 10:20-22 do we hear of the pollution of the earth (pace Molenberg). At the same time, reference to the defilement of the watchers is mentioned in passing here, in 9:8, and in 10:11, whereas the violent deeds of the giants and their results are repeatedly mentioned (pace Suter).

The motif of instruction is secondary. Here and in 9:8, it intrudes between action and result, that is, intercourse and conception. Moreover, it is not prepared for

in chap. 6, it has no consequences in the subsequent descriptions of the state of the world, and it is not mentioned in the indictment in 10:11. Without this motif, the other elements in the story constitute a logical narrative: they married; they begat giants; the giants have devastated the earth. On the origins of the motif and on the nature of the instruction, see comm. on 8:3.

■ 2 That the union of the women and the supernatural watchers should produce unusual offspring is hardly surprising. This idea is present already in Gen 6:4: “The giants were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore (children) to them. These were the mighty ones that were of old, the men of renown” (RSV abridged) הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם וגם אחרי־כן אשר יבאו בני האלהים אל־בנות האדם וילדו להם המה הגברים אשר מעולם (אנשי השם).

The interpretation of this passage, and specifically the relationship between “the giants” (*nēpīlīm*) and “the mighty ones” (*gibbōrīm*), has long been disputed. Ancient interpreters disagreed, although the varying interpretations may reflect knowledge of the Enochic form of the tradition. An identification of the two groups with one another is as old as the LXX, which translates both nouns with οἱ γίγαντες (“the giants”). CD 2:18-19 attaches the verb נפל (“to fall”) to both the watchers and their sons.³ $\mathfrak{T}^{\text{Onk}}$ and $\mathfrak{T}^{\text{Neof}}$ Gen 6:4 translate both Hebrew nouns with *gibbārā*. On the other hand, $\mathfrak{T}^{\text{Jon}}$ interprets *nēpīlīm* to mean the two angelic chieftains (“Shamhazzai and Uziel fell from heaven and were on the earth in those days,” שמוחזאי ועוזיאל הנון נפילין מן שמיא והיו, בארעא ביומיא האינין), while it retains *gibbārā* for the offspring of the mixed marriage.⁴

Modern interpreters also differ on the referents of the two nouns, and these interpretations are often tied to one’s understanding of the history of the tradition. According to Westermann, the two groups are most likely identified with one another in the present state of the Genesis text.⁵ Bartelmus argues that the myth

2 David W. Suter, “Fallen Angel,” 115–19; Corrie Molenberg, “A Study of the Roles of Shemihaza and Asael in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JJS* 35 (1984) 139.

3 Cf. also 1QapGen 2:1, where the conception of Noah is thought to be due to the watchers, or the holy ones, or the *nēpīlīm*.

4 On this passage see Alexander, “Targumim,” 70–71.

5 Claus Westermann, *Genesis*, 378–79.

describes the birth of divinely begotten heroes, whose function was to rid the earth of the monstrous giants who lived in the dawn of human history.⁶

However one interprets the Genesis text and its history, the author of the Shemihazah story understood the three terms in Genesis as designations for three different groups, specifically successive generations, of giants.⁷ These same categories are evident in the reuse of this tradition in 1 Enoch 86:4, 88:2, and *Jub.* 7:22-23; and at least two of the groups, the *gibbārīn* and the *nēpīlīn*, were mentioned in the Enochic Book of Giants.⁸

The immediate offspring of the watchers and the women are “great giants” according to Ⓢ and Ⓣ (γίγαντας μεγάλους, *raʿāyta ʿābayta*). Several factors indicate that the Aramaic word was *gibbārīn*.⁹ The next sentence in the present verse distinguishes the *nēpīlīn* from the present group. A comparison of the structure of 1 Enoch 6:1b+2a with Gen 6:4b+cα +cβ suggests that these offspring correspond to the *gibbōrīm* of Genesis. The name Gabriel in 10:9 implies the word *gibbārāʾ* (see comm. on 10:9a-d). The extant fragments of the Book of Giants contain references to both the גִּבְרִין and נִפְלִין.

In biblical parlance, *gibbōr* most often denotes mighty and valiant warriors (cf., e.g., Judg 6:12; 11:1; 2 Kgs 5:1; Isa 3:2; 49:24-25). While this is quite likely the connotation of its usage in Gen 6:4,¹⁰ it remains for 1 Enoch 7:3-5 to explicate this connotation (see comm. ad loc.).

The origins and connotations of *nēpīlīm* as a term for giants (cf. Num 13:33) are obscure.¹¹ If Gk. ναφηλειμ with its Hebrew plural ending does represent the original Semitic text, our author has taken over a word from the biblical text as a technical term.¹²

Even more obscure is the author's term for the third generation. Evidently, he has given a name to “the men of name.”¹³ In Ⓢ, where it alone appears in this text, it is Ελιουδ. The parallel text in *Jub.* 7:22 reads ʿēlyo in Ethiopic. Since the Hebrew original of *Jubilees* was doubtless based on the Aramaic original of 1 Enoch, we can discount Greek paleographical errors in the letters where these words agree. The final *delta* in our text is problematic. Could it be an error for a *lambda* or an *alpha*? In the latter case, we might have a name the last part of which played on the Tetragrammaton (which would be the “name” alluded to in Gen 6:4). Similar names are given to the giants in 4QEnGiants: *Ohyah*, *Hahyah*, and *Mahawai*.¹⁴ The initial letter in the Aramaic word is uncertain. It could be an ʿalep, a he, or an ʿayin. 4QEn^a 1 3:17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 150) may support an ʿayin; for the presence of a word beginning with ʿl would explain how the reading “upon the earth” is missing in Ⓢ (see textual n. h). Thus the elusive word may have been something like על ידוה, a name designating these giants as anti-gods (cf. Dan 11:36). Alternatively, we may have a corruption of a word deriving from the root ʿל, designating them as arrogant.¹⁵

The reference to the giants' great size will serve as a transition to the subject of their voracious appetite, described in vv 3-5. Ⓢ and Ⓣ specify their height as 3,000 and 300 cubits, respectively, but this reading is probably a secondary gloss (see textual n. h). According to CD 2:19, the watchers' sons were as tall as cedar trees, with bodies like mountains.¹⁶ This excessive height, vastly out of line with the height attributed to Og (9 cubits, Deut 3:11) and Goliath (6 cubits and a span,

6 Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 21-24.

7 M. Delcor (“Mythe,” 40) suggests that the three classes may reflect three classes of the offspring of Ouranos (Hesiod *Theogony* 140-210), but he fails to note that Hesiod speaks of the Titans, the Cyclopes, the hundred-armed, as well as the furies and “great giants” (μεγάλους γίγαντας, 184). That the three classes reflect Gen 6:4 was supposed by the author of the gloss in Ⓢ of 1 Enoch 16:1; see textual n. b on 16:1.

8 For the usage of one or the other term, see Milik, *Enoch*, 372, 385, s.v. They are mentioned together in 4QGiants^c 2 1:2, נִפְלִין וְגִבְרִין (Milik, *Enoch*, 308).

9 For the translation of *gibbōr* as γίγας, cf., in addition to Gen 6:4, Gen 10:8-9; 1 Chr 1:10; Isa 3:2;

13:3; 49:24-25, etc.

10 Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 21-24, and thereafter.

11 Westermann, *Genesis*, 378.

12 Note the Hebrew ending also in the gloss in Ⓢ of 1 Enoch 16:1; see textual n. b on 16:1. However, cf. 4QGiants^c 2 1:2, 8: נִפְלִין, נִפְלִיא (Milik, *Enoch*, 308).

13 Cf. the gloss on 1 Enoch 16:1 in Ⓢ, textual n. b on 16:1.

14 See Milik, *Enoch*, 427, who notes the similarity.

15 For another suggestion see Delcor, “Mythe,” 40.

16 Does the comparison to trees here imply the vision of the trees in the Book of Giants? See Milik, *Enoch*, 304. On this see comm. on chap. 83. For another reference to their great height, cf. 1 Bar 3:26.

1 Sam 17:4), may well be related to a tradition that ascribed immense height to angels (*T. Reub.* 5:7; *2 Enoch* 1:4; *Gos. Pet.* 40).

■ 3-5 This paragraph characterizes the giants by describing their actions. The author draws out the implications of the biblical term *gibbôrîm*. Under this term, as well as (the descendants of) the *nēpîlîm* and *ṣēpā'im*, we read of the warriorlike activities of “giants.” Cf. Num 13:31-33 (*nēpîlîm*); Deut 3:1-11 (remnant of *ṣēpā'im*); 1 Sam 17 (Goliath, *gibbôr*, v 51); 2 Sam 21:16-22 (descendants of *ṣēpā'im*); Job 16:14 (God, called *gibbôr*): 1 Macc 3:3 (Judas Maccabeus, like a γίγας); Jdt 16:7. In Greek lore, too, giants are described as bellicose.¹⁷ See also comm. on 10:9. In the course of this exposition of Genesis 6, however, the author does make an important exegetical transformation. The giants are made the subject of the violence described in Gen 6:5-7, 11-12, and the human race and the animal world are its victims. More important, however, is the brutality and savagery that characterizes this vignette. In effect, the giants are wild beasts rather than demigods. Throughout these verses, they are the subjects of a series of verbs denoting their lawless and unrestrained gluttony, as they seek to satisfy their ravenous and insatiable appetites. They are no mere warriors, plundering crops (cf. 103:11 for the idiom) and slaughtering, as armies are wont to do. They slaughter human beings in order to devour them in the place of the food they do not supply.¹⁸ Then they turn on the animal world, which was forbidden as food in the prediluvian world (Gen 1:29-30; 9:2-3). To the catalog of animals in Gen 6:7 are added the fish. The whole animal kingdom (cf. Gen 1:26) is the object of their violence. Then, as a logical and inevitable conclusion, they begin to cannibalize one another. As a climax to the description, the author adds “and they drank the blood”—in the eyes of a Jew, the ultimate abomination and violation of created life (Gen 9:5-6; cf. the exegetical expansion in *Jub.* 7:27-34 and 21:18-20; cf. also 1 Enoch 98:11).¹⁹

In later literature, the giants' wickedness and God's punishment of it become proverbial, more so than the example of their fathers, the watchers. In *Jub.* 7:22-23 the present passage is paraphrased with an emphasis on their violence.²⁰ Sirach 16:7 speaks of their rebellion (המורדים).²¹ They are one of a series of examples of God's *not* pardoning or showing pity to sinners. Similarly, 3 Macc 2:4 mentions them (as in Sir 16:7, followed immediately by Sodom) in a catalog of sinners who were punished. Another such catalog of sinners appears in CD 2:17–3:12. The giants and their fathers are said to have fallen (נפל), perhaps a play on the name *nēpîlîm*.²² Wisdom 14:6 mentions in passing that they were arrogant (ὑπερήφανος). In 1 Bar 3:26-28 the giants are the example par excellence, and the only example, of folly. In a pair of wordplays, the author contrasts their great size with the greatness of God's creation (vv 24-26) and their skill at war (ἐπιστάμενοι πόλεμον) with their lack of true wisdom (ἐπιστήμης, φρόνησις, vv 26-28, perhaps an ironic allusion to the knowledge their fathers are said to have brought to earth). Thus they perished. The passage appears to depend both on Gen 6:4 (οἱ ὀνομαστοὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) and the Enochic version with its reference to their destruction. On the extensive Enochic literature known as the Book of Giants, see Excursus: The Book of Giants and 1 Enoch.

■ 6 The plea for vengeance ties this verse to 8:4, suggesting that 8:1-3 is an interpolation into the narrative line, a hypothesis consonant with the similar discontinuity noted in 7:1 (see comm.). While the precise wording of the original form of this element cannot be recovered, its contents are indicated by the occurrence of three common concepts in 7:5-6, 8:4, and 9:1-2: the blood (represented in 8:4 by the “perishing” of humanity), the earth, the voice or accusation. This complex of ideas recalls Gen 4:10-11, to which the author may be alluding as he construes the violence of Gen 6:6 and 13 in terms

17 Cf. Josephus *Ant.* 1.3.1 §73, who notices this similarity. Cf. also Jdt 16:7.

18 Delcor (“Mythe,” 29–30) notes this anthropophagy and suggests that its source may have been the story of Ulysses and the Cyclops.

19 See Molenberg, “Study,” 189.

20 One need not suppose a corruption in the text of 1

Enoch 7:2, as Charles (*Enoch*, 18) does on the basis of *Jub.* 7:22.

21 That ben Sira may reflect the Greek story of the revolt of the giants has been suggested by Delcor, “Mythe,” 31.

22 Ibid., 20–22.

of murder. (For Abel as the model of the unjustly slain person bringing complaint to God, cf. 1 Enoch 22:5-7.) Blood is (the seat of) life. Cf. Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11; Deut 12:23. To shed it, and thus to kill, is to invite God's threatened vengeance in kind (Gen 9:5-6; cf. Matt 27:24-25 and its parallel in Sus 46; Luke 11:50-51). The earth on which blood is shed relays the cry for such vengeance. Here the voice "brings accusation against" the giants. The idiom ἐντυγχάνω κατά doubtless translates קבל על (cf. 1 Enoch 22:5, 4QEn^c 1 22:4; Milik, *Enoch*, 229), an Aramaic technical term for bringing suit in court.²³ For this usage with reference to an earthly court, cf. 1 Enoch 103:4. For the theological usage cf. 1QapGen 20:14; cf. also 11QtgJob 8:2.

As the ensuing narrative will show, the function of the cry here is to catalyze divine judgment. For this pattern cf. Deut 32:43 and its interpretations in *T. Mos.* 9:7 and 2 Macc 8:3-4.²⁴ For the same motif, cf. Rev 6:9-10. This complex of elements—the cry, its mediation by angels, and its function as catalyst—are additions to the biblical account. For their function in the narrative, see comm. on 9:1-11.

23 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Padua Aramaic Papyrus Letters," *JNES* 21 (1962) 19.

24 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 97.

1

3

4

καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέταλλα τῆς γῆς καὶ πῶς
wʰzyʹ lhwʹn ythʰr ʔmn ʔʔ wʰyk mʔ
ἐργάζωνται τὸ χρυσίον καὶ ποιήσωσιν αὐτὸ κόσμιον
or εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ (Ἑ^α)
gʰbdwn dhhʹ lmʹbdh mkwnʹ
καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ ποιήσωσιν αὐτὸν ψέλια καὶ κόσμια
or εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ or κόσμιον (Ἑ^α)
wʹl kspʹ lmʹbdh lsmʷdyn wʹltsʰyn

4a And --- heaven] \mathfrak{S}^a : τῶν οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλυμένων ἢ βοή εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνέβη | \mathfrak{E} : “And as men were perishing, they cried, and their voice went up to heaven” (*wabahegwłata sab’ dārhi wabašha qalomu samāya*) | \mathfrak{S}^{s1} : “And men began to grow few on the earth, and the rest cried to heaven concerning their affliction” (καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐλαττοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐβόησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν περὶ τῆς κακώσεως αὐτῶν) | \mathfrak{S}^{s2} : “Then men cried to heaven” τότε ἐβόη-

σαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν | 4QEn^{a+b}: “And as a p[art of humankind] was perishing from the earth, (their) v[oice] went up b[efore . . .” (מְבָרֵךְ קוֹצֵצִת אֲנָשִׁים מִן) (ארעא קנלדו) סלק קנרד. For this reconstruction see Milik, *Enoch*, 160. While parts of the reconstruction are uncertain, the \mathfrak{A} MSS. do seem to support the form of the shorter reading in \mathfrak{S}^a . $\mathfrak{S}^{s1,2}$ continue with a veritable repetition of 9:3b, omitted in \mathfrak{S}^a \mathfrak{E} , and probably in 4QEn^{ab}.

Introduction

This first major occurrence of the instruction motif divides into two parts. Verses 1-2 describe briefly how Asael instructed humanity in metallurgy, mining, and the fabrication of artifacts and how this caused the desolation of the earth that has been described in chap. 7. Verse 3 lists the names of Shemihazah and seven other angels who instructed humanity in magic and divination.

The Literary History of Chapter 8

A number of considerations suggest that the instruction motif is secondary to the narrative in chaps. 6–11. The two brief references to instruction in 7:1de and 9:8c interrupt the flow of the narrative (see comm. on 7:1 and 9:7-8). The same literary problem is evident here. Verse 1 begins abruptly, with no transition from what precedes it: “Asael taught. . .” 8:1-3 as a whole breaks the narrative continuity between earth’s plea for humanity (7:6) and the angelic response to that plea (9:1). This discontinuity is also evident in 8:4, which repeats the narrative element in 7:6 (prayer) and links it to its logical consequence in 9:1 (response).

The internal order of chap. 8 indicates another tension with the narrative that precedes it. In 6:7 Asael is the tenth in the list of rebellious watchers whose chief-tain is Shemihazah. Although the latter’s leading role is suggested here by his place at the head of the list in 8:3, it is mitigated by 8:1-2, a brief, self-contained narrative that gives Asael first place in the chapter and ties the desolation of the earth directly to his activities. This pri-

macy is again indicated in 9:6, which mentions Asael first, and 10:8-10, which, in addition, ascribes “all sin” to him.

Yet another tension between the material about Asael and the narrative about Shemihazah involves the nature of the rebellion and its consequences. Shemihazah and his associates sin by marrying mortal women. The result of this act is the procreation of giants and their devastation of the earth and its inhabitants. In the present chapter Asael causes the desolation of the earth by transmitting forbidden knowledge. Moreover, different from the narrative about Shemihazah, where humanity as a whole is victimized by the supernatural giants, here human beings, taught the deadly arts by Asael, take part in the desolation of the earth.

Although it has long been recognized that the instruction motif is secondary to the narrative in chaps. 6–11, there is no consensus as to how or why this motif came to be incorporated into the narrative.¹ A solution to this problem must take into consideration the complexity of the motif and the manner of its occurrence in the narrative.

The angelic instruction is of various sorts, and this variety is ascribed to certain angels with some consistency. Asael’s association with the fabrication of destructive artifacts is first mentioned in 8:1-3; it is probably implied in 9:6 (see comm.) and is certainly referred to in 10:7-8 (see comm.). Instruction in the occult arts is never associated with Asael. It is ascribed to Shemihazah and seven others in 8:3 and is attributed to Shemihazah and his associates as a group in 7:1 and 9:8. The last two pas-

1 See Martin (*Hénoch*, xxviii, 15); Charles, *Enoch*, 13, who cites Dillmann as supporting this opinion in *RE*² 12:353. For the recent discussion, see Hanson, “Rebellion”; Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth”;

Collins, “Methodological Issues”; Bartelmus, *Heroentum*; Dimant, “Perspective”; Newsom, “Development”; Molenberg, “Study,” 137–46; among others.

sages mention only types of magic and not the interpretation of omens.

The interpolated chap. 8 begins with an abrupt statement of the motif (v 1) that requires some previous reference to the motif in the story. This occurs in 7:1de, which must then have been interpolated before 8:1-2. Since this earlier interpolation and its parallel in 9:8 mention only the magical arts, this appears to have been the focus of the primary interpolation of the instruction motive. Since the list in 8:3, with Shemihazah at its head, reflects the hierarchy in 6:7, it must predate the interpolation of the Asael material. Moreover, since the omen material in the list has no counterpart in 7:1 and 9:8, it seems likely that 8:3 as a whole was added to chaps. 6–11 after 7:1de and 9:8 as an elaboration (v 3ab) and extension (v 3c-h) of 7:1de and 9:8. The material about Asael was added to these chapters later. Its position before the references to Shemihazah in chaps. 8, 9, and 10 indicates a developing tendency to identify Asael as the chief villain in the story (see comm. on chaps. 6–11).² These various stages of expansion or interpolation took place some time between the creation of the Shemihazah myth (ca. 300 B.C.E. or earlier) and our earliest evidence for the present full text (ca. 165 B.C.E.) (see comm. on chaps. 6–11). Beyond this, one can make only some general observations about relative chronology. If 13:1-2 is a secondary interpolation into chaps. 12–16 (see comm.), then the material on Asael was added after chaps. 12–16 were joined to 6–11. The instructional material tied to Shemihazah and his associates is another matter. If 16:2-4 is part of the original form of chaps. 12–16 (see comm.), then 7:1de, 8:3, and 9:8 were added prior to the joining of chaps. 6–11 and 12–16.

The reasons for adding the various material about instruction may have varied. Molenberg makes the imag-

inative suggestion that the primary interpolation may have been made to provide a counterpart to the motif of instruction in 10:2-3 (see comm.).³ The references to prognostication from signs in the heavenly bodies, on the other hand, may be a foil to Enoch's "true" astronomical revelation, though this does not necessarily indicate that 8:3c-h was added after chaps. 6–11 and 12–16 were actually joined. One need presume only that the redactor knew of the Enochic tradition.⁴

Different from the elaborations that have been woven into the Shemihazah story at 7:1 and 9:8, and the list in 8:3, the material about Asael appears to be fragments of an independent myth that parallels the myth about Shemihazah.⁵ War, violence, and forbidden sex are the two authors' primary concerns. These evils are the result of a primordial angelic rebellion. In the one case, war and violence are bred into the world through forbidden sexual relations, in the other they are taught to humans, who seduce the watchers into forbidden sexual relations. In the narrative worlds of the two authors, the secondary villains differ from one another. In the authors' real worlds, however, they correspond to one another. The semidivine giants who victimize the human race according to the Shemihazah myth represent warrior kings who are the counterparts of the human warriors described in the Asael myth. This latter myth, then, was incorporated into chaps. 6–11 because it paralleled the primary narrative.

Excursus: The Origin of the Asael Myth

Although there is a scholarly consensus that the motif of instruction is secondary to the narrative in chaps. 6–11, no such consensus exists concerning its origin and its possible derivation from non-Israelite myths. Following suggestions by others, both Bartelmus and

2 In "Apocalyptic and Myth," I argued that the material about Asael was the first to be added to the Shemihazah story. The reverse order suggested here has been proposed by Molenberg, "Study," though not on the basis of all the reasons here given.

3 "Study," 140–41. A serious concern about this sort of magic leads a redactor to present the occult knowledge as a foil to true, saving knowledge.

4 The difference between Enoch's astronomical knowledge and the angels' astrological revelations is noted by Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 404; and Newsom, "Development," 320–21. But one

should not so compartmentalize the non-Enochic Shemihazah tradition in chaps. 6–11 and the Enochic tradition in 12–16 that one need posit the physical joining of the two in order to allow a redactor of 6–11 to know the Enochic tradition.

5 Dimant, "Perspective," 323–27; Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 161–62.

I have argued for a dependence on Greek myths about Prometheus.⁶ According to Hanson,⁷ the Shemihazah material in chaps. 6–11 was first elaborated on the basis of Leviticus 16 and its description of the Day of Atonement and the goat for Azazel; atonement had to be made for the earth defiled by the watchers. This version was further elaborated on the basis of Semitic culture hero traditions that underlay both the Greek Prometheus myth and other traditions attested in Berossus, Philo of Byblos, and others. Baumgarten, commenting on Philo of Byblos, asserts that both the Shemihazah and the Asael myth derive from Semitic prototypes.⁸ Dimant believes that the Enochic text need presuppose only the biblical episode about Tubal-Cain, although the Greek Prometheus myth may have been influenced by Semitic elements.⁹

Although a choice from among these alternatives is, of necessity, tenuous, the options can be limited. Hanson's theory of the development of successive expansions has two difficulties. First, although later material about the Day of Atonement may have connections with this text, Hanson has not demonstrated the influence of Leviticus 16 on the Enochic Asael material.¹⁰ Second, the literary considerations mentioned above indicate that the instructional material about Asael is the last, not the first, expansion in this text.

A further narrowing of the options concerning the origins of the Asael myth is possible. As both Hanson and Baumgarten observe, the Euhemeristic traditions, which describe how certain ancients *discovered* the elements and arts of civilization, are based on earlier traditions that asserted that the gods had *instructed* human beings about these.¹¹ Thus the derivation of the Asael myth from Genesis 4 is unlikely. We should compare the myth not with legends about human discovery, but with myths about divine revelation. Specifically, is the Enochic material about Asael paralleled more closely in a hypothetical de-Euhemerized version of the material in Philo and others or in the Greek myths about Prometheus?

The similarities between the Asael material and the hypothetical Semitic myths are basic. Both describe divine revelation of aspects of culture and civilization. Common to these is the development of metallurgy. One similarity between the whole of 8:1–3 and the traditions in Philo of Byblos and others is noteworthy. Both compile the names of those responsible for the kinds of knowledge that are implied in the names themselves.¹² An important difference, however, is in the tone of the stories. The Euhemeristic heroes—and presumably the gods in the original stories—are the benefactors of humanity. Asael, however, has introduced knowledge that has led to the desolation of the earth. Hanson notes that this negative twist is paralleled in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, which documents the progressive deterioration of humanity in relation to the progressive discovery of metallurgy,¹³ and he suggests that this draws on old Semitic traditions documented also in Genesis 4. Hesiod differs from both Genesis 4 and 1 Enoch, however, in that he names no individual who is responsible for transmitting the deadly information. Indeed, he makes no specific reference to the transmission of knowledge.

The Greek Prometheus myth offers closer parallels. The oldest version of the story is found in Hesiod (*Theogony* 507–616; *Works and Days* 42–105). At a banquet Prometheus, the benefactor of humankind, cheats Zeus out of some meat, which he gives to human beings. When Zeus refuses to give mortals the fire necessary to prepare the meat, Prometheus steals the fire for them. For this affront, Zeus consigns Prometheus to perpetual punishment.¹⁴ The later version in Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound* is especially relevant to the present discussion. Although the dramatist refers only in passing to the version of the myth preserved in Hesiod, Prometheus's theft of fire is the act of rebellion against Zeus that is the immediate cause of his punishment (7–11, 106–12, 254–60). In the drama Prometheus's benefaction of humankind, in the form of revealing and teaching, is broadly construed. He taught woodworking and the construc-

6 This parallel is suggested, though not in detail, by Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 65; Pearson, "Reminiscence," 73–74; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:190; and Delcor, "Mythe," 24. It is worked out in detail in Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 399–404; and independently in Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 161–66.

7 "Rebellion," 220–32.

8 Baumgarten, *Phoenician History*, 156–57.

9 Dimant, "Perspective," 331.

10 Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 401–3.

11 Hanson, "Rebellion," 227–29; Baumgarten, *Phoeni-*

cian History, 157. Throughout this careful analysis of Philo of Byblos, Baumgarten distinguishes between material that may derive from Sanchuniathon, the ancient authority on the Phoenicians, and later interpretations of these traditions.

12 Hanson, "Rebellion," 230.

13 Ibid., 229.

14 For further details see Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 399–400.

tion of houses, the rising of the stars and their settings, numbers and writing, the domestication of animals, medicines, and the interpretations of dreams and bird flights (442–82). Of particular interest in the present context, he taught the mining of copper, iron, silver, and gold (500–4)—an expansion on the idea of his theft of fire (cf. 106–10, 254–56). For his rebellion against Zeus, he is taken into the wilderness (*ἐρημία*), where he is chained hand and foot to the side of a cliff (1–81, 142, 271, 618). When he continues his insolence against the high god, Zeus opens up the rock and Prometheus is entombed until a later time when he will be subjected to terrible torment (1016).

The Asael material has significant points of similarity to the Prometheus myth, especially to Aeschylus's version of it. Asael, a heavenly being, rebels against God by teaching humankind about metallurgy, mining, and the making of dyes—for all of which fire is essential.¹⁵ For this act of rebellion, Asael is bound hand and foot, the earth is opened, and he is cast on a rocky bed in the wilderness, where he is entombed until a later time of punishment.¹⁶

The Greek material on Prometheus shares a feature common to both the Semitic Euhemeristic traditions and 1 Enoch and features unique to each of these. In common with both, Prometheus teaches the art of metallurgy. As in the Euhemeristic traditions, Prometheus is a benefactor of humanity. As in the Asael tradition, Prometheus's teaching constitutes rebellion against God and results in a similar punishment. Thus the Greek testimonies to the Prometheus myth provide the closest parallel to the Asael material, and they form a bridge between 1 Enoch and the old Semitic traditions.

The precise relationship between the Enochic Asael material and the Greek Prometheus myth remains problematic. Is it likely that the Jewish author of the Asael myth read and used mythic material from pagan Greek writings or popular oral versions of this material?¹⁷ Could the Greek material itself reflect Semitic versions no longer available to us? This last option has the weakness of positing a stage in the development of the tradition for which we have no definitive evidence. The first and second options have the advantage of using available evidence. Moreover, the Hebrew Scriptures supply many analogies for the Israelite use and transformation of common Semitic myth. If one dates the creation of the Asael myth to the fourth century B.C.E., before the reforms that led to the revolt and the persecution by Antiochus, there are no clear reasons why Jews would be reticent to use pagan sources from their Greek environment.

If my reconstruction is correct, a redactor has expanded the narrative in chaps. 6–11 through the incorporation of a myth about Asael's revelation of metallurgical techniques, which have facilitated the devastation of war. Quite possibly, the references to silver, gold, gems, cosmetics, and dyes are an expansion of the later myth—though consonant with it—which links it to the primary myth about the marriage of the watchers and the women. Even this expansion has a parallel in Hesiod's version of the myth, where Zeus responds to Prometheus's theft of fire by sending the beautiful, adorned Pandora, along with the jar that contained all the ills that would befall humanity.¹⁸

15 The use of fire is required for almost every item on the list in 8:1-2. On the smelting and working of iron, see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* (9 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1955–64) 9:184–213. On copper (see textual n. d on 8:1), see *ibid.*, 17–35. For the refining and working of gold and silver, see *ibid.*, 8:169–82, 226–45. Even for the mining of precious stones, lamps were necessary; *ibid.*, 7:232; cf. 209–10. Only in the case of preparing eye paint from copper, lead, and antimony ores does metallurgical practice appear not to have used fire; *ibid.*, 3:18–19. Fire was regularly used in the application of dyes; *ibid.*, 4:104, 110–11, 114–15, 120, 126–37.

16 The references to magic and prognostication in chaps. 6–11 could be taken as reflections of the Prometheus story in Aeschylus (see Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 404; and Bartelmus, *Heroentum*, 165). But the literary analysis above indicates that the Asael material, which is more clearly

based on the Prometheus story, was added last. Moreover, it is not clear why some of the elements drawn from a Prometheus tradition would have been attributed to angels other than Asael (thus Newsom, "Development," 314).

17 Possible contact with popular oral versions was suggested to me by Morton Smith (letter dated 1/12/78). On the relationships between the Pandora and Prometheus myths and the ancient Near Eastern myths of Enki, see Charles Penglase, *Greek Myths and Mesopotamia: Parallels and Influence in the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod* (London: Routledge, 1994) 197–229. His discussion, however, indicates no point at which the Asael myth parallels the ancient Near Eastern material more closely than the Greek texts.

18 For this suggestion see Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 400–401.

■ 1-2 Two motifs pervade the description of Asael's instruction. The first is indicated by the repetition of the verb עבד ("to make"), which is the Aramaic equivalent of Heb. עשה, the verb that forms the first element in Asael's name.¹⁹ This angel teaches human beings to make things. The idea is also alluded to in 9:6 ("what Asael has done," ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἀσαήλ) and 10:8 ("the deeds of the teaching of Asael," ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς διδασκαλίας Ἀσαήλ; see comm.). Second, with the exception of dyes, all the things Asael teaches men to make are based on a knowledge of mining and metallurgy (see below).

The instruments of war are mentioned first among the products that derive from Asael's instruction (v 1a).²⁰ The connection with the arts of mining and metallurgy is immediately explicit in the specification "swords of iron."²¹ Next on the list are "weapons" (ὅπλα). Although this can be a generic term, the presence of such a term at the end of the list suggests something more specific. One possibility is the שרפן (Heb. שרפן is translated as ὄπλον at 1 Chr 23:9), which sometimes refers to a kind of dart or javelin.²² Such a meaning here is supported by the immediately preceding reference to the sword. In the Hellenistic period, shields were of many sorts. Metal shields were in wide use.²³ The breastplate or cuirass (θώραξ, שריון) was made of leather and covered with metal.²⁴ A tradition about Levi's call at *T. Levi* 6:1 appears to indicate a wordplay involving the Aramaic שרין and שריון, a name for Mount Hermon, where the incident takes place. On the relationship of this tradition to the call of Enoch, see Excur-sus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16. The final term

in the series (σκεῦος) may translate Aram. זין (= Heb. כלי) and designate weapons in general or defensive armor in general.²⁵ This general term recurs in 69:6 ("every instrument of death"). The result of this instruction is mentioned in v 2: the earth is made desolate. The association between metallurgy and warfare will recur in the Book of Parables (cf. chap. 52 and 69:6).

According to the second part of this description, Asael also taught men how to obtain and work materials useful for the beautification of women: silver, gold, and precious stones for jewelry and ornaments; minerals for eye paint; dyes for colored garments. Although the Bible can mention fine clothing and ornaments for women without disparagement (cf. Ezek 16:10-14 of YHWH's bride),²⁶ the classical reference to these things occurs in a scathing denunciation of the seductive conduct of the women of Jerusalem (Isa 3:16-24). As the end of the present verse indicates, these connotations are here also (cf. also 98:1-3, of men adorning themselves like women). This is especially evident in his reference to the use of eye paint, which biblical authors mention only in connection with women of ill repute (see below). Although eye paints appear to have been first used as protection against eye diseases, they came to be widely used for cosmetic purposes.²⁷

The connection between v 1a and 1b is indicated by the reference to the mining, smelting, and use of metals, here gold and silver rather than iron.²⁸ Mention of the precious metals indicates that the author has well-to-do women in mind.²⁹

19 Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 403; Molenberg, "Study," 143.

20 On the weapons of this period, see Yadin, *War*, 114–40. See also John W. Wevers, "Weapons and Instruments of War," *IDB*, 4:820–25.

21 On the mining and working of iron, see Forbes, *Studies*, 9:175–290.

22 See Yadin, *War*, 133–34.

23 *Ibid.*, 117.

24 W. Stuart McCullough, "Breastplate," *IDB* 1:465.

25 On כלי see the listings in *BDB*, 479; see also Wevers, "Weapons," 825.

26 For a detailed discussion of this passage, see Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (2 vols.; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979–83) 1:340–41.

27 See Forbes, *Studies*, 3:17–21, 39–41.

28 On the mining and working of gold and silver, see Forbes, *Studies*, 8:150–259.

29 For some examples of the ornaments used in the Hellenistic period, see R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewelry* (London: Methuen and Co., 1961) 154–77 and plates 24–31; and Barbara Deppert-Lip-pitz, *Ancient Gold Jewelry at the Dallas Museum of Art* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1996) 58–105. For a discussion of the range of jewelry, albeit from a earlier Israelite period, see Elizabeth E. Platt, "Jewelry, Ancient Israelite," *ABD* 3:823–34.

The theme of mining and metallurgy continues in the reference to eye paint. Two Aramaic words for this cosmetic have been preserved in 4QEn^b 1 1:28: כחלל (στίβεις ^a, στίλβ<ί>ω ^b) and כחלל (καλλιβλέφαρον ^a, καλλωπίζω ^b). Archeological evidence indicates that at various times and places in Mediterranean antiquity, eye paint was made by grinding a variety of minerals: malachite (a green ore of copper), chrysocolla (a blue-green ore of copper), galena (gray-black lead sulfide), and stibnite (a black sulfide of antimony).³⁰ Which of these substances is designated by each of the aforementioned Aramaic words is less than certain. The noun כחלל derives from a common Semitic root.³¹ This appears in verbal form in Ezek 23:40 and in 2 Kgs 9:30 and Jer 4:30, where it translates שם (στίβεις LXX) and קרע (χρίω LXX), respectively. It occurs in verbal and nominal form in a number of places in the Talmudim.³² The noun כחלל occurs in 2 Kgs 9:30, Isa 54:11, and Jer 4:30, where it uniformly translates Heb. פֶּיךְ ("antimony"). See comm. on 18:6-9a. In the present text the Greek translator has identified כחלל as stibnite, the antimony ore, and has translated כחלל with the general term "eye paint."

Precious stones are yet another reference to ornaments fabricated from materials that are mined from the earth.³³ Notably missing in this passage is any reference to the allegedly magical qualities of precious stones, an idea mentioned in *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 8:14, which alludes to this passage (see below). The dyes used to color fine clothing are the only item on this list that might be made from organic matter.³⁴

The text of v 1c is problematic (see n. f). The text as printed is attested by ^b and divides into two parts. The first clause summarizes v 1a and b: the sons of men made weapons for themselves and jewelry, ornaments,

and cosmetics for their daughters. According to the second clause, these women then led the holy watchers astray. That is, the sin of Shemihazah and his companions, described in chaps. 6-7, was caused ultimately by the instruction of Asael. This idea implies two other ideas not present in chaps. 6-7. First, the original angelic sinner and primary author of the evil under consideration was not Shemihazah but Asael. Second, the angels were seduced by the women.

Several pieces of external evidence indicate that this reading is ancient and is not an accidental variant of the reading in ^a ^c.

The first external testimony is in 86:1-4, in the Animal Vision. First, a single star (watcher) descends. Then many descend and mate with the cows (the women). The single star is Asael, and the many are the larger group of watchers, with no particular notice taken of Shemihazah. See comm. on 86:1.

The second text is *Jub.* 4:15. Here the watchers descend (they are sent, according to 5:6) in order to instruct humanity and to act righteously. This mission precedes the account of the watchers' sin (5:1-3), which would then have taken place only after the watchers had descended. Contrast 1 Enoch 6:1-7:1.

The third text is ^c ^{Jon} Gen 6:2: the daughters of men "were beautiful with their eyes painted and their hair combed and walking in nakedness of flesh" (שפירן דנון) (וכחלן ופקסן ומחלן בגילוי בשרא). Thus the sin of the nobles, as they are identified in this text, is caused by the seductive conduct of the women, here described in imagery reminiscent of 1 Enoch 8:1 (eye paint and, instead of fine garments, nakedness).

The tradition preserved in this Targum appears to be reflected in *Testament of Reuben* 5, a text of uncertain date and provenance. The patriarch warns against the

30 See A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries* (3d ed.; repr. London: Arnold, 1959) 99-104; Forbes, *Studies*, 3:17-20, 39-41; John A. Thompson, "Eye Paint," *IDB* 2:202-3. Recent explorations have uncovered a kohl mine not far from Paneas and thus in the region where the Enochic stories are set. See Shimon Dar, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Biblical Archeology Reports, International Series 589; Oxford: Hadrian, 1993) 145-49.

31 Bruno Meissner, "Das Antimongebirge," *OLZ* 17 (1914) 53. The Eth. form *takwehlot* occurs in the

present text.

32 See the passages cited in Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (2d ed.; 4 vols.; Berlin: Harz, 1924) 2:314.

33 On ancient gem mining see Forbes, *Studies*, 7:232-46.

34 On dyes and dyeing see *ibid.*, 4:98-148.

seductive wives of women, who lead men astray by means of adornment (κόσμησις) and the glance of the eye (βλέμμα). Women should not adorn their heads and faces (κοσμῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν). For thus they allured the watchers before the flood.

The fifth and major text is *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 8:11-15 (for more details see Introduction §6.3.4.1). When humanity sinned, certain angels received permission from God to descend to earth to learn more specifically about human sin in order to convict sinners. They did so, among other ways, “by changing themselves into the nature of men, in order that by living piously and showing that one could so live, they might subject the ungrateful to punishment” (εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἑαυτοὺς μετέβαλον, ἵνα ὁσίως πολιτευσάμενοι καὶ τὸ δυνατὸν τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι δείξαντες τοὺς ἀχαρίστους εὐθύναις ὑποβάλωσιν). Having thus transformed themselves, however, the angels themselves became subject to human lust and had intercourse with women. Then, in order to please their beloved, they taught them about metals and metallurgy, precious stones, magic, astronomy, and the dyeing of garments.³⁵

That this early Christian text knows 1 Enoch 8 is clear. Especially noteworthy is the list of revealed things, which corresponds to the whole of this chapter, including v 3. Equally important is the part of the passage quoted above. The idea that the angels intended to set an example of godly conduct is reminiscent of *Jub.* 4:15, where the angels descend to instruct humanity to act righteously (cf. *Jub.* 5:6).³⁶

A final text occurs in Justin Martyr’s *Second Apology* (2:5) (see Introduction §6.3.2.5). The angels were commissioned to look after humanity. But they had intercourse with women, begat demons, and revealed magic to humans. The combination of the sexual and revelatory sins reflects the present form of 1 Enoch 6–11. The mandate to take care of humanity seems to refer, however, to the motif of positive instruction.

Of these six passages, drawn from a variety of

sources, five attest the idea that the sexual sin of the angels was a *result* of their descent and not its purpose. *Jub.* 4:15, Justin’s *Apology*, and it would seem *Ps.-Clem. Hom.* 8:13 indicate that the descent was for the purpose of instruction. *1^{Jon} Gen* 6:2 and *Testament of Reuben* 5 suggest that the women seduced the angels by means that 1 Enoch 8:2 attributes to angelic instruction.

Taken together, this evidence indicates that the long reading of 1 Enoch 8:1c is not an accidental corruption but reflects very early tradition. Internal evidence corroborates this. Without the reference to the seduction of the watchers, the passage would have to imply a polemic against sexual seduction in general—a concern that is evident nowhere else in these chapters.³⁷

If this analysis of this passage is correct, there were at least three versions of the myth of the descent of the watchers. According to the first, these heavenly beings revolted by descending in order to marry the beautiful daughters of men and beget children. This version dominates chaps. 6–11, as well as 12–16. In the second version, the watcher Asael revolted by descending and teaching human beings forbidden arts. Fragments of this version are present in chaps. 8–10. In the third version, watchers were sent for the purpose of instructing humanity, but they were seduced by the daughters of men. This version is attested in 8:3 and the other texts cited above.

Verse 2 describes the result of the seduction of the holy ones—the earth is made desolate (ἀφανίζω). The term recurs in 10:7, 8 (ἀφανίζω, ἐρημόω) also in connection with Asael’s instruction. Its origin is in *Gen* 6:12, “all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth” (תחת, ἀφανίζω LXX; cf. *Jub.* 5:2-3, 19). For the same expression, cf. *Sir* 49:6. Here the allusion appears to be twofold. The desolation is caused by the wars that humans wage, using the weapons and armor that Asael’s instruction has provided (8:1a). The desolation is wreaked by the murderous activity of the giants who were spawned as a result of the seduction of the watchers.

35 Yet another version of this story appears in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* 23, where the purpose of the descent is to prove that the angels can withstand the temptation of the evil inclination. See the texts gathered by Milik, *Enoch*, 321–33.

36 Cf. also *T. Reu.* 5:6: the watchers change themselves into the shape of men.

37 Cf., however, 1 *Pet* 3:3; 1 *Tim* 2:9; and most explicitly, *Chron. Jer.* 23:7.

■ This verse, omitting Asael, lists eight of the twenty dekadarchs (6:7) and the subject matter of their instruction. The list begins with Shemihazah, the chieftain according to chap. 6, but the order of the names in 6:7 has been changed (1, 11, 9, 4, 8, 2, 15, 16) to fit this author's purpose. The two angels mentioned first taught magical arts. The remaining six taught divination from the signs of cosmic bodies indicated in the first element of their names.

The point of the passage is that various kinds of magical and divinatory practice have their source in an angelic rebellion. Whether one should use terms such as "witchcraft" or "the black arts" is problematic. We cannot know whether this author thought that the magicians and wizards of his own time were in some sense in league with demons or had made a compact with "the devil." This much he does say, however: the magical arts and certain kinds of manticism represent a tradition that is demonic in origin.

The teaching of the magical arts is ascribed to the watchers in 7:1, 9:8, and the present passage. 9:8 refers to potions or incantations that incite hatred. The precise connotations of the words describing the magical arts in 7:1 and 8:3 are uncertain for several reasons. (1) In some cases philological evidence is not available; we cannot be certain of etymologies, and contexts do not provide definition. (2) Where we can trace etymologies in other Semitic languages or Egyptian, it is not certain that the Aramaic usage here preserves these connotations. (3) We cannot be sure that the present author (or others who used a given word) were aware of the specific connotations that distinguished the words one from another. In attempting to interpret these words, we must also distinguish among: the mantic means one used, the purpose for which one used these, and the object on

which one used the means.

Ⲫ^{as} of 7:1-2 says that the watchers began to teach their wives *φαρμακείας* and *ἐπασιδᾶς*. For these two words Milik reconstructs 4QEn^a 1 3:15 and 4QEn^b 1 2:19 to read, respectively: *לחרשן תהא ולכנשפתהא* and *לחרשה ון* (*Enoch*, 157, 168). The Semitic root *ḥṣ* occurs in Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic to denote forms of magic and magicians, but its root meaning is uncertain. In the Targumim it is widely used to translate Heb. *כַּשֵּׁף*, a word whose precise connotations and root meaning are debated.³⁸ The Greek Bible's consistent translation of *כַּשֵּׁף* by *φαρμακ-* and the use of *φαρμακεία* here to translate *חרשה* may indicate the meaning "potions."³⁹ It must be noted, however, that *φαρμακεία* and *φαρμακός* are also used in Hellenistic Greek more generically of "magic" and "magicians."⁴⁰ Moreover, the end of the verse appears to refer to potions or brews.

The second word in 7:1 is also problematic. Milik reads *לכנשפתהא* and translates "spellbinding," perhaps being influenced by Ⲫ^{as} *ἐπασιδᾶς* = "spells" or "incantations." Perhaps one should reconstruct *לכנשפתהא*. This root occurs in 1QapGen 20:19 in a list of would-be healers, and it appears in every case in the lists of magicians in Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:4 (7); 5:7, 11, 15. This frequency in a mainly Aramaic document, where *כַּשֵּׁף* never occurs in the Aramaic section, seems to support the reconstruction *לכנשפתהא* here.⁴¹ Again the meaning is not certain. In the Greek of Daniel, the persons thus designated are almost always called *μάγος*. Three factors support "incantations" here: the Greek translation of the verse, the use of the synonym *חברו* in the parallel in 8:3a, and the frequent use of the root in Akkadian in connection with

38 Some tie it to the verb "to cut," suggesting the shredding of herbs into a brew; others relate it to Akkadian words for sorcery; see Charles, *Daniel*, 27. For the Akkadian usage see CAD 8:291-92, 454-56. See also the Aramaic incantation bowls, where the root *ḥṣ* occurs as a general term for magic much more often than *כַּשֵּׁף*; see Charles D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (SBLDS 17; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975) 166, 169. See also Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987) 270; and idem, *Magic*

Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993) 267. Both volumes cite numerous occurrences of the Aramaic root *ḥṣ* and none of *כַּשֵּׁף*.

39 For this and related meanings for this root, see MM, 664; BAGD, 854.

40 Ernest de Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; New York: Scribner's, 1920) 306; MM, 664; BAGD, 854.

41 Cf. also the corpus of Aramaic incantation bowls, where the root *כַּשֵּׁף* occurs only once in comparison with the more frequent occurrence of the root *ḥṣ*.

the recitation of prayers and incantations.⁴² To what end the incantations mentioned here were used is uncertain. In the Genesis Apocryphon the enchanters attempt to heal Pharaoh; in Daniel they attempt to interpret dreams and the handwriting on the wall.

The 𐤀𐤁 𐤇 of 7:1 go on to mention the cutting of roots and plants. This might refer to grafting and, hence, the mixing of species.⁴³ The context, however, suggests that it is a reference to the preparation of magical portions.

The magical arts described in 7:1 are slightly expanded in 8:3ab and divided between two of the watchers. Shemihazah taught 𐤁𐤁𐤓𐤏 (4QEn^a 1 4:1) or 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤕 (𐤀^a; 𐤀^b corrupt). This Semitic root means “to bind,” and is used of snake charmers and snake charming in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 58:6 [5]; Jer 8:17; Eccl 10:11; cf. Sir 12:13),⁴⁴ where it is regularly translated in the LXX by 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤕. This usages supports the translation “spellbinding” here. Verse 3a goes on to speak of “the cutting of roots” (𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀^a), or “the roots of the plants of the earth” (𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤀^b), paralleling 7:1.

Hermani, whose name may have entered the onomasicon in 6:7 in connection with Mount Hermon, is mentioned here probably through another play on his name, 𐤁𐤓 in the sense of “curse.” If the text is reconstructed as above (see textual n. b), Hermani taught, first of all, “magic for the loosing of spells (or ‘incantations’)”: 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓.

This watcher also taught 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 (4QEn^a 1 4:2), a frequent word of problematic definition, which 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤕 (“incantations”) appears to translate in 𐤀^b. The Heb. and

Aram. 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 and their Akkadian parallel, *har-ti-bi*,⁴⁵ derive from Egyptian *hry-tp*, a word that designates a priest whose functions were either to interpret dreams or to recite certain incantations.⁴⁶ Evidence for both of these functions appears in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX. The noun 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 occurs in three contexts in the Hebrew Bible. Twice in the Joseph story it describes the Egyptian magicians who are summoned to interpret Pharaoh’s dream (Gen 41:8, 24). In both cases the LXX translates it with 𐤀𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 (“interpreters”). In the exodus story 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 denotes the magicians who attempt to explicate Moses’ and Aaron’s miracles (Exod 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14, 15 [7, 18, 19]; 9:11). In 7:11 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 “magicians of Egypt” appears to be a synonym for 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 and 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 (“wise men” and “magicians”). The LXX translates it with 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤕 (“incantors”) in all but one verse, 9:11, which uses 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓. The lists in Daniel 1, 2, 5, with three exceptions (2:27; 5:7, 15) mention the 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 or 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 first. As in Genesis, these persons are summoned to interpret the king’s dream (and in chap. 5, the handwriting on the wall). In almost every case 𐤁^a and 𐤁^b translate this noun with 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤕. This evidence indicates a tendency to identify the 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 and 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 as interpreters of dreams in the Hebrew and Aramaic tradition, and in the Greek tradition to tie their activity to the use of incantations. The translation 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤕 in 1 Enoch 8:3b is consonant with this latter usage. The occurrence of 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 in this Aramaic document is noteworthy because the root, a loan word, appears to fall out of use in later Aramaic documents, with the Targumim uniformly replacing it usually with the root 𐤁𐤓.

(respectively, Isbell, *Incantation Bowls*, 169, 159, s.v.). The two volumes by Naveh and Shaked cited above in n. 38 contain no occurrences of 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓.

42 R. Largetment, “Magie: I. La Magie Suméro-Akkadienne,” *DBSup* 5:715–16; *CAD* 1/2:431–36. Two Aramaic incantation bowls appear to use 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 and 𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 to mean “to place someone under an incantation” and “incantation”; see Isbell, *Incantation Bowls*, 19 (2.3–4), 31–32 (7.6).

43 Suggested to me by John Strugnell in conversation.

44 A. Lefèvre, “Magie: III. La Bible et la Magie,” *DBSup* 5:734.

45 On dream interpretation, see B. H. Stricker, “Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes,” *AcOr* 15 (1937) 6–7; *CAD* 6:116. For incantations see A. Leo Oppenheim (*The Interpretation of Dreams in*

the Ancient Near East [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 46/3; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956] 238), who makes reference to Alan H. Gardiner (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* [London: Oxford University Press, 1947] 1.56) and Stricker (“Trois études,” 6–7, 20), where, however, no such function is mentioned. Whether the Assyrian texts in question mention such a function is not clear.

46 Stricker, “Trois études,” 20; Alan H. Gardiner, “The House of Life,” *JEA* 24 (1938) 164; Hermann Kees, “Der sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 87 (1962) 119–39; J. F. Borgouts, “Magie,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980) 3:1146.

If the present reference is to dream interpretation, this stands in contrast to the dream interpretations that are an important part of the revelations given in 1 Enoch (see Introduction §3.3.1.5). This contrast parallels the situation in Genesis 41 and Daniel 1–6, where Joseph's and Daniel's divinely given interpretations of dreams are contrasted with the activities of the Egyptian and Babylonian חרטמים.

The final word denoting the magical arts is תושן (4QEn^a 1 4:2), which corresponds to σοφίας of ὦ. This word, which does not appear in the lexica of Aramaic and Syriac, is evidently the equivalent of the biblical Hebrew תושיה,⁴⁷ which is thought to connote effective wisdom,⁴⁸ perhaps in this case, wisdom that makes one skilled in the magical arts—hence a summary word for all that precedes.

As texts like Daniel 2 and 4 indicate, at least in some contexts the practice of certain kinds of interpretation and prognostication belonged to the domain of persons who were designated as magicians. The present text seems to reflect a similar situation. After reference to the magical arts (v 3ab), the author attributes to the watchers instruction in forecasting through omens in the heavenly bodies and on the earth (v 3c-h). To judge from the extant textual evidence, the original א was a formulaic list: X-el taught [אֵלֵךְ] the signs [נִחְשִׁין] of X. The order of 6:7 is altered to list first, three of the smaller types of heavenly bodies, then the earth, and finally the two larger heavenly bodies.

Divination from omens in heaven and on earth is far too widespread a phenomenon in the Mediterranean

world to allow us to identify the specific historical objects of this author's polemic.⁴⁹ While one might think of these as a phenomenon primarily of the Gentile world, there is also abundant evidence of the practice among Jews. The Judean author of the Book of Joel, writing a little over a century before this author,⁵⁰ spoke of "portents (מוֹפְתִין) in the heavens and on the earth" (3:3-4 [2:30-31]). The Qumran Scrolls include, among others, an astrological document of horoscopic quality and a brontology (see below). The Synoptic apocalypses warn against prognostication on the basis of heavenly signs and terrestrial wonders (Mark 13 par.). Since one cannot be certain whom the present author attacks, I will draw examples of divination from a variety of sources for illustrative purposes.

Of the first three items on the list (lightning flashes, stars, shooting stars), the first and third denote occasional and irregular omens, while the second refers to prognostication from the perennial and predictable movements of the stars. That one should prognosticate on the basis of lightning flashes or associated thunderclaps is not surprising in the context of Mediterranean religious beliefs. Zeus and Jupiter were wielders of the thunderbolt, and both Baal and YHWH were associated with the thunderstorm. It would follow that any of these deities might hurl a lightning bolt at a given time to make a point. Such phenomena were interpreted in at least two ways. They were often seen as expressions of the deity's pleasure or displeasure.⁵¹ Perhaps more to the point here, they were understood as omens of future events. According to Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* 2.32-52), the

47 Cf. Isa 28:29; Job 6:13; 11:6; 12:16; 26:3; 30:22; Prov 2:7; 3:21; 8:14; 18:1; Mic 6:9.

48 Marvin H. Pope, *Job* (AB 15; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965) 43, note on 12b. Milik (*Enoch*, 158) translates "skill" here.

49 As one example from Rome, Cicero devotes a whole treatise to the examination of various kinds of divination, *De divinatione*. For treatments of this subject, see, in addition to the works cited in the notes below, *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines: XIVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Strasbourg, 2-6 juillet 1965)* (Travaux du centre d'études supérieures spécialisé d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966); Rudolf Staehlin, *Das Motif der Mantik*

im antiken Drama (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 12/1; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1912); William R. Halliday, *Greek Divination: A Study of Its Methods and Principles* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1967); Friedrich Pfeffer, *Studien zur Mantik in der Philosophie der Antike* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 64; Meisenheim: Hain, 1976).

50 Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) 4-6.

51 Cf., e.g., Homer *Il.* 2.353; 9.237; Aristophanes *Clouds* 579-83; Virgil *Aen.* 1.43, 230; Plautus, *Amph.* 1062-75.

Etruscans in particular had refined such prognostication to a detailed science.⁵² Closer to home, one Qumran document interprets thunder in respective days of the zodiac as portents of evils to come (4Q318 2 2:6-9). Analogies from earlier Babylonian sources suggest that the Etruscans derived some of their methods of speculation, including that about thunder and lightning, from the east.⁵³ Thus the present passage refers to a practice that could have existed at a variety of places in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean.

The practice of astrology strictly speaking—prognostication based on the positions and movements of the fixed stars and planets—was common in Mediterranean antiquity from the fourth century on, and the present reference documents it in the author's milieu.⁵⁴ Knowledge of the Babylonian origins of such speculation is reflected in *Jub.* 12:16-20, which, similar to the present text, attributes such prognostication to evil spirits (cf. *Jub.* 8:3). Noteworthy in this context are 4Q186 and 4Q561, two Jewish documents that tie physiognomy to the zodiacal time of one's birth.⁵⁵

The extraordinary character of shooting stars makes them attractive as omens.⁵⁶ They were thought to portend death (Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* 1.1.3-4) and other, greater disasters (*Sib. Or.* 2:202; 5:155-61; cf. Rev 9:1). They might indicate storms (Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* 1.1.12-13; Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* 2.102) or signify a certain state of affairs (Plutarch *Agis* 11.2-4).

"Signs of the earth" could refer to any number of phenomena or methods of prognostication. In Joel 3:3 (2:30), bloodshed and the fire and smoke of destruction portend the coming of the day of the Lord.⁵⁷ Earthquakes were often seen as omens,⁵⁸ as, no doubt, were floods and other natural disasters. Monstrous and extraordinary births formed a whole other class of omens in Mesopotamian religion, and this tradition continued into the Greco-Roman period in Palestine.⁵⁹ Terrestrial signs might also include peculiar or unusual actions by animals or human beings.⁶⁰ The category might also refer to techniques ranging from the inspection of entrails and livers to the observation of bird flights. Finally, the text might refer to speculation based on land forms.

"Signs of the sun" and "signs of the moon" would include preeminently eclipses, which were the fare of astrologers from the earliest times.⁶¹

The catalog of the demonic curriculum concludes with a summary statement. The watchers were revealing mysteries to their wives and children. It is uncertain whether the substance of this sentence was written to conclude the list as a whole or whether it referred originally to Asael. The term "mysteries" seems appropriate as a description of future events now revealed, and the verb "reveal" occurs in 7:1 of the teaching of "roots" and "plants" and in 9:8 of the whole of the angelic instruc-

52 Cf. also Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 2.137-48; Cicero *De div.* 2.18-21; for a brief summary see Raymond Bloch, *The Etruscans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1958) 146-48.

53 See Jack Lindsay, *The Origins of Astrology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1971) 4-5, 19-20, 84, 113.

54 On the Babylonians see Morris Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York: Putnam's, 1911). For overviews see Franz Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (repr. New York: Dover, 1960); Lindsay, *Origins*.

55 For the systematization of a similar kind of speculation in a Gentile document of the second century c.e., cf. Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* 3, esp. 1, 11-14.

56 Gundel, "Sternschnuppen," PW 2.3.2443-46.

57 Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68.

58 Cicero *De div.* 1.35-36; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 2.200. Cf. Mark 13:8 par. and Matt 27:51-54, where it is one of

several eschatological signs and one that convinces the centurion.

59 On the Mesopotamian materials see Morris Jastrow, *Babylonian-Assyrian Birth-Omens and Their Cultural Significance* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 14/5; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1914); and more briefly, idem, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Handbooks on the History of Religions 2; Boston: Ginn, 1898) 384-97. For the knowledge of this tradition in the Book of Daniel, and possibly 1 Enoch, see Porter, *Metaphors*, 16-29. Cf. also Josephus *J.W.* 6.5.3 §292.

60 Cicero *De div.* 1.46; see at length Jastrow, *Religion*, 397-402.

61 Jastrow, *Religion*, 364-69; Lindsay, *Origins*, index, 478 s.v.

tion. But the expression as a whole occurs only in 9:6: Asael revealed the eternal heavenly mysteries that men were striving to learn, and it is implied in 10:7, which speaks of the watchers (pl.), but refers to the sin of Asael and the resultant desolation of the earth (10:8).

■ **4** The concluding verse of this chapter reiterates 7:6. It must have been inserted when this chapter was added in order to continue the flow of the narrative, which had been interrupted by the digression.

The Intercession of the Four Archangels

- 1 Then^a Michael and Sariel and Raphael and Gabriel^b looked down from the sanctuary^c of heaven upon the earth^d and saw much bloodshed upon the earth. All the earth was filled with the godlessness and violence that had befallen it.^e
- 2 And entering in,^a they said to one another, “The earth, devoid (of inhabitants), raises the voice of their cries to the gates of heaven.^b 3/ And now to <us>, the holy ones of heaven,^a the souls of men make suit,^b saying, ‘Bring in our judgment to the Most High, and our destruction before the glory of the majesty, before the Lord of all lords in majesty.’”^c
- 4 And approaching, they said^a to the Lord of the Ages,^b “You are the God of gods and Lord of lords and King of kings and God of the ages.^c And the throne of your glory (exists) for every generation of the generations that are from eternity.^d And your name (is) holy and great and blessed for all the ages.^e
- 5 For you have made^a all things and have authority over all.^b And all things **ⲙⲓⲛ** manifest and uncovered before you. And you **ⲙⲓⲛ** all things, and there is nothing that can be hidden from you.
- 6 You see^a what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity upon the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven,^b which the sons of men **ⲱⲉⲓⲛ** striving to learn.^c
- 7 And (what) Shemihazah (has done) to whom you gave authority to rule over them who are with him.^a
- 8 They have gone in^a to the daughters of the men of earth, and they have lain with them, and have defiled themselves with the women.^b And they have revealed to them all sins, and have taught them to make hate-producing charms.^c
- 9 And now behold, the daughters of men have born **ⲙⲓⲛⲓⲛ** from them, giants, half-breeds.^a And the blood of men is shed upon the earth,^b And the whole earth is filled with iniquity.^c
- 10 And now behold, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit; and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven;^a and it does not cease^b to come forth from before the iniquities that have come upon the earth.
- 11 You know all things^a before they happen, and you **ⲙⲓⲛ** these things^b and you permit them^c and you do not tell us^d what **ⲱⲉ** ought to do to them with regard to these things.”^e

1a *τότε* Ⓞ^a | “And then” Ⓞ | Ⓞ^a: “and hearing, the four great archangels” (καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ἀρχάγγελοι). This reading is much too long for the lacunae in 4QEn^a 1 4:6. But see v 2, n. a.

b The names and their order are attested by the combined witness of 4QEn^a 1 4:6 and 4QEn^b 1 4:7 (Milik, *Enoch*, 157, 170). 4QEn^a: אדריק מיכאל ושריאל ורפאל; 4QEn^b: מיכאל ושריאל ורפאל וגבריאל.

This order is supported by Ⓞ^{as}, which, however, read *Οὐριήλ* (*Ουηλ* Ⓞ^a) for Sariel. The change doubtless reflects the importance of the angel Uriel in 1 Enoch (cf. 19:1-2; 20:2; 21:5-6; 72:1; 75:3-4; 80:1; 82:7), but may have originated from a confusion of *omicron* and *sigma*, reading *CTPIHA* as *OTPIHA*. The existence of this form of the name is attested in most of the MSS. of Ⓞ: *sureʿel* gm | *sureyāl* qβ.

Similar textual problems attend the reference to this angel in 10:1 (see textual note c); however, in 19:1;

20:2; 21:5, where Uriel was evidently originally meant, all Ⓞ MSS. agree with Ⓞ on “Uriel.” Following the names, Ⓞ^a adds “these” (*οὗτοι*).

c the sanctuary] *τῶν ἁγίων* Ⓞ^{s1,2} | מן קדושי 4QEn^a 1 4:7 (Milik, *Enoch*, 157) | om. Ⓞ^a Ⓞ.

d upon the earth] Ⓞ^{s1,2} | om. Ⓞ^a Ⓞ.

e This sentence is represented in Ⓞ^{s1,2} by “and all godlessness and lawlessness which was done on it” (καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀνομίαν [αν. κ. ας. Ⓞ^{s2}] γενομένην ἐπ’ αὐτῆς), set in the accusative as a second object of “they saw,” parallel to “much bloodshed.” | Ⓞ largely follows Ⓞ^s | Om. Ⓞ^a by hmt. The translation is based on Milik’s reconstruction of 4QEn^a 1 4:7-8 (*Enoch*, 157): וכל (אֵלֵּהּ) אֲחֵמֶלִית רְשָׁעָה וְנִחְמָסָהּ דִּי (מִנְשִׁי) [עֲלֵיהָ] (אֲרַעְשָׁא) אֲחֵמֶלִית (“was sinned”). For the final verb, Milik reads אֲחֵמֶלִית (“was sinned”). For the Aram. מִנְשִׁי with the meaning posited in my translation, cf. Dan 4:21, 25 (24, 28). For γίνομαι ἐπὶ in a similar

sense, see BAGD s.v. 4.c.γ. Cf. 1 Enoch 9:9-10 for the phrase.

- 2a “And” $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ | “entering in” (εἰσελθόντες) $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$. The length of the line in 4QEn^a 1 4:8 easily allows for this and more.
- b The text of vv 2-3a is probably corrupt in both $\text{\textcircled{B}}$ and $\text{\textcircled{C}}$, and no certainty is possible. Because v 3a, attested in 4QEn^a, is also present only in $\text{\textcircled{C}}$, I have translated this version (with one slight emendation) rather than attempting a conflate text on the basis of the very fragmentary evidence of $\text{\textcircled{A}}$. $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ (translated above) reads: *qāla šerāhātihomu ‘erāqā sarhat medr ‘eska ‘anqaša samāy* (= φωνὴν βοῶν αὐτῶν κενὴ ἀναβοῶ ἢ γῆ μέχρι πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) | $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$: φωνὴ βοῶντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι πυλῶν <ν> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (“the voice of them that cry upon the earth to the gates of heaven”) | $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$ omits the entire sentence. For $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ see the very uncertain reconstruction by Milik (*Enoch*, 157–58, 160–61, 4QEn^a 1 4:9-10).
- 3a And - - - - heaven] $\text{\textcircled{C}}$, evidently supported by 4QEn^a 1 4:10 (שמיא לרקין) | Om. $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ by hmt. | Together with the previous sentence, it is missing in $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$. Milik duplicates the phrase and reconstructs: “And they said to the holy ones of heaven, ‘Now to you, the holy ones of heaven . . .’” (ואמרו לרקין שמיא כען לכן אתן קדיש שמיא). Milik’s duplication of the expression is evidently intended to fill in the necessary space and explain the unexpected use of the second person plural. But it is not without its problems. The badly damaged state of the ms. makes reconstruction uncertain. One must posit a double omission by hmt. Milik’s reconstruction introduces a second group of angels (the holy ones), to whom humankind pleads. They are not heard from again, however, and it is the archangels, or a group of them, who approach God with the intercession. Thus it is better to posit a simple corruption from “you” to “us,” common enough in Greek, and to remain uncertain about the precise phrasing in the original Aramaic.
- b the souls - - - suit] $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ $\text{\textcircled{C}}$: ἐντυγχάνουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων | $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$: ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα καὶ αἱ ψ.τ.α. στενάζουσιν ἐντυγχάνοντα ($\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$: ἐντυγχάνουσι στενάζοντα) (“for the spirits and the souls of men groan, making petition [petition, groaning]”). For this double anthropological terminology, cf. 9:10.
- c In the first line of the prayer, for “judgment” (κρίσιν), $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$ reads “petition” (δέησιν) | In the version attached to 8:4, it reads κρίσιν, but $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ reads “memorial” (μνημόσυνον), on which idea cf. 99:3 | The second and third lines are missing in $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ $\text{\textcircled{C}}$. They are attested in $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$ here and $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$ at 8:4. The second line forms good parallelism with the first and may well be original. See comm. on 9:2-5. The third line is repetitive of elements in the second and in v 4 and may be secondary. See also Milik, *Enoch*, 174, note on lines 11–12 | For “the glory of the majesty” (τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγαλοσύνης), $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$

at 8:4 reads “the great glory” (τῆς δόξης τῆς μεγάλης); cf. 1 Enoch 14:20; 102:3.

- 4a And - - said] “And they said” (καὶ εἶπον) $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$ | $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$: “And approaching, the four archangels said” (καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ τέσσαρες ἀρχάγγελοι εἶπον) | This longer reading is supported by 4QEn^b 1 3:13 (Milik, *Enoch*, 171, 174), where parts of the names of Raphael and Michael have been preserved. Milik reconstructs: “And Raphael and Michael, great watchers and holy ones, went in” (ועליון רפאל ומכאֵל וקדישִׁים ועליון רבִּרביא). Milik’s retroversion of ἀρχάγγελοι is questionable, for it is based on an emendation of the $\text{\textcircled{B}}$ and $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ text of 1 Enoch 12:3, which is without evidential basis. See textual note a, ad loc. Also questionable is Milik’s supposition that only two angels were mentioned by name (the fragments of the text provide no evidence one way or the other). Two factors suggest that all four names were mentioned, albeit in an order different from 9:1. First, the divine commissions to all four angels in chap. 10 imply that all four were present. Second, the text of $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$ states that all four approached God. $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$ looks like a paraphrase to avoid repetition of the names.
- b κυρίῳ τῶν αἰώνων] $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ | “Lord” $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$ | “Lord of kings” $\text{\textcircled{C}}$. For this title see later in this verse and cf. 63:2 | The expression “Lord of the ages” is paralleled in 4QEn^b 1 3:14, which Milik (*Enoch*, 171) identifies as the first line of the prayer, now lost in the versions: אלהה דווא מרנא (You are our great Lord; [you] are Lord of eternity”).
- c $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$ (for τῶν αἰώνων, $\text{\textcircled{B}}^2$ reads τῶν ἀντων, “of men,” a corruption) | $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ reverse the first two titles. “King of kings” (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευνόντων, lit. “of those who reign”) is supported by $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ (*negušomu lanegašt*) against “King of the ages” (βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων) of $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ and by 84:2 | $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ and $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ omit the last title, but it is represented in 84:2.
- d וכוורסן יקרן לכל דר דרין מן עלמא 4QEn^b 1 3:15 (Milik, *Enoch*, 171) | Versions abridge this slightly: ὁ θρόνος τῆς δόξης σου εἰς πάσας τὰς γέneas τῶν αἰώνων (τοῦ αἰῶνος $\text{\textcircled{A}}$) (“The throne of your glory [is] for all the generations of the age[s]”). $\text{\textcircled{C}}$: “The throne of your (abx, 2080, 4437) glory (‘his glory’ rel.) is for all the generations of eternity.”
- e $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$ $\text{\textcircled{C}}$: καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μέγα (om. κ.μ. $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$ by hma. | *wasebuh* [“and glorious”] $\text{\textcircled{C}}$) καὶ εὐλογητὸν (εὐλογημένον $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{1,2}$) εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας (“for all the generations of eternity” $\text{\textcircled{B}}^{\text{en}}$). The adjs. “holy” and “great” ($\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$) correspond to the typical Enochic divine title “the Great Holy One” (see comm. on 1:3c-4, n. 3) and are retained here. But the parallels in Tob 3:11; 8:5; Pr Azar 3, 30 cited in the comm. could indicate that “glorious” of $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ is correct rather than “great” of $\text{\textcircled{B}}^1$ and that εὐλογητὸν should be moved to

- 3a **ⲥ**: σὺ γὰρ ἐποίησας (om. “for” **Ⲉ**) | **ⲥ**: οὐ γὰρ εἶ ὁ
ποιήσας (“You are the one who made”).
b and --- all] **ⲥ**: καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων,
waselāna kwellu | **ⲥ**: κ. πᾶσαν τ.ε.ε. (“and have all
authority”).
6a and there ----- see] om. **ⲥ** by hmt.
b You see ----- heaven] **ⲥ**: ὁράς? ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἀσαήλ, ὃς
ἐδίδαξεν πᾶσας τὰς ἀδικίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδήλω-
σεν τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ αἰῶνος τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ | **ⲥ**
reads:
You see what Asael has done, and what he has
introduced, what he has taught—
iniquities and sins upon the earth
and all deceit upon the dry land;
for he taught the mysteries
and revealed to the world the things that are in
heaven.
(ὁράς ὅσα ἐποίησεν Ἀσαήλ καὶ ὅσα εἰσήνεγκεν ὅσα
ἐδίδαξεν ἀδικίας καὶ ἀμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ
πάντα δόλον ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς. ἐδίδαξεν γὰρ τὰ
μυστήρια καὶ ἀπεκάλυψε τῷ αἰῶνι τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) |
The text of 4QEn^a 1 4:19 (Milik, *Enoch*, 158) is much
too brief and uncertain to support a decision between
the readings of these two texts | In the case of the first
line, **ⲥ**^a provides a brief introduction to what follows.
With its three verbs, however, **ⲥ**^s is heavy and repeti-
tious, which is atypical of this prayer. Moreover, by plac-
ing ἐδίδαξεν in the second line, **ⲥ**^a provides good
synonymous parallelism, which is missing in **ⲥ**^s. Also
problematic in **ⲥ**^s is τῷ αἰῶνι, which appears to be a
corruption of τοῦ αἰῶνος of **ⲥ**^a. We might reconcile the
parallelism of **ⲥ**^a and the double nouns and verbs in **ⲥ**^s
by dropping καὶ in the first line, emending the latter
two occurrences of ὅσα to ὅς, and moving ὅς ἐδίδαξεν
to the second line. We would then read:
You see what Asael has done,
who has introduced iniquity and sin upon the earth,
and has taught all deceit upon the dry land;
for he taught the mysteries,
and revealed the eternal things that are in heaven.
c All versions of this line are corrupt. **ⲥ**^s reads: ἃ ἐπι-
τηδεύουσιν ἔγνωσαν ἄνθρωποι (“which men were
pursuing, they knew”) | **Ⲉ** has transposed the verb
corresponding to ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, placing it before “in
heaven” in the previous line, and it reads “he knew” for
“they knew” | **ⲥ**^s reads: ἐπιτηδεύουσιν δὲ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύ-
ματα αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι τὰ μυστήρια οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων (“And the sons of men were practicing his
practices in order to know the mysteries”). Charles
(*Enoch*, 21) follows **ⲥ**^a, emending ἔγνωσαν to γινῶναι
(cf. εἰδέναι **ⲥ**^a) and reads: “which men were striving to
learn.” My translation follows Charles’s emendation,
taking the typical “sons of men” from **ⲥ**^s. For other

readings of the text that begin this sentence with the reference to knowledge in 9:6, see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:86; and Uhlig, *Henoch*, 525. Milik's retroversion has no solid foundation in the very fragmentary text of 4QEn^a 1 4:20 (*Enoch*, 161).

- 7a $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a \text{\textcircled{C}}$ (om. initial “and”): καὶ Σεμιαζᾶς ᾧ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐδωκας ἄρχειν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων). Thus Shemihazah and his deeds are the second object of the verb “you see” | $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a$ has a full independent clause, “To Shemihazah . . .” (τῷ Σεμιαζᾷ) and reads ἔχειν (“to have”) for ἄρχειν (“to rule”).
- 8a Reading <εἰς>επορεύθησαν for ἐπορεύθησαν of $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a \text{\textcircled{C}}$, following 7:1.
- b And they ----- women] $\text{\textcircled{S}}^b$: καὶ συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμιάνησαν | om. “with the women” $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a$ | om. “and” before “with the women” $\text{\textcircled{C}}$. According to Charles (*Enoch*, 21), $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ reflects the original Gk. μετ’ αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν, which literally rendered Aram. ܡܬ ܐܘܬܘܢ ܡܬܐ ܬܘܢ ܬܠܝܬܐ, with its anticipatory pronoun. $\text{\textcircled{S}}^b$ misunderstood the idiom and inserted a καί, attaching “with the women” to the second verb. $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a$ omitted the phrase.
- c And have taught ----- charms] om. $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a \text{\textcircled{C}}$. Structurally the line is similar to the longer readings of $\text{\textcircled{S}}^b$ in v 6, making a very long line with internal parallelism. Different from those readings, however, it adds something substantial and specific not included in the previous hemistich. It may very well be original. Martin (*Hénoch*, 21) suggests emending μισητρα (“hate-producing charms”) to μισητίαν (“and taught them to practice lewdness”).
- 9a $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a$ | “and the women bore giants” $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a \text{\textcircled{C}}$. “And now” could be secondary, drawn from 9:10, where it would be stronger, were it not here. “Daughters of men,” drawn from v 8, is idiomatic and is typical of the repetition from section to section in this story. “From them” is reminiscent of ܡܢܗܡ in the parallel passage, 7:2 A. It may also be attested in $\text{\textcircled{S}}^b \text{\textcircled{C}}$ by ὑψ’ ὧν and baza, which presently go with the third line. “Sons, giants” recurs in 15:3. In the present state of the text, “half-breeds” belongs to the next line. See next note.
- b This line is attested only in $\text{\textcircled{S}}^b$, where it is obviously corrupt: κίβδηλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκέχυται (“Half-breeds have been poured out upon the earth of men”). As subject of ἐκκέχυται, we expect “blood,” which noun may be drawn from the next line ($\text{\textcircled{S}}^a \text{\textcircled{C}}$), where it is probably out of place. See next note. As emended, this line corresponds to 9:1b, as the next line corresponds to 9:1c.
- c Translation follows $\text{\textcircled{S}}^b$. For “iniquity,” $\text{\textcircled{S}}^a \text{\textcircled{C}}$ read “blood and iniquity.” Mention of blood here does not properly correspond to 9:1c; for blood is mentioned in 9:1b, which corresponds to the previous line. The word evidently dropped out of the previous line and was

restored in the wrong place (with the necessary change of case and added conjunction). For the initial “and” 𐤀 read “by whom” (𐤅𐤖 𐤁𐤏, *baza*), quite possibly the misplaced counterpart of 𐤀𐤃 𐤁𐤏𐤗𐤍 in the first line. See n. a.

- 10a 𐤀𐤃: καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀνθρώπων ἐντυγχάνουσι, καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν | 𐤀𐤃 𐤀: “And now, behold, the souls of the dead cry and make petition to the gates of heaven, and their cry goes up” (καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ βοῶσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσι μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν). The better parallelism of 𐤀𐤃 recommends it as the better text, as does a comparison with 8:4 and 9:2, where the cry ascends to (the gates of) heaven. “Spirits of” may be secondary in 𐤀𐤃 (cf. 9:3), but cf. 22:5.

- b And - - - cease] 𐤀𐤃𐤀 𐤀: καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελθεῖν (“and it is not able to come forth”). I conjecture an Aramaic corruption here from 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃 (translation) to 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃 (versions).
- 11a πάντα (𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤃) 𐤀𐤃 𐤀 | “them” (αὐτά) 𐤀𐤃.
- b αὐτά 𐤀𐤃 𐤀 | “them” (αὐτοὺς, masc. pl.) 𐤀𐤃, referring to the actors rather than their deeds.
- c and - - - them] καὶ ἐῤ𐤃 αὐτοὺς 𐤀𐤃𐤀 | 𐤀: “and the things pertaining to them” (*wazaziʾahomu* = καὶ ἅ εἰς αὐτούς), a corruption of 𐤀𐤃.
- d om. “us” 𐤀𐤃.
- e τούτων 𐤀𐤃 | “this” (τούτου) 𐤀𐤃 | 𐤀 is ambiguous.

■ 1-11 As interpretation of the biblical text, this chapter effects a transition from the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gen 6:1-4) to the story of the flood (Gen 6:5–9:28). As in 1 Enoch 6 and 7, the section begins with a paraphrase of Genesis (1 Enoch 9:1 || Gen 6:11-12; cf. also the J version at Gen 6:5), in which the four archangels function as God’s eyes on the world. The tendentious interpretation of Genesis 6, begun in 1 Enoch 6–7, is again evident. The wickedness and violence that God sees are here identified with the violent and bloody deeds of the giants (7:3-5). As in chap. 7, the author departs from Genesis 6 in specifying the whole human race as the victims, rather than the perpetrators, of this violence (9:1-3, 9-10). In keeping with this, v 3 explicates the twice-mentioned cry of humanity (7:6; 8:4) as a cry for judgment or vengeance.

Within the logic of the story, as narrated in 1 Enoch, the archangels serve not only as God’s eyes on the world, but also as intercessors for the human race. The angels’ prayer is an extension and explication of the cry of humanity. In order to understand the unique contours and emphases of this prayer, we must compare it with other Jewish prayers contemporary with it.

Excursus: Jewish Prayers of Petition

Prayers of petition in Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period reflect a common form (see chart, p. 206), although their literary rather than liturgical character permits a certain freedom in the placement of motifs and formal elements.

The prayers here cataloged divide into two major parts. The first (A+B) explicates the grounds for the prayer. God, who is great and mighty and is to be blessed because of that, is creator and sovereign over the whole creation. He has knowledge of all things, including (in some prayers) the present circumstances. God’s works include not only creation but also saving activity in circumstances similar to the present. The second part (C+D) is based on the first. The petitioner calls God’s attention to the present situation and asks that he act in keeping with his nature and his past record.

When it is compared with these prayers, the prayer in 1 Enoch 9:4-11 is remarkable in several respects. The address (A) is an overloaded doxology with an unparalleled list of titles and predication. The sovereignty of God, which is implied in the author’s use of titles, is explicated in the description of God’s creative power, sovereignty, and knowledge (B), where the adjective “all” is consistently repeated. This knowledge, which is here described as “seeing,” following the cue of Gen 6:5, 11-12, is particularized in terms of the present situation (vv 6-8), but in unparalleled detail. In effect, what is normally a part of section C has here been drawn back into B in order to stress that God is aware of what is happening. The term “And now, behold,” the normal introductory formula to the petition section (C), is used twice. The calamity to which the angels address themselves is less the sin of the rebel angels than the violence of the giants, which is its result. More important, and of great

Form of Jewish Prayers of Petition

	Esther		3 Maccabees		Susanna	1QapGen	Tobit	Judith	1 Enoch
	13	14	2	6		20	3	9	9
A. Address									
Blessing . . .						12	11		4c
Titles	9	3, 12	2	2	42	12, 13, 15-16		2[12]	4ab
B. Description of God's works, power									
Creation	10		9					[12]	5a α
Sovereignty	9, 11		2, 3	2, 12		13			5a β
									11
Knowledge	12	15-16			42-43		[14]	5-6	5bc+11 (6-8)
Historical acts			4-8, 9-10	4-8				[2-4]	
C. Petition						13-15			
"And now, (behold . . .)"	15	6, 8	13	9	43	13	12	7	9a, 10a
Present situation		6-7	13-15		43	14		7	6-10
Petition proper	15-16	11-14	17-20	9-10		14-15	13, 15	8-10	
D. Closing exhortation									
"Hear!"	17	19						12	
Petition repeated	17	19			12			13	
"That they may know, praise . . ."	17		20		15	15		14	

significance, the cry of beleaguered humanity is also assumed into the present situation. Although the angels function as God's eyes upon the earth and as the mediators of human prayers, the assumption here is that God is already aware of what has happened on earth and has heard the cry for vengeance. Thus the angels are less mediators than they are intercessors, calling God's attention to what he already knows and has heard—including the prayer of humanity. Finally, and of greatest significance, the prayer ends without a petition. The angels repeat twice the motif of God's universal knowledge and make the bold assertion that he has failed to act on it. Thus the prayer is not really a petition (C+D) that God act as one's predications of him would lead one to expect; it is, in effect, an indictment that God has failed so to act and has not answered the cry that a beleaguered humanity has raised to him. It is perhaps not by accident that a similar claim is made in Job 24 (esp. v 13) or in psalms of individual lament (cf. Ps 22:2). The only prayer of those listed above that parallels the form of 1 Enoch 9:4-11 (i.e., with no petition) is Sus 42-43, which follows Susanna's initial cry (v 35) and subsequent con-

demnation (vv 36-41). Here too there is no petition, only her complaint that God is not acting in keeping with his knowledge of her situation.

In 1 Enoch 84 a version of the present prayer is placed in the mouth of Enoch and is revised (including the addition of a petition) to fit the seer's situation. ■ 1 An expansive paraphrase of Gen 6:11 begins this section. This first reference to the flood story (Gen 6:5–9:28) provides a link to Gen 6:1-4 by identifying the deeds of the giants as the violence that brought on the flood. Different from Gen 6:11 (and 6:5), here it is the four archangels who see the violence on earth. The expression "looked down from the sanctuary of heaven and saw" (מִן קִדְשֵׁי שְׁמִיָּה . . . וַחֲזוּ, 4QEn^a 1 4:6-7; Milik, *Enoch*, 157), reflects a stereotyped formula of prayer (cf. Deut 26:15; Isa 63:15; 1 Bar 2:16) and thus attributes to the four angels what common piety requested of God. The verb דָּוָק here suggests looking out or looking down. Cf. ⲉ^{Neof} Gen 26:8, and for the Gk. verb παρακύπτω, which occurs there and in 1 Enoch 9:1; cf. also *Jos. As.* 7:2. For heaven as a sanctuary, cf. 1 Enoch 12:4; 15:3. See comm. on 14:8–16:4. The

angels' function as "the eyes of God" is an integral part of their role as mediators and intercessors or advocates for humankind. See Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents. In this chapter, the angels' activity comprises three stages, if my textual judgments are correct. They witness the violence on earth (v 1). They enter into heaven and converse with one another about what they have seen (vv 2-3). They approach God and make intercession (vv 4-11). In chap. 10 they subsequently are the agents of God's judgment—to save Noah and to destroy Asael, the giants, and Shemihazah.

Excursus: The Four—or Seven—Archangels in Jewish and Early Christian Literature

A complement of four, and later seven, named archangels (here "holy ones") appears first in 1 Enoch 9-10 and then becomes something of a staple in Jewish and Christian literature.¹ Their existence and the number four were doubtless inferred from the four living creatures (חיות) in the throne vision of Ezekiel 1-2, and they are implicit in Zechariah 1. The later literature makes an association with Ezekiel 1-2 explicit. In the action of 1 Enoch 9-10, however, the four are not placed at the throne. They go forth from heaven, view the world, approach the divine throne with their petition in behalf of humanity, and are then dispatched to the world to act in God's behalf. Whether the unnamed and unnumbered "holy ones" in the throne vision in 1 Enoch 14-16 are the same as these is uncertain. But the throne vision in the Book of Parables explicitly identifies the four figures on the four sides of God as Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel, the last of these replacing Sariel in chaps. 9-10.

The throne vision in Daniel 7 does not single out a special group of four from the multitude of holy ones, but describes the enthronement of a single high angelic figure after the destruction of the four beasts (חיות) who arise from the sea. Two of 1 Enoch's holy ones do appear in Daniel, however. Gabriel, called "the man" (הַאִישׁ) in 9:21, appears to Daniel twice in order to transmit revelation (8:15-26; 9:20-27); and Michael, "the great prince" (הַשָּׂר הַגָּדוֹל), is featured in chaps. 10-12, along with an unidentified angelic

figure who recounts the historical review in these chapters.

The four angels are mentioned in the Qumran War Scroll, remarkably with the same names as here, in the order Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael (1QM 9:15-16). Their association with the eschatological war is compatible with the activity of Raphael, Gabriel, and Michael in 1 Enoch 10.

In 1 Enoch 20-36 + 81 the number four is expanded to seven (adding Uriel, Reuel, and Remiel to Michael, Sariel, Raphael, and Gabriel) in order to provide a complement of angels who are associated with the places of Enoch's cosmic tour, rather than God's throne. The enumeration, four plus three, recurs in the Animal Vision (see comm. on 87:2-40). An association of seven holy ones with God's throne recurs in the contemporary Book of Tobit, where Raphael is identified as one of this group (Tob 3:16-17; 12:11-15). See Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents.

A tradition that appears several times in rabbinic literature explicitly identifies Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael as the four "angels" surrounding God's throne (*Num. Rab.* 2:10; *Pesiq. R.* 44; *Pirqe R. El.* 4). Here and in *Apoc. Mos.* 40:1 Uriel replaces Sariel. The complement of four high angels in the divine throne room is also described in the judgment scene of the long recension of the *Testament of Abraham* (chaps. 12-14). The two unnamed angelic scribes write human sins and righteous deeds, while Purouel tests deeds with fire, and Dokiel presides over the scale. Michael, who might be identified as the advocate of the righteous, is the *archistratēgos*, who accompanies Abraham through the cosmos.²

The NT Book of Revelation employs the traditions of both four and seven, describing both "the seven spirits who are before his throne" (1:4; 4:5) and the four living creatures that stand on the four sides of the throne (4:6-8). As in the *Testament of Abraham*, Michael is mentioned separately and by name in 12:7-8, where he is the opponent of Satan. See Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents. The gnostic cosmogony of the *Apocryphon of John* also features four powers or lights close to the highest deity.³

1 See briefly Yadin, *War*, 237-40.

2 On the judgment scene and the complexity of the traditions employed in it, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Eschatology in the Testament of Abraham: A Study of the Judgment Scenes in the Two Recensions," in idem, ed., *Studies on the Testament of Abra-*

ham (SBLSCS 6; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976) 29-47.

3 For the relevant texts see the synopsis in Michael Waldstein and Frederik Wisse, eds., *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II, 1; III, 1; and IV, 1 with BG 8502,2* (NHMS 33; Leiden: Brill,

By a series of additions and variations, the author intensifies the description of violence in Gen 6:11 and creates a scene of total, unmitigated disaster. In keeping with 1 Enoch 7:4-5, he interprets the violence of Gen 6:11 as bloodshed. Cf. also 1 Enoch 9:9. Moreover, to the word “violence” (Gen 6:11, חַמַּס, doubtless = חַמַּס, 4QEn^a 1 4:8; Milik, *Enoch*, 157 [most likely = ἀνομία, ἄμαδᾶ ἔ]) he adds “godlessness” (ἀσέβεια, ἄ ἔ uncertain]), perhaps conflating Gen 6:5. His qualification of “the earth” as “all the earth” may derive from Gen 6:12 (“all flesh”) and is in keeping with the transformation by which he makes the human race the victims rather than the perpetrators of the violence.

■ 2-3 Both of these verses pertain to the cry of humanity (7:6; 8:4), and their juxtaposition with v 1 and its reference to blood and violence parallel the juxtaposition of 7:5 and 6. The witnesses to the text of v 2 do not agree sufficiently to present a relatively certain text. See textual note b. The text of ἔ, which is translated above, uses language that appears in 67:2 and 84:5 with reference to the earth after the flood, “devoid of inhabitants,” thus strengthening the portrait of devastation presented in v 1.⁴ For “the gates of heaven,” cf. v 10, 4QEn^c 1 6:4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 193), a long text of 1 Enoch 13:8 (see comm. ad loc.), related to *T. Levi* 5:1, where the expression occurs.

On the legal language of v 3a, see comm. on 7:6. The original anthropological terminology in this verse is obscured in textual corruption (see n. b). But “souls” is certain. The idea of the pleading of the (“spirits of) the souls of men” may have been deduced from Gen 4:10 through an exegetical connection with Gen 9:4, according to which the blood is the נַפְשׁ (= ψυχή, “life,” “soul”). Cf. 1 Enoch 22:5-7, where the spirit (רוּחַ) of Abel pleads to heaven for vengeance.

In v 3bcd the prayers of humanity are briefly verbalized. Although the tristichal structure of the angelic prayer that follows (see comm. on v 4) may support the originality of v 3d, comparison with v 3c and v 4b sug-

gests that it is secondary (see textual note c). The prayer here described is addressed specifically to the angels. For the idea cf. 99:3. The prayer is twofold and in logically reversed order. The angels are to ask God to vindicate the dead or to avenge them. Cf. Dan 7:22 and its interpretation in 1 Enoch 47:2 and 97:5b, as well as the passages cited in comm. on 7:6. The second line of the prayer asks that the angels call God’s attention to the destruction of humanity, the reason for the request for judgment.

“Most High” (ὑψιστος) is the first of a number of divine appellatives in this context that stress the supremacy of God. In the Hellenistic period, the title is especially popular as a designation for the God of Israel.⁵ In 1 Enoch it occurs also in 10:1; 46:7; 60:1, 22; 62:7; 77:1; 94:8; 97:2; 98:7; 99:3 (“the Most High God,” τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ); 99:10; 100:4; 101:1, 6. In the present section and in all of its occurrences in chaps. 92–101, except perhaps 99:10, God’s activity as judge is in focus. For “before the glory of the majesty” (ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγαλωσύνης), we should perhaps read “before the glory of the Great One” (ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου), a corruption that could go back to the Aramaic (רַבּוּהַא from רַבּא).⁶ Cf. the parallelism of “the Most High” and “the Great Holy One” in 10:1. Cf. also 1 Enoch 104:1 and Tob 3:16; 12:15, where the suggested phrase occurs in the context of the heavenly intercession of the angels.

Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents: Developments in Early Jewish and Early Christian Literature

In almost all the strata of 1 Enoch, angels play a crucial role as intercessors for humanity (Introduction §4.2.2.2). Essential in all cases is a judgment context and a concern that the righteous get their due (which is often not the case at the present time). The angelic role of intercessor and its context can be traced back into the Hebrew Scriptures, and it continues to be important in early Christian theology.

1995) 48–53. On Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel in Christian literature, see J. Michl, “Engel VI, Engel VII, Engel VIII, Engel IX,” *RAC* 5:240–58.

4 Charles (*Enoch*, 20) cites these parallels, but does not note the different contexts.

5 Georg Bertram, “ὑψιστος,” *TDNT* 8 (1972) 614–20, esp. 617–19.

6 Cf., however, 4Q529 6–12 and the repeated use of the title “the Majesty, the Lord of eternity (or ‘the world’)” (רַבּוּ מְרָא עֲלָמָא).

The heavenly intercessor is of some prominence in the Book of Job, where it is envisioned as a legal protagonist in Job's dispute with God.⁷ As such the figure is described variously as an "umpire" or arbiter (מורכח, 9:33; cf. 16:21), a "witness" (עד, 16:19), a "mediator" (מליץ, 16:20; 33:23), and a "vindicator" or "redeemer" (נאל, 19:25-27). The concept goes back to the ancient belief that each individual had a personal god who acted in one's behalf in the divine council. In Job that heavenly being is identified variously as one of the "holy ones" (קדשים, 5:1) or as an "angel" (מלאך), "one of a thousand."⁸ In the present form of the book, with its prose introduction, the angelic figure can be only construed as a heavenly opponent to the accuser (*haśśāṭān*).

In Zech 1:12-17, in the place of a multiplicity of such intercessors, the prophet describes "the angel of YHWH" (מלאך יהוה) as the singular intercessor for the nation of Israel, who raises the question, "How long?" not to plead the nation's innocence, but to argue the sufficiency of God's punishment.⁹ In 3:1-5 the opposition of accuser and advocate, suggested above for Job, is explicit in the confrontation between the angel of the Lord and *haśśāṭān* over the innocence of Joshua the high priest.

The closest parallel to the Enochic texts occurs in Tob 3:16-17 and 12:12-15. As in Job, at stake is the innocence of the suffering righteous—Tobit and Sarah. Raphael is one of seven holy angels, who present a "reminder" of the prayers of the "holy ones" in the presence of the glory of the Great One and Holy One. As such an intercessor and as the divinely sent healer who will adjudicate the situation, Raphael corresponds to the angelic intercessors and agents of judgment described in 1 Enoch 9-10. Especially noteworthy in the latter respect is the opposition between Raphael and the demon, Asmodeus, which corre-

sponds to the opposition between Raphael and Asael in 1 Enoch 10 (see comm. on 10:4-8). Moreover, the language describing the angels' functions closely parallels Enochic idiom here and in the Epistle (see comm. above and at 104:1).

In the story of the sacrifice of Isaac in *Jub.* 17:15-18:16, the biblical account is framed by a Joblike prologue in which the angels of the presence praise Abraham's righteousness, while the chief of demons, the prince of Mastemah, accuses him. A similar confrontation occurs in *Jub.* 48:1-4, the account of the attempt on Moses' life. To some degree intercession is replaced by judicial confrontation, but the question of innocence and guilt remains focal.

In Dan 12:1-3 and parallel traditions about the eschatological judgment (*Testament of Moses* 10; *Jubilees* 23; *Testament of Judah* 20), Israel's angelic advocate is juxtaposed with the demonic opponent of Israel.¹⁰ Here the satanic figure is less an accuser than an archdemon and anti-God figure, but the role of Israel's advocate is related to the nation's status as God's people. In *Testament of Moses* 10 the intercessory function is colored by the language of high priestly ordination: the angel's "hands are filled."¹¹ *Testament of Levi* 3:5 attributes to certain angels the priestly function of propitiating for the sins of ignorance committed by the righteous. In 5:6 an unnamed angel who intercedes (παραιτέομαι) for Israel is opposed to the evil spirits that would smite the nation.¹²

For the author of 3 *Baruch*, Michael receives both the prayers of the righteous and their merits (chaps. 11-12). Here, as elsewhere, the mediating of prayer is tied to the upright status of those who pray.

Qumranic angelology reflects complex developments in the concept of angelic opposition.¹³ Michael, the prince of light, and Beliar, the angel of

7 See Sigmund Mowinkel, "Hiobs go'el und Zeuge im Himmel," in Karl Budde, ed., *Vom Alten Testament: Karl Marti zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* (BZAW 41; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1925) 207-12; Nils Johansson, *Parakletoi: Vorstellungen von Fürsprecher für die Menschen vor Gott in der alttestamenten Religion, in Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (Lund: Gleerup, 1940) 22-34; Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995) 154-55; and Pope, *Job*, 41-42, 74-75, 118, 134-35, 219.

8 The reference in Job 5:1 may be a polemic against such an idea; see Pope, *Job*, 41-42.

9 Johansson, *Parakletoi*, 34-40. Cf. Daniel 9 for an interesting parallel, in which Daniel asks "How long?" also with reference to the seventy years, and

Gabriel appears to interpret the prophecy.

10 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, chaps. 1, 4, 5.

11 Ibid., 29 n. 94.

12 *T. Levi* 5:5-7 appears to be a slightly Christianized form of a Jewish text. The angel is identified as the intercessor for Israel (v 6) and for Israel and all the righteous (v 7).

13 Cross, *Ancient Library*, 210-15; Yadin, *War*, 229-42; Otto Betz, *Der Paraklet* (AGSU 2; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 36-116; Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968); Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 144-69; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 3-83.

darkness, are explicitly the heads of angelic armies. Moreover, aspects of the functions of intercessor or advocate and accuser have developed. Beliar, who retains certain accusatorial functions in *Jubilees*, is exclusively the archdemon in charge of leading people astray. Michael, on the other hand, is less an advocate than the angelic guide who leads the righteous in the path(s) of righteousness. An aspect of the intercessory function may perhaps be seen in the identification of Michael with the priest Melchizedek.¹⁴

The complexity of the developments in Jewish angelology is reflected in the NT. The idea of a multiplicity of heavenly patrons, who are interceding angels of the presence, is retained in Matt 18:10, which in context is a warning against causing the little ones to sin (σκανδαλίζομαι, πλανᾶω).

— The Book of Revelation is eclectic in its use of Jewish angelologies. On the one hand, in Revelation 1–5 the seven “spirits” before the divine throne (1:4; 3:1; 4:5; 5:6) correspond to the seven interceding angels in Tobit, while the four living creatures (4:6–8) are drawn from Ezekiel 1–2 (and Isaiah 6), the source of the tradition about the four archangels. On the other hand, Rev 8:2–4 mentions the seven “angels” before God’s throne and, in addition, an unnamed angel who appears to be relaying the prayers of *all* the human holy ones. The tradition of the confrontation of Michael and Satan appears in 12:7–12. Here each is the commander of a heavenly army, and the military confrontation retains the character of judgment, for Satan is still identified as accuser. The old structure of *Jubilees* is still evident; the archdemon leads astray in order to accuse. In the larger context of Revelation, the mythic confrontation between Michael and Satan (Revelation 12, as in Daniel 12) is combined with the vision of Daniel 7 about the demonic beast and with the myth in 1 Enoch 10 about the temporary imprisonment and ultimate destruction of the chief demon (Rev 12:12–17; 13; 20:1–3, 7–10).

The Johannine Paraclete and the Holy Spirit in the Pauline epistles represent yet another Christian development of Jewish angelology, not least in its Qum-

ranic forms.¹⁵ In the Fourth Gospel “the Holy Spirit,” “the Helper” (παράκλητος), “the Spirit of Truth,” is the opponent of the world and of the demonic ruler of the world (see esp. 16:11), the protagonist of Jesus (15:26; 16:9–10, 14), and the heaven-sent guide of the children of God (14:26; 16:13). This Johannine conception reflects the Jewish idea of a single heavenly protagonist and especially the terminology of Qumran and *Testament of Judah* 20. It diverges from Jewish ideas in the specific linking of the Paraclete with the person of Jesus.

Less generally recognized are the relationships between the Pauline understanding of the Spirit and both the Johannine Paraclete and its prototypes in Judaism.¹⁶ For Paul (see esp. Gal 4:4–6; 5:16–6:10; and Romans 7–8), as for John, the Spirit is closely associated with the risen Christ and is in one sense his indwelling alter ego. The Spirit, who dwells in the Christian and guides one in the way of righteousness, stands in opposition to the functional equivalents of Satan: sin and its locus, the flesh.¹⁷ The Spirit is the Christian’s protagonist before God and intercessor (Rom 8:14–17, 26–27). In this intercessory function, however, the Spirit is paralleled by the exalted Christ (v 34).

The Epistle to the Hebrews represents, in a way, the ultimate Christianizing of the Jewish traditions under discussion. Minimizing the importance of angels (1:1–2:9) and comparing Jesus and Melchizedek (chap. 7), this author stresses Jesus’ role as heavenly high priest and intercessor, stressing how Jesus’ high priesthood is marked by characteristics essentially related to his humanity (2:14–18; 4:14–5:9). However one explains these data, it seems clear that the author is interacting with Jewish ideas about heavenly priests and intercessors and quite likely the transcendental Melchizedek, applying to the exalted Christ functions and characteristics that originally applied to angels.¹⁸ Different from John and Paul, here the Holy Spirit plays no such role in Hebrews.

14 See the texts discussed in *ibid.*, 71–74.

15 On the Paraclete see Sigmund Mowinckel, “Die Vorstellungen des Spätjudentums vom heiligen Geist als Fürsprecher und der johanneische Paraklet,” ZNW 32 (1933) 97–130; Johansson, *Parakletoi*, 256–67; and, in light of the Qumran literature, Cross, *Ancient Library*, 211–15; Betz, *Paraklet*, 116–214; and Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (xiii–xxi)* (AB 29a; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970) 1135–44.

16 See, however, Johansson, *Parakletoi*, 268–73.

17 The sin-Spirit and flesh-Spirit opposition in

Romans 7–8 and Galatians 5–6 should be read in the light of the two-ways theology and two-spirit opposition evidenced in texts such as 1QS 3–4 and its parallels; on these see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 156–65. On the Pauline texts see briefly, *idem*, “The Incarnation: Paul’s Solution to the Universal Human Predicament,” in Birger A. Pearson, ed., *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 348–57.

18 On angelology in the Epistle to the Hebrews, see Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A*

■ 4 The angels “approach” God to make intercession.

The verb *προσέρχομαι*/בָּרַב and its synonyms are commonly used with God as object,¹⁹ and generally in a cultic setting.²⁰ In 1 Enoch cf. 14:23 (ἐγγίζω) and the comm. on 14:21-23. In Jer 7:16 (and there alone), *προσέρχομαι* translates Heb. פָּנֵה, which there means “intercede.” For such a use of פָּנֵה whether of God or of another human being, cf. Gen 23:8; Ruth 1:16; Job 21:15; Isa 53:12 (*hiphil*); Jer 27:18.

The title “Lord of the ages” (τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν αἰώνων) stresses God’s eternity and fits better with this general emphasis in vv 4 and 11a than does the *℣* reading, “Lord of kings” (see n. b), which ties in with only one of the titles in the address section in v 4. In 1 Enoch “Lord of the ages” may be unique to this passage (cf., however, 81:10). Related to it, however, is a whole series of parallel titles, most of which are at home in prayer settings: Lord of eternity (or Lord of the world); God of the ages (see below, v 4); God of eternity; King of the ages; King of eternity (or King of the world). On these see Introduction §4.2.1.1. Most closely related to the present title is “Lord of all the ages” (מֶלֶךְ כּוֹל עֲלְמַיָּא) in 1QapGen 21:2, where it is added, evidently as a stereotyped formula, to the wording of Gen 13:4, the account of Abraham’s prayer at Bethel.

The prayer in vv 4-11 is divided into seven strophes of three lines each, with the exception of vv 6 and 7-8, where in each case an extra initial line introduces the angelic chieftain whose deeds are then described in the following three parallel lines.

In the first strophe God is addressed as sovereign and eternal. The first three titles indicate that he is the highest among “gods,” “lords,” and “kings.”²¹ The double title, “God of gods and Lord of lords,” occurs in Deut 10:17 in a context that stresses God’s judgment in behalf

of the lowly, and it is implied in Ps 136:2-3 in a pair of successive couplets that are immediately followed by reference to his creative activity (cf. 1 Enoch 9:5). Closely related is Nebuchadnezzar’s acclamation of Daniel’s God as “God of gods and Lord of kings” (אלה אלהין ומלכין, Dan 2:47). In the present context, it is more likely that our author is using a stereotyped formula than that he is implying the existence of demons called “gods” and “lords.” In 1 Cor 8:5 Paul uses the language in a polemic against eating food sacrificed to idols. The occurrence there of the two terms and of the reference to creation in v 6 may reflect a prayer similar to the present one.²²

“King of kings” (cf. 1 Enoch 84:2 and 63:4) is a royal title with a long history in the ancient Near East.²³ In Jewish literature this title is applied to the God of Israel in contexts that stress his sovereignty over earthly kings. Cf. 2 Macc 13:4; 3 Macc 5:35; Philo *Cher.* 99 (cf. *Spec. leg.* 1.18); *m. Sanh.* 4:5 (the king mints coins with his image on them). Thus the title may be either a claim of sovereignty over other kings or the attribution to God of a title already employed by earthly monarchs (cf. *m. Sanh.* 4:5, מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי מַלְכִין, “King of the kings of kings”).²⁴ The title could have been drawn into the present context by the presence of “Lord of lords.” For the double title, cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.55.7, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσόωσις, and the Neo-Babylonian title of Marduk, “Lord of lords and King of kings.”²⁵ A similar collocation of titles, implying the sovereignty of the God of Israel, appears in the title “Lord of kings.” See comm. on 63:2. On the other hand, Jewish usage of “King of kings” may suggest that the author of this

Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989) 51-53. On Melchizedek see *ibid.*, 192-95; and Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 115-29.

19 For *προσέρχομαι*, see BAGD, s.v. 2a.

20 Johannes Schneider, “*προσέρχομαι*,” *TDNT* 2 (1964) 683-84.

21 On this grammatical formation, see GKC, §431 133i.

22 On this passage and a reference to the Shema, see Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Hermeneia;

Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975) 143-44.

23 Cf. Ezra 7:12 (Artaxerxes); Ezek 26:7; Dan 2:37 (Nebuchadnezzar); *T. Mos.* 8:1 (Antiochus IV). For a discussion see Friedrich Bilabel and Adolf Grohmann, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1927) 207-14.

24 See Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972) 89.

25 Heinrich Zimmern and Hugo Winckler, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed.; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903) 373-74, 390.

prayer, or its model, had in mind certain earthly kings over whom he was attributing sovereignty to God. This could well be the case if the present text did, indeed, make reference to the Diadochoi (see comm. on 6–11). For later Christian usage of the double title, cf. Rev 17:14 and 19:16, where the victorious sovereignty of the messianic king over the kings of the earth is clearly in focus, and 1 Tim 6:15, in a liturgical formulation.²⁶ For the precise formulation here, “King of those who rule” (βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων), cf. 1 Tim 6:15 and the variant readings of 2 Macc 13:4; 3 Macc 5:35.

The final title, “God of the ages” (θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων), occurs also in Sir 36:22 (17) in a prayer and is paralleled by the title “the God of eternity” (see 1 Enoch 1:4) and the formula “the God who lives forever” (1 Enoch 5:2). It forms a transition to the second and third lines of the strophe, which emphasize God’s eternity. The superlative “generation of the generations”²⁷ and the double occurrence of “all/every” stress the totality of the conception. In the second line God’s eternity is in both directions: “for every generation . . . from eternity.” In the reference to God’s throne, the author stresses the eternity of God’s sovereignty.²⁸ “Throne of glory” appears with some frequency in biblical and postbiblical literature,²⁹ denoting God’s glorious presence on that throne. By this time, the expression must be read in the light of Ezekiel 1–2 and the speculation developing from that vision such as one finds in 1 Enoch 14. On the throne of God’s glory in the Parables and the Chosen One’s sitting upon it, see comm on 45:3. The rabbis linked the idea of the eternity of God’s throne exegetically to Jer 17:12 (*b. Pesah.* 54a) and Ps 93:2 (*b. Ned.* 39b; *Gen. Rab.* on 1:1).³⁰ The present passage need not be an exegetical deduction from either passage. A formula of blessing is typical of psalms of praise,³¹ but it also

occurs in prayers of petition (Tob 3:11; Pr Azar 3 [Dan 3:26]; 1QapGen 20:12). Its presence at the beginning of the prayer in 1 Enoch 84:2–6 need not indicate that such a blessing has dropped from the first line of this prayer.³² For close parallels to the blessing of God’s name here, cf. Tob 3:11; 8:5; Pr Azar 3, 30 (Dan 3:26, 52). See textual n. c on 9:4.

■ 5 The particle γάρ (“for”) may translate the inferential ܐܝܢ in Aramaic, indicating that God’s name is to be blessed because of his creative activity and his authority. For a similar formulation, cf. 1QapGen 20:12. In such a case, however, we would expect ὅτι. Perhaps γάρ should be translated simply “and,” that is, as representing the Aramaic conjunction ܐܝܢ.

In this strophe the adjective “all,” established in the first strophe, is even more pervasive. God’s creative activity, a topos in prayers of this type,³³ is here tied to his universal sovereignty, also typical in these prayers (see loc. cit. in chart). God’s knowledge of all things, here described as sight (cf. v 11, where both verbs occur, and the discussion of Shemihazah’s name in the comm. on 6:7–8), is frequently mentioned in connection with and as the presupposition for his judgmental activity (in 1 Enoch, cf. esp. 98:6).³⁴ The function of these assertions will become clear in v 11.

■ 6 Verses 6–10 rehearse in prayer form what chaps. 6–8 have already presented in narrative form. The order Asael/Shemihazah follows 8:1–2/3 and presumes 10:4–8/10:11–11:2, and it reflects the view of a second authorial hand, which has made Asael the main culprit in the drama.

26 Dibelius and Conzelmann, *Pastoral Epistles*, 89.

27 Cf. 10:3, 22; 15:6; 103:4, 8; 104:5, where the shorter form of this expression, attested also in the ̡ here, is found.

28 Otto Schmitz, “*θρόνος*,” *TDNT* 3 (1965) 162.

29 *Ibid.*, 162, 164–65.

30 Cf. also the other passages cited in Str-B 1:974–75.

31 See Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960) 104. See also the discussion of James M. Robinson, “The Historicity of Biblical Language,” in Bernhard W. Anderson, ed., *The Old Testament and Chris-*

tian Faith (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) 130–50. Cf., e.g., Add Est C 2, 14 (13:9; 14:3); Sus 42; Jdt 9:2; 3 Macc 2:2; 6:2.

33 In addition to the prayers cited in the chart, cf. Tob 8:6; Pr Man 2–3; and a wide variety of canonical psalms.

34 On God’s seeing, cf. Add Est D 2 (ο’) E 4 (ο’) (15:2; 16:4); Sir 16:17–19; 2 Macc 3:39; 7:35; 9:5; 12:22; 15:2; 3 Macc 2:21. On God’s knowledge, see below, n. 39.

Employing the same technique used in the prayers in Add Est C 5 (13:12), C 25-27 (14:15-16), and Sus 42-43, the author moves from the general statement about God's omniscience (here his *seeing* of all things) to his knowledge of the particular circumstances that give rise to the prayer. The focus here is different from the main line of the Shemihazah narrative. Humankind is guilty of the iniquity that Asael has taught them and is not the victims of deeds perpetrated against them (cf. 8:2). The adjective "all" recurs in the indictment of Asael in 10:8. The contrast between heaven and earth implied in v 6cd will be explicated as part of a broad pattern in 16:2-3. The motif here is reminiscent of the story of Prometheus, who brings fire from heaven. See comm. on 8:1-2. The use of the verb *ποιεῖν* with Asael may reflect a wordplay that implies the Heb. verb *עָשָׂה*; cf. 8:1; 10:8; and on the bilingual wordplay in 6:6, see comm. on 6:4-6.

■ **7-8** Although these verses (and Shemihazah) are subordinated to v 6 (and Asael), Shemihazah's primacy in the original form of the story (cf. 6:3, 7) is still evident in 9:7. The authority delegated to him derives from God's authority over all things (9:5). "Those with him" (*τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἅμα ὄντων*), as a term for the other rebel watchers, occurs also in 10:11 and perhaps in 7:1. Cf. 2 Macc 8:1, *Ἰούδας . . . καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ* ("Judas . . . and those with him"). Verse 8 corresponds to 7:1. "Daughters of the men of earth," read also by *Θ*^s of 7:1, stresses the heaven/earth dichotomy. To the account of 7:1 is added a second verb denoting sexual intercourse, *συνκοιμάομαι*, a compound verb that never occurs in the LXX as a translation for *נָשָׂה*, which presumably it translates here. As in 7:1, the watchers' revelation of secrets breaks the continuity between cause (intercourse) and effect (offspring; here birth is mentioned rather than conception). Among the magical devices that the watchers taught their wives were potions or recited charms to incite hatred, that is, to win (back)

one's beloved. For a story about the use of such a *μίσσητρον*, see Lucian *Dial. Meretr.* 4.4-5. For the wording of such a charm, see the Demotic Magical Papyrus 13.1-9.³⁵ A scholion on Euripides *Phoen.* 1260 contrasts the love- and hate-producing powers of charms (*ἐπωδῶν*) called *φίλτρον* and *μίσσητρον*, respectively. Cf. also Galen *Mixt.* 10.1, where they refer to potions.³⁶

■ **9-10** Both vv 9 and 10 begin with the formulaic "and now . . .," which in prayers typically introduces the description of the present situation that is the cause for the petition that follows.³⁷ Like the narrative that has preceded, the prayer climaxes in and focuses on the bloody deeds of the giants and the cry that these deeds be avenged. Verse 9a summarizes 7:2. "Half-breeds" (*κίβδηλα*), which recurs in 10:9, 15 of the giants, denotes their mixed origins. In Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:11, it translates *נִשְׁמַשׁ*, and describes a cloth woven from two different kinds of thread. In Wis 15:9 and evidently Wis 2:16, its connotations derive from metallurgy: "alloyed," "adulterated," "counterfeit."³⁸ Thus the author here again focuses on the mismatch of heavenly and earthly. Verse 9bc picks up 9:1 and leads to 9:10, which refers back to 9:2, as well as 7:6 and 8:4. This last mention of the cry for vengeance moves beyond the others in describing the continuous, unceasing nature of the cry. Like 22:7, it implies that the cry will continue until vengeance is executed.

■ **11** In this final strophe, the author returns to the subject of God's omniscience (cf. v 5). It is, first of all, construed as knowledge rather than sight; contrast v 5.³⁹ Moreover, God's omniscience is *foreknowledge*, a point made somewhat more strongly and with deterministic connotations in Judith's prayer (Jdt 9:5-6; cf. also *T. Mos.* 12:4-5). Verse 11b *Θ*^a returns to the language of v 5 and God's *seeing* the events on earth. What God sees are the specific events in question. Thus the pattern of v 5 + vv 6-8 is repeated: God's omniscience; his awareness of the specific events of concern to the person praying.

35 F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1921) 92-95. See also Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 225.

36 See C. G. Kühn, ed., *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia* (20 vols.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1965) 12:251.

37 In addition to the passages cited in the chart, cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 8:25, 26; Ezra 9:8, 10; Pr Azar 10 (Dan 3:33); Pr Man 11; Acts 4:29.

38 See LSJ, 950. For the transferral of Heb *נִשְׁמַשׁ* to refer to mixed marriages of priests and Levites, see MMT 78 and discussion by Qimron in DJD 10:172.

39 On God's knowledge in judgment contexts, cf. Sir 16:17; Wis 1:6-11; *Pss. Sol.* 14:8; Esth 13:12.

There is a certain literary tension between 9:1, where the angels are God's eyes on the world, and v 6 (and probably 7-8) and v 11b, according to which God is already aware of the events that the angels have seen for him. This tension probably reflects an oscillation between the viewpoint of the angels and that of humanity, whose prayer they are effectively relaying to God.

However that may be, the function of the statement in 11a 6^a is clear from its juxtaposition with 11b 6^a + 11c. The author is emphasizing the disjunction of God's omniscience and his failure to take action in circumstances that literally cry out for his justice.

The Commissioning of the Four Archangels

SARIEL COMMISSIONED TO INSTRUCT NOAH

- 1 Then the Most High said,^a and the Great Holy One^b spoke.
 And he sent Sariel^c to the son of Lamech, saying,^d
 2 "Go to Noah and say to him in my name, 'Hide yourself.'
 And reveal to him that the end is coming, that the whole earth will perish;
 And tell him that^a ■ deluge is about to come on the whole earth and destroy
 everything on the earth.^b
 3 Teach the righteous one what he should do,
 the son of Lamech how he may preserve himself alive and escape forever.^a
 From him a plant will be planted,^b
 and his seed^c will endure for all the generations of eternity."

RAPHAEL COMMISSIONED TO IMPRISON ASAEL

- 4 To Raphael he said,^a
 "Go, Raphael, and^b bind Asael hand and foot,^c and cast him into the darkness;
 And make an opening in the wilderness that is in^d Doudael.^e
 5 There cast him,^a and lay beneath him^b sharp stones and jagged stones.^c
 And cover him with darkness,^d and let him dwell there forever.
 Cover up his face, and let him not see^e the light.
 6 And on the day of the great^a judgment, he will be led away to the burning^b conflagration.
 7 And heal^a the earth, which the watchers^b have desolated;
 and announce the healing of the earth,^c that the plague may be healed,^d
 and^e all the sons of men may not perish because of the mystery^f that the watchers
 told^g and taught their sons.
 8 And all the earth was^a made desolate^b by the deeds of the teaching^b of Asael.
 And over him^c write all the sins."

GABRIEL COMMISSIONED TO DESTROY THE GIANTS

- 9 And to Gabriel he^a said,
 "Go, Gabriel,^b to the bastards,^c to the half-breeds, to^d the sons of miscegenation;
 and destroy the sons of the watchers^e from among the ■■■■ of^f men;
 send them^g against one another^h in a warⁱ of destruction.ⁱ
 And^j length of days they will not have;
 10 and no petition will be (granted) to their fathers in their behalf,^a
 that they should expect to live ■■ eternal life, nor even that each of them should live
 five hundred years."

MICHAEL COMMISSIONED TO IMPRISON SHEMIHAZAH AND HIS ASSOCIATES AND TO DESTROY THE GIANTS

- 11 And to Michael he said,^a
 "Go, Michael,^b bind Shemihazah and the others with him,^c who have united themselves
 with the daughters of men, so that they were defiled by them in their uncleanness.
 12 And when their sons perish^a and they see the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them^b
 for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth,^c until the^d day of their judgment and
 consummation, until the eternal judgment is consummated.^e
 13 Then^a they will be led away to the fiery abyss, and to the torture, and to the prison where
 they will be confined forever.
 14 And everyone who is condemned^a and destroyed henceforth will be bound together with
 them until the consummation of their generation.^b
 <And at the time of the judgment, which I shall judge, they will perish for all generations.>^c
 15 Destroy ■■ the spirits of the half-breeds and the sons of the watchers, because they have
 wronged men.

- 16 Destroy all^a perversity from the face of the earth;^b
and let every wicked deed be gone;
and let the plant of righteousness (and truth)^c appear, and it will become a blessing;
(and) the deeds of righteousness (and truth)^d will be planted forever with joy.
- 17 And now all the righteous will escape,
and they will live until they beget thousands,
and all the days of their youth and their old age^a will be completed in peace.
- 18 Then^a all the earth will be tilled in righteousness,
and all of it will be planted with trees and filled with blessing;^b
- 19 and all the trees of joy will be planted on it.^a
They will plant vines on it,^b
and every vine that will be planted on it^c will yield a thousand jugs of wine;^d
and of every seed that is sown on it, each measure will yield a thousand measures;
and each measure^e of olives will yield ten baths of oil.^f
- 20 Cleanse the earth from all impurity and from all^a wrong
and from all lawlessness^b and from all sin;
and godlessness and all impurities^c that have come upon the earth, remove.^d
- 21 And all the sons of men will become righteous;^a
and all the peoples will worship (me);
and all^b will bless m and prostrate themselves.^c
- 22 And all^a the earth will be cleansed from all defilement and from all uncleanness;^b
and I shall not again send upon them any wrath or scourge^c for all the generations of eternity.
- 11:1 Then^a I shall open the storehouses of blessing that are in heaven;
and make them descend upon the earth,^b upon the works and^c the labor of the sons of men.
- 2 And then^a truth and peace^b will be united together
for all the days of eternity and for ll the generations of men.”^c

10:1

- a εἶπε(ν) S^{as}, in parallelism to “spoke” | om. E | + περὶ τούτων (“with regard to these things”) S^a, a gloss tying this section to the last words of 9:10.
- b S^{as} | “the Great and Holy One” E, as usual.
- c This form of the angelic name is inferred from 9:1, on which see n. b. Here, as in 9:1, S^a reads Οὐριήλ, a corruption of Κυριήλ | S^a: Ἰσραήλ, perhaps a similar corruption stemming from the misreading of *upsilon* as *tau* | E MSS. vary: *ʿasareya leyēr* g | *ʿasarēyē lalyēr* q | *ʿasereyēlyēl* u | *ʿaserēlyēr* t | *ʿasuryē ʿulyēr* m | *ʿareseyalālyur* (*ʿales- f*) β. These forms may well reflect Σαριήλ (or Σεριήλ) ἱερ., i.e., “holy Sariel.” Milik (*Enoch*, 172–74) sees in the initial Ethiopic *ʿalep* a reflection of the Greek *iota* and posits behind S^a and E the angelic name Ἰσραήλ.
- d λέγων S^a | *wayebēlo* (“and said to him”) E, which expression occurs without parallel at the beginning of this line in S^a (καὶ εἶπεν, “and he said”) | S^a E omit “Go to Noah and” (v 2) attested only in S^a. Parallels in 10:9, 11, and perhaps 10:4 suggest that this is original. Quite possibly καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ --- καὶ dropped from *S^{aE}, and καὶ εἶπεν (αὐτῷ) was restored, in S^a, to the wrong place.
- 2a And -- that] om. S^a E. These words fit the parallelism.
- b and --- earth] S^a E: καὶ ἀπολέσει πάντα ὅσα ἐστὲν ἐν (from ἔστιν MS.; Rademacher, *Enoch*, 30) αὐτῇ (“and he will destroy everything [om. E] that is on it”) | S^a:

ἀπολέσαι πάντα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς (“to destroy all things from the face of the earth”). The reading “from the face of the earth” appears to reflect Gen 6:7 (מִפְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה). From S^a I have taken the infinitive, following Gen 6:17. Since “everything that is on” also parallels Gen 6:17, it is most likely original. The parallel phrase in S^a looks like the secondary use of a cliché from the same context, although mention of “the earth” suggests that this noun stood in our original (as in Gen 6:17) and was simplified in *S^{aE}.

- 3a Teach ---- forever] S^a: διδάξον τὸν δίκαιον τί ποιήσει, τὸν υἱὸν Λάμεχ, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς ξωὴν συντηρήσει, καὶ ἐκφεύξεται δι' αἰῶνος | For this long text, S^a E read, “Teach him, so that (or ‘how’) he may escape” (καὶ διδάξον αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐκφύγῃ). The longer text provides excellent parallelism, which extends the idea stated briefly in v 2. The presence of ὅπως (“how” or “so that”) and the subjunctive in S^a suggests a slight emendation in S^a on the basis of which I arrive at my translation.
- b S^a E omit this line. But 10:16 speaks for its authenticity. See comm. on 10:3, 16-17.
- c his seed] om. S^a. The expression provides good parallelism with previous line. Cf. also vv 16 + 17 and 84:6.
- 4a “And the Lord spoke again to Raphael” E.
- b Go, Raphael, and] S^a | om. S^a E. For this stereotyped commissioning formula, cf. 10:2 S^a; 10:9, 11.
- c “foot and hand” S^a | + “tie his feet together” (συμ-

- πόδιον αὐτόν) [Ⓢ], a synonymous gloss.
- d + “the wilderness of” (ἐρήμῳ) [Ⓢ].
- e [Ⓢ] (Δουδάηλ) and [Ⓢ] (*dudāʾēl*, *dudāʾēm* 2080) agree against [Ⓢ] (Δαδουήλ). For a similar vocalization with *u*, cf. the variants at 60:8.
- 5a [Ⓢ]: “and there go and cast him” (lit. “going, cast him,” καὶ ἐκεῖ πορευθεὶς βάλει αὐτόν). The reading could be original.
- b On this reading (καὶ ὑπόθεις αὐτῷ) [Ⓢ] agree against [Ⓢ] *waday laʿlahu* (= κ. ἐπίθεις α.), “and lay upon him,” which is the easier reading.
- c [Ⓢ]: λίθους ὀξεῖς καὶ λίθους τραχεῖς | [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]: “jagged and sharp stones” (λίθους τραχεῖς καὶ ὀξεῖς).
- d σκότος [Ⓢ] | “the darkness” (τὸ σκότος) [Ⓢ]. Cf. v 4c, where the article occurs in [Ⓢ].
- e [Ⓢ] | “so that he does not see” (*kama ʾiyerʾay*) [Ⓢ].
- 6a Om. “the great” (τῆς μεγάλης) [Ⓢ] by hma.
- b [Ⓢ]: εἰς τὸν ἐμπυρισμὸν τοῦ πυρός (lit. “the conflagration of fire”) | om. [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] “of fire.”
- 7a [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] attest the impv. (ἴασαι, *waʾahyewwā*) | “they will heal” (*yahyewwā*) [Ⓢ] gmuT⁹ 1768 2080 6281 Ca | [Ⓢ]: “(the earth) will be healed” (ἰαθήσεται).
- b [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]: “the angels” (οἱ ἄγγελοι, *malāʾekt*). Cf. 6:2, n. a.
- c “of the earth” (τῆς γῆς) | [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] | “Of the plague” (τῆς πληγῆς) [Ⓢ], evidently a corruption drawn from the next clause (see next note).
- d τὴν πληγὴν [Ⓢ] | “the earth” (*medr* = τὴν γῆν) [Ⓢ]. See previous note.
- e [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] | “in order that” (ἵνα) [Ⓢ], a dittograph.
- f “the whole (ὅλῳ) mystery” [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ].
- g ὁ εἶπον . . . [Ⓢ] | “with which . . . smote” (ὃ ἐπάταξαν, *zaqatalu*) [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]. The parallelism in [Ⓢ] commends it.
- 8a [Ⓢ]: ἡρημώθη [Ⓢ] + ἀφανισθεῖσα, a synonymous reading.
- b “by the teaching of the deeds” [Ⓢ].
- c [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]: καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γράψον, *walāʿlēhu ṣahaf* | For αὐτῷ, [Ⓢ] reads the fem. αὐτῇ, “ascribe to it” (i.e., Asael’s teaching).
- 9a + “the Lord” [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ].
- b Om. “Gabriel” [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]. Cf. vv 4, 11.
- c τοὺς μαζήρεους [Ⓢ] | *lamanzirān* [Ⓢ] | “the giants” (τοὺς γίγαντας) [Ⓢ]. See comm. on 10:9a-d | + “and” [Ⓢ].
- d ἐπὶ [Ⓢ] | καὶ (“and”) [Ⓢ] | *wadiba* (“and to”) [Ⓢ].
- e “the sons of fornication” [Ⓢ], a dittograph.
- f Om. υἱὼν τῶν (“sons of”) [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ], by hmt.
- g All [Ⓢ] mss. except n and y have two more or less synonymous verbs, *waʾawḏʾomtu wafannewomtu*.
- h [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]: lit. “against one another, from them against them” (εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτούς), evidently a double expression for the same idea. Om. [Ⓢ] by hmt.
- i ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπωλείας [Ⓢ], evidently supported by 4QEn^b 1 4:6 (Milik, *Enoch*, 175), *בַּמִּלְחָמָה בַּבְּרָחָה* | [Ⓢ]: ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ (“in war and in destruction”) | [Ⓢ]: “in war they will be destroyed” (*baqatel yethagwahu*). Cf. 14:6, n. l.
- j καὶ [Ⓢ] | “For” (γάρ, *ʾesma*) [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ].
- 10a in their behalf] [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] (prefixes “and”) | om. [Ⓢ]. The reading is dubious but may be presupposed in 12:6.
- 11a “the Lord (or ‘God’) said” [Ⓢ]. Cf. 10:4 [Ⓢ]; 10:9 [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ].
- b Michael] om. [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]. So also 10:4, 9.
- c the others with him] τοὺς ἄλλους σὺν αὐτῷ, *lakāpʾān ʾella meslēhu* [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] | “the rest who are with him” (τ. λοιποῖς τοῖς σ. α.) [Ⓢ].
- 12a perish] *יָרַד* 4QEn^b 1 4:10 (Milik, *Enoch*, 175); cf. also v 9; 12:6; 14:6 | [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ]: “are slaughtered” (*κατασφαγῶσιν*, *yetrāggazu*).
- b bind Shemihazah (v 11) - - - - bind them] With the emendation from [Ⓢ] indicated in the previous note, the translation follows [Ⓢ]: δῆσον Σεμιαζὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς συμμιγέντας ταῖς θυγατράσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ μιανθῆναι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ αὐτῶν. καὶ ὅταν κατασφαγῶσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἴδωσι τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν αὐτῶν, δῆσον αὐτούς . . . | [Ⓢ], followed by [Ⓢ] reads: καὶ (om. [Ⓢ]) δῆλωσον Σεμιαζὴ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ταῖς γυναιξὶν μιγέντας, μιανθῆναι. . . καὶ (om. [Ⓢ]) δῆσον . . .

Dropping the two occurrences of καὶ, which are not supported by [Ⓢ], in agreement with [Ⓢ], one may translate [Ⓢ] *[Ⓢ] as follows: “Inform Shemihazah and the others with him, who mingled with the women, so that they were defiled by them in their uncleanness. And when their sons are slaughtered . . . bind them. . .”

The primary, controlling variant in the texts occurs in the first imperative: δῆσον/δήλωσον. In [Ⓢ] this imperative (“bind”) is followed by a clause in the accusative case, as is grammatically correct. The primary difficulty with this text was noted already by Dillmann (*Enoch*, 101). According to v 12, the watchers will be bound in the valleys of the earth *after* they have witnessed the destruction of their sons. Hence the command in v 11b to bind them is premature in the text, and the reading of [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] is probably to be preferred. But the chronological problem is not insuperable. See comm. on vv 11-13.

The reading of [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] has its own set of problems. The impv. δῆλωσον (“reveal, inform, make known”) has no object (cf. by contrast 10:2). While it is possible for the causative form of Aram. *ܕܬܐ* to occur without an object (cf. Ezra 4:14; 5:10; 7:25), it is unusual. Milik (*Enoch*, 176), who supports this reading, feels the difficulty and emends καὶ ὅταν to <καὶ> ὅτι ἄν which he retroverts to [7]. But he must deal with a second problem. (See Charles, *Enoch*, 24.) The clause following δῆλωσον is in the dative case, as it should be: “Reveal to Shemihazah. . .” But its final participle (μιγέντας) is accusative. Milik dismisses this as a syntactical inaccuracy, typical of texts of this period. But this inaccuracy agrees with the reading of [Ⓢ], where it is grammatically correct. The simplest solution is to accept the original-

c εἰς τὰς νάπας τῆς γῆς 𐌺𐍩 | “beneath the hills of the earth” (*bamatehta ’awgerta medr*) ㊤.
d + “great” 4QEn^b 1 4:11 (Milik, *Enoch*, 175).
e 𐌺𐍩 ㊤: μέχρι ἡμέρας κρίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ συντελεσμοῦ, ἕως τελευστῇ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων (“until the day of their judgment and [the] consummation, until the judgment of the age of the ages is consummated”) | 𐌺𐍩: μέχρι ἡμέρας κρίσεως αὐτῶν, μέχρι ἡμέρας τελειώσεως τελεσμοῦ, ἕως συντελευστῇ κρίμα τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων (“until the day of their judgment, until the day of the consummation of the consummation, until the judgment of the age of the ages is consummated”). The second phrase in 𐌺𐍩 looks like a double reading. καὶ συντελεσμοῦ (𐌺𐍩) may be correct or could reflect a corruption in Aramaic from ܘܠܗ (“will be concluded”) to ܘܠܗܝ (“and consummation”). If the verbal form were correct, the shape of this first clause would be sufficiently close to the final clause to suggest that the two are double readings for a single original.

13a τότε 𐌺𐍩^a | “and in that day” (*wabawe’etu mawā’el*) ㊤, a typical translation.

14a καὶ ὃς ἂν κατακριθῇ 𐌺𐍩 | καὶ ὃς ἂν κατακαυσθῇ (“whoever is burned”) 𐌺𐍩 ㊤ | 4QEn^c 1 5:1; Milik, *Enoch*, 189–90. Milik notes that כרר means primarily “to burn” and suggests that 𐌺𐍩 ㊤ is the original reading. But a secondary use of the word has juridical overtones (he cites a nominal form from the verb in DJD 2:138, Mur 26 ar 5). Thus 𐌺𐍩 is “a felicitous emendation by a learned copyist, *contextus gratia*.” For a discussion, see Larson (“Translation,” §3.2.2, note on 4QEn^c 1 v.1), who suggests that the verb of the original translation may have been corrected by a scribe who had access to ㊤.

b their generation) γενεᾱς αὐτῶν 𐌺𐍩 | om. “their” 𐌺𐍩 | “the generation of the generation” (*tewleda tewled*) ㊤. Here Syncellus skips to 15:8.

c This sentence, restored from 4QEn^c 1 5:2: 𐀓𐀔 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖 𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖 (Milik, *Enoch*, 189, 191) was probably lost early in the tradition due to hmt. Structural considerations support its originality. See comm. on v 14.

16a all| om. 4QEn^c 1 5:3.

218

therefore retroverts the two nouns to יִנְי and נִנְי ("garden[s]"). But the Greek nouns probably translate יִנְי ("vine[s]") (so already Gry, "Hénoch," 202), which noun is employed in the fem. gender (ⲉ Ezek 17:7; Matt 26:29 ⲥ; see Jastrow, *Dictionary*; Dalman, *Hand-wörterbuch*; Schulthess, *Lexicon*, s.v.). For other matters supporting mention here of a vine rather than a vineyard, see comm. on vv 18-19. For the translation of ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ as "every," see Milik, *Enoch*, 190, note on 4QEn^c 1 5:1-2, as well as his reference here to the pl. verb ποιήσουσιν.

- d a thousand jugs of wine] προχοῦς οἴνου χιλιάδας ⲥ^a | ⲉ: wayna laṣegab ("wine in abundance") gtu | fero laṣegab ("its fruit in abundance") β-In | dibēhā laṣegab ("upon it in abundance") In.
- e and of --- measure] ⲉ: wakwellu zar^z zayezarrā^z dibēhā^z ḥatti masfart tegabber ḥḥa waḥatti masfarta . . . , against which ⲥ^a may be emended: καὶ <παντὸς τοῦ> σπόρου <τοῦ> σπαρέντος ἐπὶ αὐτῆς> ποιήσει καθ' ἕκαστον μέτρον <χιλιάδα μέτρα, καὶ ἕκαστον μέτρον> . . . ; see Milik, *Enoch*, 192.
- f of oil] zayt ⲉ | om. ⲥ^a. See Gry, "Hénoch," 204.
- 20a impurity -- all] om. ⲉ by hma.
- b and -- lawlessness] om. ⲥ^a by hma.
- c καὶ ἀσεβείας καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας ⲥ^a, both of which nouns I construe with the following verb. ⲉ: wa'emkwellu rasi^c wa'emkwellu rekwe (t,β) ("and from all godlessness and from all uncleanness"), both nouns being construed as part of the previous series.
- d + "from upon the earth" (emḏiba medr) ⲉ, possibly a ditto-graph from the earlier part of the line, badiba medr ("upon the earth"). But cf. v 16, which draws on the language of Gen 7:4.
- 21a And ----- righteous] om. ⲥ^a by hma.
- b all] om. ⲉ, perhaps by hmt. in *ⲥ^F: εὐλογοῦντες πάντες. See the next note.
- c ⲉ: "And all of them will prostrate themselves (before) me" (wakwellomu lita yesaggedu). Perhaps "all," dropped from the previous clause, has been reinserted here.
- 22a all] om. ⲉ.

- b ἀκαθαρσίας ⲥ^a | "sin" (hāḥat) ⲉ.
- c ⲥ^a: καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ μάστιγος, καὶ οὐκέτι πέμψω ἐπ' αὐτούς . . . ("and wrath and scourge [construed with previous series]. And I shall not again send upon them . . .") | ⲉ: wa'emkwellu (+wa u,n) maḡsaft wa'emkwellu ṣā^c.r. wa'iyedaggem kama ḥḥanu dibēhā (+ ḥḥā, ḥḥa, almost all mss. of β) ("and from every scourge and from every pain [construed with previous series]. And I shall not again send upon it" [+ "a flood," most mss. of β]). The meaning of the text is difficult in any case. The easiest resolution is to accept the reading of ⲉ β. God promises not to send a flood on the earth again (cf. 10:2-3, where it is announced). This fits well with Gen 9:11, 15, which this verse paraphrases. The problem with this resolution is that we must accept the easiest reading—which could be a gloss. If we set aside this reading, we must find an object for "send again." According to Charles (*Enoch*, 26), the implied object is some indeterminate number of the ills in the previous sentence (he supplies "them"). Milik (*Enoch*, 163) reorders the sentences, making "wrath and scourge" the object of the verb. My translation follows this suggestion as plausible, although Milik's ms. is too fragmented to support his reading. The suggestion has the advantage of not employing the easy reading of ⲉ, while providing nice parallelism between lines a and b by finding in the extant ⲥ text objects for the verb that are appropriate to the flood. For these nouns with reference to the judgment, cf. 91:7 and 5:9 ⲉ (see n. a).

- 11:1
- a τότε ⲥ^a | "in those days" (ba'emāntu mawā'el) ⲉ.
- b upon the earth] om. ⲥ^a. The parallelism with "heaven" commends it as original.
- c and] om. ⲥ^a.
- 2a and then] ⲥ^a | "and" ⲉ α | om. ⲉ t²,β.
- b "Peace and truth" ⲉ.
- c ανπων ⲥ^a, an abbreviation for ἀνθρώπων | ἄlam ("of eternity") ⲉ, evidently translating αἰώνων. Either word could be a corruption of the other. Cf. v 22. The less repetitious form of ⲥ^a provides better parallelism.

■ **10:1-3** This first of four angelic commissionings links these chapters once again with the Genesis flood story. Noah is here a type of the righteous who will escape the final judgment. Cf. vv 2-3 with vv 16-17. The commissioning consists of two parallel and complementary strophes of three and four lines, respectively. Each begins with instructions as to how Noah may save himself (vv 2a/3ab). In their last two lines, the two strophes are antithetical to one another. Verse 2bc announces universal destruction, while v 3cd promises a new beginning after that destruction. Within the respective strophes, Noah, the individual, is contrasted with the rest of the world

that will perish (v 2a/bc), and with a new, righteous humanity that will descend from him (v 3ab/cd). In these two respects, Noah stands at the center of an historical chiasm:

the whole earth > Noah < descendants for eternity
In its eschatological dimension, this aspect of the story promises a new start beyond the destruction wreaked by the great judgment.

■ **1** For a similar parallelistic occurrence of the divine titles, cf. 9:3. On the titles "Most High" (ὑψιστος) and "the Great Holy One" (ὁ ἅγιος ὁ μέγας), see comm. on 9:3 and 1:3. Different from Gen 6:13 (and 1 Enoch

67:1-3), God does not communicate directly with Noah, but sends his angel. The verb “to send” (usually ἀποστέλλω, but here πέμπω, doubtless translating the typical Semitic šlh) is a technical term indicating formal commissioning both of governmental officials (Neh 2:5) and of prophets (Isa 6:8).¹ The angelic name Sariel (śarīʿēl) is relatively rare, but does occur in lists of the four archangels (see Excursus: The Four—or Seven—Archangels in Jewish and Early Christian Literature). In 1 Enoch cf. 20:6 and comm. The name should mean “God is my prince” (see the discussion in comm. on 6:7). Quite probably, however, it means “prince of God”² (cf. Josh 5:14-15; Dan 10:13, 21 for this angelic use of שר).

■ 2 The formula “Go and say” occurs in 12:4; 13:1; 15:2 and is a typical introduction to prophetic commissionings (see comm. on 15:2). To speak or act “in the name of” someone (here ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι), often God, frequently connotes formal commissioning.³ The three lines in this strophe and the first one in the next strophe are introduced by a series of parallel and generally synonymous verbs in the imperative. Through these verbs Sariel’s function is depicted as that of a prophet or an eschatological teacher.⁴ He warns Noah to take cover in the face of theophany and judgment (see comm. on 89:1).⁵ Cf. Gen 3:8, 10; Isa 26:20-21; Zeph 2:3; Rev 6:15-16; 1 Enoch 102:1-3. This fits with the tenor of the whole chapter, where deluge and final judgment parallel and coalesce with one another. That “the end is coming” reflects the language of Gen 6:13. Nonetheless, these terms may also have eschatological connotations here.⁶ Such connotations may explain the replacement of “all flesh” (Gen 6:7, 17; see below) by “the whole earth” here (but cf. also comm. on 7:1-6 and the author’s reinterpretation of this term). Lines b and c contain two hemistichs each and are set in slightly stepped paral-

lelism: reveal / the end is coming / and the whole earth will perish; tell / deluge about to come on the whole earth / and destroy everything on earth.

Line b and line c, which alone in this story refer explicitly to the deluge, paraphrase Gen 6:17: “For behold, I will bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh in which is the breath of life from under heaven; everything that is on the earth will die (וְאֵנִי הֹנֵן מְבִיא אֶת־הַמָּבּוּל מִיָּם עַל־הָאָרֶץ לַשַּׁחַת כָּל־בָּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ רוּחַ חַיִּים מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם כָּל אֲשֶׁר־בָּאָרֶץ יָמוּת).

■ 3 Noah is the righteous one already in Gen 6:9; 7:1; and Ezek 14:14, 20. This emphasis recurs frequently in postbiblical Jewish and early Christian literature.⁷ In 1 Enoch cf. 67:1; 84:6. The command in v 3ab parallels that in v 2a, while its language points toward v 17a. The plant, whether vine or tree, is a common metaphor for Israel, the true Israel, or the remnant. The most extensive use of the metaphor in 1 Enoch is in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10). For the many nuances of the image in biblical and postbiblical literature, see Excursus: The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature. Here and in 10:16-17, the emphasis is on the promise of a new beginning and of lineage *in perpetuo* beyond the disaster of the deluge/judgment. Cf. also 67:1-3; 84:5-6. Comparison with v 16b suggests that the community as the carrier and promulgator of Noah’s righteousness may also be implied here. Abraham as patriarch of Israel is seen as the first planting in 93:5 and *Jub.* 16:26. Here Noah’s status as the originator of the plant (cf. also 84:6) may reflect an identification of his and Abraham’s righteousness.

■ 4-8 In a series of thirteen imperatives, God commissions Raphael to rectify the situation described in chap. 8. In vv 4-6, which correspond to 8:1-2, God commands that Asael be imprisoned pending the final judgment

1 Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, “ἀποστέλλω (πέμπω),” *TDNT* 1 (1964) 400-405. Cf., in addition, Tob 3:17; 12:14; Wis 9:10.

2 Milik, *Enoch*, 173.

3 Hans Bietenhard, “ὄνομα,” *TDNT* 5 (1967) 258-63, 277-78; Hans Kosmala, “In My Name,” *ASTI* 5 (1966-67) 87-109.

4 Less likely (in view of the parallel in v 3a), God orders Noah to secrete himself in order to receive the revelations thereafter described. For this interpretation see Hoffmann, *Enoch*, 1:134; Dillmann, *Enoch*, 99. On the parallelistic use of δηλόω and

διδάσκω, see comm. on 7:1.

5 Hoffmann, *Enoch*, 1:134; Dillmann, *Enoch*, 99.

6 See Gerhard Delling, “τέλος,” *TDNT* 8 (1972) 53-54; Johannes Schneider, “ἔρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2 (1964) 669-70, 674.

7 See, e.g., Sir 44:17; Tob 4:12; 4 Ezra 3:9-12; and the many passages cited by Jack P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) esp. 21-22, 35, 46-47, 59-63, 75, 77-78, 101-2, 121, 134, 159-60. Contrast pp. 133-34.

them with chains in its gloom at the ends of the earth.¹⁶ Different from the Prometheus myth and the present passage, this myth speaks of multiple rebels and of their being chained after their imprisonment, and it makes no reference to a future judgment or punishment.

According to 6^a of v 4c, the place of Asael's imprisonment is Δαδουήλ, which Milik interprets as a reference to the twin mountain peaks identified with "the (two) breasts of 'El."¹⁷ The combined witness of 6^a and 6^b supports the reading Δουδαήλ (see n. e). This reading appears to be preserved in 1^{on} Lev 16:10, 21, where the desert place to which the scapegoat is banished is called בית חדו<ד> (bêt ḥadû<d>î).¹⁸ The toponym, whatever its original form, could have derived from the "sharp" (ὀξεῖς < Aram. חדר/חד) rocks (v 5a).¹⁹ The precise location of Doudael is not indicated in this text, but cf. 18:9; 19:1.

In ancient times, imprisonment served less as punishment than as detention until trial.²⁰ Verse 6 defers Asael's judgment and punishment to the end time, as does 10:12-13 in the case of Shemihazah. "The day of the great judgment" is a common designation in 1 Enoch,²¹ and fire is the normal description of eternal punishment.²² This passage as a whole is paralleled in 1 Enoch 54, where v 5 suggests a conflation of 10:5a +5c, with the former describing stones laid on top of, rather than underneath, Asael.

■ 7-8 The desolation of the earth (ἀφανίζω, v 7; ἐρημόω, v 8) recalls 8:2. Here it seems to refer to the obliteration of the human race (v 7c), as the parallel in 8:4 suggests it may in that chapter. Cf. also 9:2. The universal scope of the disaster (vv 7c, 8a) is paralleled in the description of the giants' activity in the Shemihazah story (cf. comm. on 8:3-5). Different from 10:20, 22, which speak of the "cleansing" of a defiled earth, v 7 employs the language of healing, appropriate to Raphael, and answering to the lethal plague that is destroying humanity.²³

Verse 7c lays responsibility on the watchers in general, qua revealers (cf. 8:3), and as in 8:3, it is their children who learn the mysteries. Here the mystery (or mysteries), referred to in 8:3 (cf. 16:3) and 9:6 (there of Asael), is undefined.

Verse 8 returns to the single figure of Asael, who is here made responsible for *all* sin.²⁴ His ascendancy to the role of chief demon is explicit (see comm. on 8:1-2). The language of v 8 suggests either an epitaph on his tomb (cf. comm. on vv 4-6) or a bill of indictment for use at the final judgment.²⁵

The material about Asael has a subsequent history in later Jewish and Christian literature. In 1^{on} Lev 16:10, 21, it colors the account of the Day of Atonement ritual and the banishment of the scapegoat for Azazel.²⁶ In the Book of Revelation, the story of Satan's banishment

Works and Days 42-105, which make no reference to an entombment and two-stage punishment. On the Prometheus material in general, see above, Excursus: The Origin of the Asael Myth.

16 This section's dependence on the *Titanomachia* is argued by Pearson, "Reminiscence," 72-75. For the accounts see esp. Hesiod *Theogony* 617-735, and Apollodorus *Library* 1.1.1-2.1.

17 Milik, *Enoch*, 29-30.

18 E. E. Geiger, "Einige Worte über das Buch Henoch," *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 3 (1864) 200-201. This toponym is also mentioned in *m. Yoma* 6:8, which locates the place three miles from Jerusalem.

19 Beer, G., "Das Buch Henoch," in Emil Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1900), 242 n. d. For ὀξύς as a translation of חדר and חדר, see LXX Ps 13(MT 14):3; Hab 1:8; Isa 49:2; Ezek 5:1.

20 Th. Thalheim, "δυσμωτήριον," PW 5:251-52; Moshe Greenberg, "Prison," *IDB* 3:891-92.

21 94:9; 98:10; 99:15; 104:5. Cf. 10:12; 22:11; 84:4 ("the

great day of judgment"); and 16:1; 19:1; 25:4 ("the great judgment").

22 10:13; 17:1-5; 18:11, 15; 21:3, 7; 23:2, 4; 48:9; 54:1; 67:7, 13; 91:9; 100:9; 102:1; 103:8; 108:3-5.

23 Cf. 2 Chr 7:13-14 for the same imagery.

24 There is a long tradition that identifies knowledge and revelation as the source of all sin. See Gen 3:5-7 and its gnostic interpretations, which play on the root נח ("reveal"); cf. Birger A. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testimony of Truth* from Nag Hammadi (CG IX,3)," in C. J. Bleeker, S. G. F. Brandon, M. Simon, eds., *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren* (2 vols.; NumenSup 21-22; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 1:463-64. Cf. also Ezekiel 28 and the motif of wisdom.

25 On the idea of a record of human sins, see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes in 1 Enoch and Israelite and Christian Literature.

26 On this direction of the dependency, see Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 401-3.

from heaven and his eventual destruction combines the myth of *hêlêl ben-šāḥar* (Isaiah 14; Rev 12:7-17)²⁷ with the imagery of the present passage (Rev 20:1-3, 7-10). The period of Satan's being bound in the pit is one thousand years, after which he is given brief release (thus allowing for a conflation of Ezekiel 38 in Rev 20:8-9), before being cast into the eternal fire.

■ **9-10** In a briefer commissioning, Gabriel is commanded to deal with the situation described in 7:2-5. Different from Asael and Shemihazah and his companions, who are imprisoned until the final judgment (10:4-6, 11-13), the giants are to be immediately annihilated. For them there is no future judgment and punishment. The first of the two strophes in this passage is a tristich. The three lines are introduced by imperatives and employ progressive parallelism to command the giants' destruction. The second strophe, which is composed of three or four lines, employs the indicative with a negative adverb (implied in v 10bc) to describe the other side of the giants' destruction: their lives will be cut short. Gabriel's function duplicates that of Michael in 10:15, and the present passage was quite possibly added to the original form of the Shemihazah story, to fill out the number of the archangels to a traditional four. In the process, several motifs not found in 10:15 are added: the description of the giants as illegitimate children (cf. 9:9); their annihilation through a war of mutual destruction (cf. 7:5); the shortness of their lives (cf. Gen 6:3); their fathers' petition in their behalf.

■ **9a-d** In addition to his regular place in lists of the four (or seven) archangels (see Excursus: The Four—or

Seven—Archangels in Jewish and Early Christian Literature) and in 1 Enoch 20:7; 40:9; 54:6), Gabriel appears alone in Dan 8:16; 9:21; and Luke 1:11-20, 26-28 as a revealer and messenger, and in 2 Enoch 21:3, 5; 24:1.²⁸ His name, "God is my strength" (*gibrî'ēl* or *gabri'ēl*),²⁹ is probably reflected in 1 Enoch 40:9, and here it is appropriate to his commission against the giants, the *gibbôrîm*.

The three titles for the giants, which may reflect the three classes mentioned in 7:2, all denote their illegitimacy. "Bastards" (*μασσηρέους* = *במזר*) are the offspring of a union forbidden in the law, or a union for which death at the hand of God or the court is the penalty according to later law (*m. Yeb.* 4:13). "Half-breeds" (*κισθόλους*) also implies a mixed origin forbidden by law (see comm. on 9:9-10). I have translated *υἱοὺς τῆς πορνείας* as "sons of miscegenation" following the technical Qumranic usage of *זנות* as intercourse in forbidden degrees.³⁰

Mention of the "sons of men" (v 9c) implies 7:3-4, 9:3, which recount the giants' "destruction" of the human race. Hence *their* destruction is appropriate punishment. The idea is explicit in 10:15. God's judgment on the giants is that their murderous attacks on one another (7:5) be extended into a war of mutual extermination (v 9d). The description is reminiscent of the Greek myth of the *Gigantomachia*, although there the giants battle the gods rather than one another.³¹ Recourse to such an allusion is unnecessary if the text reflects the author's historical circumstances (see comm. on chaps. 6–11, § Date and Setting). On the term "war of destruction,"

27 Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (HDR 9; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975) 81–83.

28 Cf. also *b. Sanh.* 95b, where the angel that destroyed Sennacherib's army is identified as Gabriel. However, parallel traditions mention Michael or Michael and Gabriel. See passages cited in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909–38) 6:362 n. 55.

29 Like most other commentators, Milik (*Enoch*, 174) translates "Strength of God." On the problems of translating a genitive here, see comm. on 6:7.

30 See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Evidence," in idem, *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 91–97. In addition to the Temple

Scroll and the Damascus Document cited by Fitzmyer, one should consult the discussion of the ban on marriages between priests and Israelites in 4QMMT by Elisha Qimron in DJD 10:171–75. For the broader use of *porneia* see Friedrich Hauck and Siegfried Schulz, "πορνή," *TDNT* 6 (1968) 584, 587–89.

31 See Apollodorus *Library* 1.6.1; and for other sources see James George Frazer, *Apollodorus: The Library* (2 vols.; LCL; London: Heinemann, 1921) 1:42 n. 1. For an allusion to the *Titanomachia*, possibly in connection with the destruction of the giants, cf. 1 Enoch 88:2.

see textual n. i. The giants' mutual slaughter is mentioned again in 14:6 and in *Jub.* 5:6-11.

■ **9e-10** The motif of curtailing the giants' life span relates to Gen 6:3.³² The (very understandable) idea of the fathers' petitioning for their sons is greatly expanded in chaps. 12-16, where it becomes a formal element in the narrative (13:4-14:7, esp. 13:6; 14:7; cf. 12:6). "Length of days" (*μακρότης ἡμέρων*) is synonymous with "eternal life" (*ζωὴν αἰώνιον*), which is then modified in v 10b to five hundred years. Verse 10bβ should perhaps be construed as a fourth line in the strophe, almost but not quite parallel to v 10bα. The one motif in the commissioning of Michael that is lacking here is the fathers' being witnesses of their sons' destruction (cf. 10:12 and 12:6; 14:6).

■ **10:11-11:2** This extensive commissioning constitutes the climax and conclusion of the story of the rebellion of the watchers. It served the same function in the original Shemihazah story. The first of its two major sections (vv 11-15), written in prose like chaps. 6-7 and 9:1-3, announces judgment on the rebellious principals in the story—Shemihazah and his associates and their offspring. Verses 11-13, which served as the model for vv 4-6, command the imprisonment of the watchers until the day of final judgment and punishment. Verse 15, the model for the commissioning of Gabriel (vv 9-10), commands the annihilation of the giants. These verses together describe the first step toward the resolution of the crisis that arose in the beginning of the narrative: the removal of the forces that have threatened to destroy the earth and its inhabitants. Verse 14 bursts the narrative about *Urzeit* and uses the watchers' temporary imprisonment and final judgment as a paradigm for the punishment of all sinners who have lived since then.

The second major section is a poem with two strophes parallel to one another in content and structure (10:16-11:2):

Michael to purge the earth	16a	20
Regarding the righteous	16bc, 17	21
"All the earth"	18a	22
Blessing/fecundity	18b-19	11:1-2

These verses depict the second step in the resolution of the crisis narrated in chaps. 6-7: the reversal of the damage done by the giants, through the renovation and restoration of the earth, its inhabitants, and their livelihood. As in the earlier parts of the story, the author employs the language and imagery of the Genesis flood narrative, in this case the descriptions of the postdiluvian world in Genesis 9-10. His exegesis of Genesis is governed by a typology between Noah's time and his own time.³³ Thus Noah is a type of the righteous of the end time, and his deliverance from the flood parallels the escape of these righteous from the imminent judgment (cf. vv 16bc-17 with vv 2-3). Similarly, the renewal of the human race and the postdiluvian world are a paradigm for the renewal or re-creation of the world after the coming judgment and for the re-creation of the human race, which has been devastated by the giants. Furthermore, the construal of the replanting of the earth (Gen 9:20), both literally and figuratively (vv 18-19; cf. v 16bc), indicates an internal typology within the Enochic text itself. The author's eschatological typological exegesis of Genesis 9-10 is fleshed out by reference to other Scripture, specifically the related conceptions and imagery in the new creation context of Isaiah 65-66. His own special touch includes the frequent use of the adjective "all," which stresses the universality and finality of this eschatological restoration. If the author envisions a destruction such as Gen 9:11 and 15 do not envision, he asserts that it is the last such.

■ **11-13** These verses are paralleled by vv 4-6 not only in the kind of punishment they describe (confinement-judgment-punishment by fire), but also in the manner of the author's description: brief summary (v 11b | v 4b) and more detailed command (v 12ab | vv 4c-5).

In later literature Michael emerges as the angelic patron of Israel and, related to that role, as the victorious judicial and military antagonist of the satanic power

32 See Milik, *Enoch*, 176, note on line 6.

33 Hartman, "Early Example," 20-22. See also the discussion pro and con in Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 388-89; Collins, "Methodological

Issues," 317-19; George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Reflections upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins' 'Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch,'" in

behind the enemies of Israel and their god.³⁴ On the former role in 1 Enoch, see comm. on 20:5. The earliest datable example of the latter role is Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1, where Michael's name (*mikā'ēl*, "who is like God?") appears to be a challenge to the aspirations of Antiochus Epiphanes, the personification of *hēlēl ben-šāḥar*, who stormed heaven in order to be like God (Isa 14:14).³⁵ While this play on Michael's name is nowhere evident in the present text (but see comm. on 40:9), Michael's function here does parallel that in Daniel. He is the angelic opponent of the rebel angelic chieftain, whom he disposes of. In Rev 12:7-17; 20:1-3, 7-10, the myth of *hēlēl ben-šāḥar*, with Michael and Satan as principals, is combined with the Raphael-Asael and Michael-Shemihazah antagonism in the present chapter to create a developing drama of the divine victory over evil. See comm. on 10:7-8 and the comment below on v 13.

The description of the sin of Shemihazah and his companions is partly a reiteration of 7:1 and 9:8. Lacking here, however, is reference to their revelatory activity, a motif secondary to the original Shemihazah story (see comm. on 7:1). Conversely, the watchers' defilement here is due not to sexual intercourse per se, but to contact with the women's blood (*ἀκαθαρσία*; cf. 2 Sam 11:4). Cf. the parallel pattern in 12:4 and 15:3 || 15:4, and comm. on 15:4-7a. The reference to "uncleanness" here is perhaps to be related to the same term in vv 20, 22, where it is the earth that is unclean and defiled. See comm. on 10:20. Here alone the verb for the watchers' intercourse is *συμμίγνυμι*, אִתְּחַבְּרוּ, 4QEn^b 1 4:9 (Milik, *Enoch*, 175). For the use of Heb. חָבַר ("associate") of marital sexual relations, see 4Q416 2 3:21.

In v 12 "beloved" (*ἀγαπητός*) is a designation for the angels' sons, rather than their wives; cf. the parallelism in the interpretation of this verse in 12:6; cf. also 14:6.³⁶ On the motif of the watchers' being forced to witness the destruction of their sons, cf. also 12:6 and 14:6. This cruelty was not unknown in the ancient world.³⁷ The period of confinement, unspecified in v 6, is here "sev-

enty generations." Different from vv 4-5 (and Jude 6, which follows it at this point), these verses do not use the language of burial and underworld. Valleys play an important part of the penal geography of the Book of Parables. Cf. chaps. 53, 54, 56, 67. See also *Jub.* 5:10, which paraphrases this passage. The repetitious language at the end of the verse is most closely paralleled in 16:1, where there are also textual problems. For reference to "the great day of judgment," cf. 22:11; 84:4.

In v 13 the fire mentioned in v 6 is in an abyss. Enoch visits this abyss in 21:7-10. In a somewhat unusual sense, both of these verses designate this place of final punishment as a prison (*δεσμοτήριον*; see comm. on 10:4-6; cf. 18:15-16 and Rev 20:7). Reference to the torture of this place occurs in Rev 20:10. Matt 25:41 also knows this tradition and identifies it as one of the places of the final punishment of the wicked and of "the devil and his angels."

■ 14 The two sentences of this verse correspond to vv 12 and 13. According to the first sentence, the place of wicked humanity's confinement is the same as the watchers' temporary prison. This may suggest that both watchers and people will have the same place of final punishment, but this is by no means certain. Only such late texts as Matt 25:41 and Rev 20:10, 15 (cf. 19:20) speak of a single such place of final punishment. Both 1 Enoch 21:7-10 and 27:2-3 || 90:24-27 distinguish two places, identifying the place of humanity's punishment with the Valley of Hinnom (see comm. on 27:2-3). According to 103:7-8, wicked humanity will burn in Sheol.

■ 15 That this brief commissioning is likely more original than Gabriel's commissioning, see comm. on 10:9-10. Here, as in vv 9-10, there is no temporary imprisonment, only immediate destruction. Thus their "spirits" are to be destroyed. Contrast the viewpoint of chaps. 12-16 (on which see comm. on 15:7b-10) and 19:1. On "half-breeds," see comm. on 9:9-10. Here, as in the earlier parts of the story, humanity as a whole is victimized by the giants (cf. 7:3-4; 9:3).

Paul J. Achtemeier, ed., *SBLSP* (2 vols.; Missoula, Mont.; Scholars Press, 1978) 1:312.

34 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 11-15.

35 Ibid., 14-15, 69-70.

36 Cf. also the text that Syncellus attributes to the Book of the Watchers (Milik, *Enoch*, 318). For "beloved" as an adjective defining "son," cf. Gen

22:2, 12, 16; Jer 38(MT 31):20; Mark 1:11; 9:7; 12:6 and par.; 1 Cor 4:14, etc.

37 Jer 52:10; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.4.6 §97; *Ant.* 13.14.2 §380.

■ **16ab** This initial distich of the first strophe of the poem is related in diverse ways to its broad and narrow context. The imperative “Destroy!” (ἀπόλεσον, מַחֲרֵם, 4QEn^c 1 5:3; Milik, *Enoch*, 189) links it with v 15. When Michael has destroyed the giants, he is then to destroy all perversity (ἀδικία, עוֹלָה, 4QEn^c 1 5:3; Milik, *Enoch*, 189) and wicked deeds (πάν ἔργον πονηρίας). Within the structure of the story, this refers to the evils that have resulted from the angelic rebellion (cf. 9:6, 9). Thus Michael is commissioned to obliterate in every sense the evil that is the subject of the story. The language of v 16ab parallels in part 10:2 and Gen 6:7, 13; 7:4. In keeping with the tendency of the present story, the author speaks of the destruction of evil rather than of humanity. The double use of “all” (πάσαν, πάν) stresses the totality of the obliteration of evil and prepares for more positive descriptions of universal blessing and the effecting of divine sovereignty. Verse 16ab also links with the initial distich of the second strophe. See comm. on 10:20.

■ **16c-17** These lines about the righteous and righteousness are a foil to vv 16ab, indicated by pairs of contrasting nouns and verbs. The obliteration (“destroy,” “be gone”) of perversity and evil deeds will be followed by a new start, in which the righteous (and faithful) community will “appear” (cf. Job 24:19 LXX), and righteous (and faithful) deeds “will be planted.” The two occurrences of “and truth” are textually uncertain. If they are original, they were perhaps intended to contrast with “perversity” in v 16a, and the double expression “righteousness and truth” may foreshadow the pair “truth and peace” in 11:2 and relate to Ps 85:12(11) (see comm. on 11:1-2).

Noah’s tilling of the soil and planting of a vineyard (Gen 9:20), a natural enough motif in the postdiluvian situation (cf. Gen 8:22), have counterparts in 1 Enoch 10:18-20; 11:1. This motif in Genesis also determined which traditional image for Israel the author chose for the righteous community in v 16cd (and v 3, if he was its

author). For a reuse of the metaphor in 1 Enoch, see 84:6; 62:8; and 93:2, 5, 8, 10.³⁸ On the more general use and function of the metaphor, see Excursus: The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature. In 93:5 Abraham and his descendants are the plant rather than Noah and his descendants, as they are in vv 3, 16, and 84:6. The reference to the plant’s becoming a blessing may well be an allusion to Gen 12:2, however, in which case the corresponding unit in the second strophe (v 21) may be construing that blessing in terms of the conversion of the nations, a motif that would accord well with Gen 12:13c. For the connection between righteousness and the order of the created world as this is reflected in the realm of agriculture and fertility, cf. Isa 45:8; 61:11.³⁹ For the eschatological virtue of “joy,” cf. also Isa 61:10.

Correspondence with vv 2-3 continues in v 17, which shares with v 3 the verb ἐκφεύγω (“escape”), the designation “righteous,” and reference to life and progeny. Thus Noah in vv 2-3 is a type of the righteous, who will escape judgment and be the patriarch(s) of a new order. The occurrence of this motif, which is common in the literature,⁴⁰ runs against the main narrative line in this story, according to which the wicked (all flesh)/righteous (Noah) dichotomy of Genesis is replaced by a polarity between the giants on the one hand, and humankind and all flesh on the other.

After its foundation (v 16cd), the righteous community will proliferate and live to peaceful old age (v 17bc), thus restoring the human race devastated by the giants’ murderous attacks. As in later verses, the description here is embodied in language borrowed from Isa 65:20-23, which has a number of motifs in common with Genesis 9-10.⁴¹ More specifically, the Trito-Isaianic passage is appropriate to the author’s exposition because it envisions a judgment (66:15-16), in connection with which God will re-create heavens and earth (65:17; 66:22). While the proliferation of progeny is commanded in Gen 9:1 (cf. Gen 1:28), the references here (v 17) to youth and old age and to a long life (reversing the

38 The parallel between this passage and the Apocalypse of Weeks was noted by Dillmann, *Henoch*, 101; and in detail by Milik, *Enoch*, 252.

39 See Hans Heinrich Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung: Hintergrund und Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gerechtigkeitsbegriffes* (BHT 40; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1968) 130-34.

40 Cf. 47:14; 51:4; 69:26; 104:12-13.

41 See esp. Dan 12:1 (בָּלֵט, “be delivered”; cf. here פָּלֵט, “escape,” 4QEn^c 1 5:5; Milik, *Enoch*, 189). See also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 15-16.

decree of Gen 6:3) are drawn from Isa 65:20, 22. This interprets Gen 9:1 and so on in a truly eschatological key that involves a reversion to created perfection. Motifs from Isaiah 65 recur in the introduction to 1 Enoch (5:6–9), and its use in eschatological descriptions becomes traditional in the literature.⁴²

■ **18-19** As Noah tilled the soil and planted a vineyard after the flood (Gen 9:20), so in the last times the earth, devastated by the giants (7:3), will be covered with vegetation, so that the righteous can eat the crops they plant (Isa 65:21–22; cf. 1 Enoch 11:1). Because the earth is tilled by the righteous (this seems to be the meaning of v 18a), God's blessing, in the form of the earth's fecundity, will follow (see comm. on 11:1). The fertility of the earth, as an attendant circumstance of God's coming redemption, is a common motif in prophetic literature,⁴³ sometimes with connotations of new creation,⁴⁴ as is the case here. The reference to "joy" in the textually difficult v 19 reiterates v 16d, with the planting of the trees paralleling the planting of the deeds in v 16. The line between literal meaning and metaphor is difficult to draw in v 18.

The reference to wine, grain, and oil in v 19 is a traditional idiom for the whole of agriculture.⁴⁵ The passage seems to be phrased in contrast to Isa 5:10,⁴⁶ suggesting blessing in contrast to curse and the scarcity described in 1 Enoch 7:3. Although the numbers are stereotyped,

the fantastic yields described in v 19 are of miraculous proportions, and are appropriate to the perfection of the eschaton. A *πρόχοος* ("jug") was a vessel for pouring wine into cups⁴⁷ and secondarily a liquid measure of similar capacity⁴⁸ ("jugful"). Excavated jugs range from about 1.4 to 4.5 liters in volume.⁴⁹ A "measure" (*μέτρον* = *מסד*), about 47 liters,⁵⁰ of olives will yield the impossible amount of 210 liters of oil.⁵¹ The proportions in v 19c are multiplied astronomically in 2 Bar. 29:5 and even more so in a tradition that presumably Papias attributed to Jesus, preserved by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5.33.3).

■ **20** Like its counterpart (v 16ab), the initial distich of the second strophe commands the elimination of evil from the earth. The verb "remove" (*ἐξάλειψον*, lit. "erase") is a close synonym of its counterpart in v 16b, "let it be gone" (*ἐκκλείπτω*), and is also the LXX translation of *מח* in Gen 7:4, 23. Thus this distich commands the same action as v 16ab, but with a difference nuance. The perversity and wickedness referred to in the first strophe is here construed as defilement or impurity (*ἀκαθαρσία*, twice; cf. also v 15). The reference is very likely to the bloodshed described in chap. 7, and its rectification requires cultic purification.⁵² Such purification could be the flood.⁵³ On the other hand, this passage may be an interpretation of Gen 8:20.⁵⁴ According to *Jub.* 6:2 and 1QapGen 10:13 after it,⁵⁵ Noah sacrificed in

42 See Hartman, "Early Example," 21–22; cf., e.g., *Jub.* 23:24–31; cf. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 21–22; and Revelation 21. For long life in 1 Enoch, cf. also 25:5–6; 58:3, 6; 71:7.

43 E.g., Amos 9:13–14; Ezek 34:26–27.

44 Isa 41:18–19; 55:12–13.

45 Deut 28:51; 2 Chr 31:5; Joel 2:19; Hos 2:10, 24 (8, 22).

46 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 102.

47 LSJ, 1541, s.v. *προχοή*, citing *Od.* 18.397.

48 Ibid., citing *IG* 14.422 ii.10 *al.* (ii.3, 65; iii.74), measures of olive oil.

49 For larger sizes see Nancy L. Lapp, "The Late Persian Pottery," in Paul W. Lapp and Nancy L. Lapp, eds., *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh* (AASOR 41; Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1974) plate 21:3; Paul W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology* (American Schools of Oriental Research Publications of the Jerusalem School; Archaeology 3; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1961) 158:F, H; 159:R. The

smaller size (Lapp, *Chronology*, 159:M, Q) seems more serviceable. On Greek pouring vessels, see G. Roger Edwards, *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery* (Corinth 7:3; Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1975) 49–50.

50 Ovid R. Sellers, "Weights and Measures," *IDB* 4:834.

51 An olive contains 20 percent to 30 percent oil by weight; Hudson T. Hartmann, "Olive," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 16 (1961) 774. Thus the yield here is seventeen times what is possible by absolutely efficient pressing.

52 On this motif see Molenberg, "Study," 139; and see comm. on 7:1. On sin as defilement see Rudolf Meyer, "καθάρως, κτλ.," *TDNT* 3 (1965) 418–23.

53 See Hartman, "Early Example," 19. For similar language about eschatological purification, cf. 1QS 4:20–23.

54 Hartman, "Comfort," 94–95.

55 Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 99.

order to atone for the earth (כפר). Although this root is usually translated by the *ἵλασκ-* group and rarely by *καθαρίζω* in the LXX, the occurrence of *קָדַר/καθαρίζω* in Lev 16:30 as a synonym for “atone” suggests some such connotation here,⁵⁶ given the parallels in *Jubilees* and the Genesis Apocryphon. Thus this distich moves beyond its counterpart in the first strophe by indicating that God will remove not only sin and evil, but also their defiling consequences. In later Jewish literature, Michael is identified as the heavenly high priest.⁵⁷ Whether this author knew such a tradition is uncertain. This is the earliest extant Jewish text to ascribe priestly, indeed, high priestly functions to the archangel. The idiom “that have come upon the earth” recalls 9:1 and 10, and indicates that God is now dealing with the evil specified there. The long series of nouns with the repeated “all” emphasizes the total removal of sin and evil in all their aspects.

■ **21** As in the first strophe, the obliteration of sin is followed by the appearance of the righteous, but now in an extended sense. To the number of “all the righteous” (v 17a) will be added “all the sons of men,” that is, “all the peoples.” Thus God’s total sovereignty has not only a negative aspect (absence of sin) but a positive side. The wording of v 16d may indicate that the righteous community (v 16c) is to be an instrument in the conversion of the nations (see comm. on 10:16c-17). The motif of the conversion of the nations and their worship in Jerusalem may have been derived exegetically from Isa 66:18-23, given the parallels to Isaiah 65 noted above.⁵⁸ For the continued emphasis on the conversion of the

nations, cf. 1 Enoch 91:14; 90:37-38.

■ **10:22–11:2** The sequence of Gen 8:20–9:1 is reproduced in these verses. Verse 22a reiterates the theme of v 20 and thus recalls Noah’s sacrifice (Gen 8:20). Verse 22b picks up God’s promise not to curse the earth, employing language closer to the version of that promise in Gen 9:11. In the place of the curse will be the blessings of nature (1 Enoch 11:1; cf. Gen 8:22 and the specific mention of blessing in 9:1).

In keeping with the emphasis on universality in v 21, v 22 states that the cleansing mentioned in v 20 will affect *all* the earth (cf. v 18 also). Verse 22b transforms Gen 9:11 into a promise that no judgment of any sort will again touch the earth. The final conversion of the world is understood as a permanent condition.

Drawing on the imagery of Deut 28:12,⁵⁹ the author implicitly contrasts the waters of the flood with the rains that will bless the earth with fertility.⁶⁰ Here the promise of fecundity in the first strophe (10:18-19) is tied to a context of covenantal blessing. Blessing follows righteousness. In contrast to 7:3, where the giants devoured the crops raised by the “labor” of men, here “the sons of men” (cf. v 21) will be able to enjoy the fruits of their “labor” (cf. Isa 65:21-22).

As an appropriate conclusion to this section, the author draws on the language and imagery of Ps 85:11-14 (10-13),⁶¹ where reference to blessing and fertility is combined with agricultural metaphor applied to the virtues of steadfast love, righteousness, truth, and peace. Here, as in 10:22, “all” is temporalized; God’s blessing is permanent as well as universal.

56 Hartman, “Comfort,” 95.

57 See the literature collected and cited in Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 13–14, 29.

58 Cf. also Isaiah 60 and Zech 14:16-21.

59 Charles, *APOT* 2:195; Hartman, “Comfort,” 92.

60 Cf. 1 Enoch 100:10-13.

61 Charles, *APOT* 2:195; Hartman, “Comfort,” 92.

Introduction

Chapters 12–16 reiterate and confirm the message of chaps. 6–11. The sin of the watchers is the cause of great evil in the world, and for this sin the watchers and their progeny stand under divine judgment. Since, in its fictional setting, this message is addressed to the watchers, the text mentions the negative side of the judgment and not its positive consequences for humanity (contrast 10:16–11:2).

In reiterating the message of chaps. 6–11, the author of the present section also reinterprets those chapters. He elaborates on the nature of the watchers' sin, construing it as a violation of the created distinction between the realms of heaven and earth, the spiritual and the fleshly, the angelic and the human. His treatment of the consequences of the watchers' sin reinterprets the sections of chap. 10 dealing with the demise of the giants. Rather than annihilating the giants, their death releases their evil spirits and creates a vast empire of demons who will afflict the human race until the final judgment. Thus these demons, rather than the historical counterparts of the giants, are the cause of evil in the author's time.

The author of chaps. 12–16 turns the combination of the Shemihazah and Asael traditions—already present in chaps. 6–11—to his own purposes. The element of revelation, which appears to have been added to the Shemihazah tradition in two stages (see Introduction to chaps. 6–11, § The Growth of Tradition in Chapters 6–11), plays a minor role here in comparison to the author's emphasis on the generation of evil spirits as the cause of evil. On the other hand, consonant with literary developments in chaps. 6–11, Asael emerges here unambiguously as the chief rebel angel, and Shemihazah is not even mentioned. The same assimilation occurs in 4Q180 1:7–8.¹

The figure of Enoch is central and crucial to these chapters, in distinction from chaps. 6–11, which do not mention him. His roles are analogous to those of the archangels in chaps. 6–11. He is an intercessor with access to God, albeit for the fallen watchers rather than for the giants' victims. Moreover, he is commissioned to

go to the fallen watchers (cf. 10:4, 9, 11). While his commission is to announce the judgment rather than to effect it, the irrevocability of the decree makes him, in a real sense, an agent of judgment. Although Enoch's title in this section is “scribe” (12:3–4; 15:1), he functions as a spokesman for God. Indeed, he is the *first* prophet, and he is given unequalled access to the heavenly throne room. The description of this ascent is embodied in a narrative whose prototype appears in biblical accounts of prophetic commissionings.

Chapters 12–16 are crucial for the entire Enochic collection as we have it. They establish Enoch's prophetic credentials, which are referred to already in 1:2 and are presumed throughout. In addition, Enoch's ascent to the heavenly throne room begins a series of cosmic journeys that comprise chaps. 17–36 and are the presupposition for chaps. 91–105 (see Introduction §3.1.3).

Literary Analysis

This section comprises a series of commissionings, which employ to various degrees the form of biblical calls and commissionings. For a comparison of the most detailed of these commissionings (3a, b, c) with the biblical model, see comm. on 14:8–16:4.

	1	2	3a	3b	3c
Introduction	12:3a	13:3	13:7	14:1–4a	-
Confrontation	12:3b	-	13:8ab	14:4b	14:8–23
Reaction	-	-	-	-	14:9c, 13–14, 24
Reassurance/ Restoration	-	-	-	-	14:25–15:1
Commission	12:4–5 12:6 13:1–2	13:4–5	13:8c	14:4c–5 14:6–7	15:2–7 15:8–16:1 16:2–4
Conclusion	13:3	13:6–7	13:9–10	-	-

There are three commissionings in this section. (1) An angel appears to Enoch and commissions him to announce doom to “the watchers of heaven” and to Asael for their sins, which are briefly enumerated. (2) When Enoch delivers this message, the watchers commission him to intercede for them. (3) After Enoch

1 See Milik, *Enoch*, 314.

offers the petition he has drawn up in their behalf, he is taken up into heaven, where God confirms the initial commissioning and its message.

With the exception of the two interpolations about Asael (see comm. on 13:1-2 and 16:2-4), the section was composed as an integral whole and in climactic order. The first commissioning announces the theme. The watchers' request and Enoch's petition demonstrate that such intercession is ineffectual; the greatness of the watchers' sin has sealed their fate. The third commissioning far exceeds the first. Enoch is given entry to the heavenly throne room, and God is the speaker. Whereas the indictment in the first commissioning recounts only the facts of the watchers' sin, the extended indictment in the third commissioning explicates in detail the implications of the deed. This third commissioning is recounted three times, again in climactic fashion, with the final account—which is closest to the prophetic prototype—providing a detailed description of Enoch's journey to the heavenly throne room and an extended exposition of the enormity of the watchers' sin. It ends with a brief recapitulation of the heavenly sentence, which brings the reader back to the first commissioning and the more extensive statement of that sentence.

Date

Since chaps. 12–16 presuppose at least the Shemihazah story in chaps. 6–11, the latter provides a terminus post quem for the composition of the present section. This can be set roughly at 300 B.C.E. (see Introduction to chaps. 6–11, § Date). Paleographical evidence and literary context in 1 Enoch provide a terminus ante quem for chaps. 12–16. The oracle in chaps. 1–5 was composed as an introduction for at least chaps. 1–36 (see comm. on chaps. 1–5, § An Introduction to Chapters 6–36). That these chapters were extant as a collection ca. 150 B.C.E. is indicated by the presence of this introduction in 4QEn^a, a MS. dating from the mid-second century B.C.E.² Since 2A is not the autograph MS. of 1–36 (see Introduction §2.1.2.1), one can press back the composition of the collection at least a couple of decades, that is, to 170 B.C.E., a date also indicated by the allusion to the eschatological

geography of chaps. 24–27 in Daniel 12 (see comm. on 25:4-6). The Animal Vision (1 Enoch 85–90), which is contemporary with Daniel 12 (if not a couple of decades earlier in its original form), alludes to these chapters, as well as chaps. 20–36 (see comm. on 87:2-4). In order to allow for the composition of chaps. 17–19 as a parallel tradition to chaps. 12–16 (see comm. on chaps. 17–19) and chaps. 20–36 as a parallel tradition to chaps. 17–19 (see Introduction to chaps. 20–36, § Literary Form and Structure), one should date chaps. 12–16 to the middle of the third century B.C.E. at the latest. Thus a date between 300 and 250 B.C.E. is indicated for the present section.

Provenance

Religious Concerns

As we move from the author's narrative world to his real world, it is worth underscoring the differences between chaps. 6–11 and 12–16. Reference to the warlike activities of the giants (= the Diadochoi, see Introduction to chaps. 6–11, § Date and Setting) is replaced largely by a description of the violent actions of the demonic spirits that issued from the dead giants and that threaten human existence between primordial time and the end time (15:11–16:1). Thus the story of the angelic rebellion has become an aetiology of the demonic kingdom that dominates human existence in the present time.

This interest notwithstanding, the emphasis in chaps. 12–16 lies elsewhere—in an explanation of the *nature* of the rebellion. This explanation is conveyed through a narrative whose symbolic universe emphasizes the created distinction between heaven and earth, the realms of spirit and flesh. One of the governing metaphors in this narrative is the watchers' status as priests of the heavenly sanctuary. The nature of their rebellion was that they forsook their priestly stations in that sanctuary and mingled sexually with mortal women and defiled themselves with the mortals' menstrual blood.

No single one of these elements is surprising in itself. What is striking, however, is that in his story about the origins of the demonic realm, this author introduced and emphasized a cluster of ideas that closely parallels

2 Ibid., 140.

later polemics against the Jerusalem priesthood in the Damascus Document (CD 5:6-7) and the *Psalms of Solomon* (8:12 [13]). That the parallel is not accidental is indicated by another set of parallels between these chapters and the last chapters of Ezra. Like Ezra, Enoch's title is "scribe" (12:3-4; Ezra 7:6, 11; Neh 8:1, 4, etc.). The watchers ask Enoch to intercede for them, using words reminiscent of Ezra's prayer of confession (1 Enoch 13:4-5; Ezra 9:6). The circumstances in the two stories are remarkably similar. When Ezra arrives in Jerusalem, he discovers that many of the Israelites, but notably a significant number of priests and Levites, have married foreign women and thereby mixed and polluted the holy people and, obviously, the priesthood. Ezra prays in their behalf. The people assemble before him, confessing their guilt and seeking forgiveness. According to 1 Enoch, the priests of the heavenly sanctuary have defiled themselves through marriage and intercourse with women—who as a class have been forbidden to them. They ask Enoch the scribe to intercede for them. Here the stories diverge. Gathered in formal assembly, the watchers hear Enoch's reading of the heavenly oracle. Their petition is rejected. They are given no chance to dissociate themselves from their wives and thereby to find forgiveness.

The presence of elements that are at home over a long time in antipriest polemics from known historical situations suggests that the author of this mythic account is himself concerned about the pollution of the temple and/or priesthood. That is, he nuances his description of the primordial rebellion with references to what he considers to be a particularly egregious sin in his own time.³ A similar concern is evident in later developments in the tradition. The author of the Apocalypse of Weeks does not even mention the building of the Second Temple (see comm. on 93:9-10; 91:11). Although the Animal Vision does describe its construction, it asserts that the sacrifices on its altar have been polluted since the beginning, a claim that is worded in language drawn from the polemics of Malachi (see comm. on 89:72b-90).

If this analysis is correct, the author of these chapters

stood in a tradition that was, for various reasons, critical of the Jerusalem temple and/or priesthood. This criticism stretched from at least the time of Malachi until the turn of the era, although the reasons for the criticism varied over the centuries. Here, as in the Damascus Document and the *Psalms of Solomon*, *halakah* about purity appears to have been the point of contention.

Place of Origin

At several points 1 Enoch asserts the geographical centrality and ultimate sanctity of Jerusalem (25:4-6; 26:1-2; 89:50; 90:20-36). It is striking therefore that the compilers of this document have incorporated into it a vision that grants sacred status to the territory around the ancient and bitterly denounced shrine of the north. The geographical rooting of the tradition must have been unshakably established. Furthermore, the precise and correct location of the sites of Dan and Abel-Main indicates firsthand familiarity with the area at some point in the chain of tradition. These two data are best explained by the hypothesis that these chapters constitute a tradition of northern Galilean provenance that in turn reflects visionary activity in the area of Dan and Hermon.⁴ The hypothesis is further supported by the Jewish and Christian reuse of this tradition, again in connection with this same geographic area (see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16).

In summary, 1 Enoch 12–16 is a tradition that appears to have emanated from circles in Upper Galilee who viewed the Jerusalem priesthood as defiled and therefore under the irrevocable judgment of God. These people regarded the area around Dan and Hermon as sacred territory that was catalytic of revelation.

The Author's Community

The pseudepigraphic character of these chapters does not permit us to assign them to a specific, known group in Judaism. This obscurity notwithstanding, it is significant that this text and the related texts in the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Animal Vision, mentioned above, are documented in their earliest manuscript form among

3 For a similar conclusion about the origin of the Shemihazah story, see Suter, "Fallen Angel."

4 Such a Galilean provenance is suggested by Charles Clermont-Ganneau, "Le Mont Hermon et son dieu

d'après une inscription inédite," *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* 5 (1903) 357; and Burkitt, *Apocalypses*, 28–30.

the scrolls of Qumran, a community whose polemics against the Jerusalem priesthood are well known. The Qumranites, who had their own points of contention with Jerusalem, were the heirs of a literature that transmitted an older and perhaps ongoing polemic against the alleged irregularities, impurities, and excesses of the Jerusalem priesthood. Precisely what the historical connections may have been between the Qumranians and the authors of these Enochic texts is a question that cannot be answered on the basis of present evidence (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance). The suggested place of origin of 1 Enoch 12–16 may, however, offer a new datum for the discussion of the origin of the Damascus Document. Two texts making reference to events to the west and the east of Mount Hermon employ similar language to criticize the priesthood.⁵

Function

A clue to the function of these chapters is in their genre. They claim to be an account of a heavenly commissioning. The message they convey is the divinely revealed verdict of the heavenly court. Different from chaps. 6–11, which are a third person account of events on earth and in heaven, the author of chaps. 12–16 speaks in the first person, albeit pseudonymously, of events that have been personally experienced in the heavenly throne room. And because these events are recounted in the

style of a prophetic commissioning, the author is claiming that his interpretation of them is revealed truth.

This claim to revelation gives divine authority to several assertions. First, the historical counterparts to the watchers are said to have rebelled against God's commandment. If my historical analysis is correct, the author is asserting that the Enochic laws about purity that the Jerusalem priests have ignored or rejected are revealed law, whose violation has provoked divine wrath. Second, God's judgment of these priests and their regime is an irrevocable fact. Third, the demonic realm that plagues human life is not a divine creation but is the result of a heavenly rebellion. Fourth, for this reason, it too is doomed.

By identifying these assertions as revealed truth, the author accomplishes several things. He affirms the absolute correctness of his and his community's religious viewpoint. He assures his audience of the goodness and justice of God in a world that appears to contradict these. He promises his readers that this goodness and justice will take effect on earth as they now do in heaven. This comforting and encouraging factor is the essence of this author's message, as it typically is in apocalyptic works—texts that claim to mediate God's revelation of the way things really are.

5 For other parallels between the Apocalypse of Weeks and the Damascus Document, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature," *JJS* 33 (1982) 333–48. On the problems of interpreting the references to Damas-

cus in the Damascus Document, see Michael E. Knibb, "Exile in the Damascus Document," *JSOT* 25 (1983) 99–117.

- 1 Before these things, Enoch was taken; and none of the sons of men^a knew where he had been taken, or where he was, or what had happened to him.
- 2 And his works were with the watchers, and with the holy ones were his days.

1a none --- men] οὐδεὶς τῶν <νῶν τῶν> ἀνθρώπων) om. νῶν τῶν ^{6a} by hmt, or by purposeful paraphrase (see Larson, “Translation,” §3.2.1 on 4QEn^a 1.iii.18).

■ 1-2 Verse 1 paraphrases Gen 5:24, “And Enoch walked with God, and he was not because God took him” (וַיִּתְּחַלֵּךְ עִנֹּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וְאִינֹנִי כִי לָקַח אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים). The Gk. ἐλήφθη (“was taken”) here corresponds to Heb לקח in Gen 5:24 (μετέθηκεν [“was translated”] in LXX). A paraphrase similar to 12:1 occurs in ^{Neof} Gen 5:24b, where “and he was not” (וְאִינֹנִי) is rendered “and it was not known where he was” (וְלִיתַּת יְדִיעַ אֵן הוּא).¹

In the present context, this paraphrase of Gen 5:24 refers not to Enoch’s disappearance at the end of his life, but to the beginning of a period of association with the angels (v 2), during which he is instructed in the secrets of the universe and, to some extent, of the end time. He receives this instruction in order to transmit it to his children before his final disappearance. We are not told the length of his sojourn with the angels, and later sources that are dependent on 1 Enoch differ. According to *Jub.* 4:21-23, whose language indicates familiarity with these chapters, after Enoch begat Methuselah at age 65, he spent six jubilees (294 years) with the angels. Thus he would have thereafter returned to earth a short time before he was taken to paradise (*Jub.* 5:23). 2 *Enoch* 1:1 states that the patriarch’s cosmic journey took place in the last year of his life. Both traditions are roughly consonant with 1 Enoch 81:5-10.

These two verses introduce the chapters that follow, providing a capsule summary of the contents of these

chapters and linking them temporally with the preceding. Enoch was taken to the angels some time before the fall of the watchers, and his final removal takes place after their fall, since he announces the reprimand of heaven to them before he is finally taken back up to God. For a similar use of “before all these things” (πρὸ τούτων τῶν λόγων) to indicate a chronological order that is the reverse of the literary sequence, cf. Luke 21:12. The use of the third person in these two verses differs from the consistent use of the first person in the rest of chaps. 12–36, indicating either an editorial creation or the use of a traditional paraphrase of Gen 5:24. The two lines of v 2 are set in a complementary synonymous parallelism (works | days, watchers | holy ones) expressed in syntactic chiasm. The use of “works” and “days” (ἔργα/ἡμέραι) in synonymous parallelism is apparently unique in our literature. It may well reflect the title of Hesiod’s treatise, *Works and Days*, which is drawn from that book’s discussion of astronomical and calendrical data as they relate to human activities.² Thus this apocalyptic text may reflect one of the characteristics of the Enochic corpus, the use of language that indicates contact with surrounding Hellenistic culture.

“Watchers” and “holy ones” are not two groups of angels, but are the two halves of the name of one group, used here in the synonymous parallelism (see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones).

1 ^{1on} Gen 5:24 reads וְהָאֵלֹהִים לִיתַּת הוּא (“and behold he was not”). ^{1onq} Gen 5:24 reads וְלִיחֹדֵי (“and he was not”). Thus the last three words in Neofiti are a unique long reading in that text which corresponds to 1 Enoch 12:1.

2 See Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod* (LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936) xviii. For the relevant passages, see lines 415–694, 765–828.

ENOCH SENT TO THE WATCHERS

- 3 I, Enoch, was standing, blessing the Lord of majesty, the King of the ages. And behold, the
 4 watchers of the Great Holy One^a called me, Enoch the scribe, and said to me,
 "Enoch,^a righteous scribe, ☩ and say to the watchers of heaven—who forsook the highest
 heaven, the sanctuary of the(ir) eternal station, and^b defiled themselves with women. As
 the sons of earth do, ☩ they did and took wives for themselves.
 5/ And they^a wrought great desolation ☩ the earth—"You will have no peace or
 forgiveness."^b
 6 "And concerning their sons, in whom they rejoice^a—
 The slaughter of their beloved ones they will see;
 and over the destruction of their sons they will lament and make petition forever,
 and they will have no mercy or peace.

ENOCH SENT TO ASael

- 13:1 "And, Enoch, go and say to Asael,^a
 'You will have no peace.
 A great sentence has gone forth against you, to bind you.
 2 You will have no relief or petition,
 because of the unrighteous deeds that you revealed,
 {and because of all the godless deeds and the unrighteousness and the sin that you
 revealed} to men."^c
 3 Then I went and spoke to all of them together.^a And they were all afraid,
 and trembling and fear seized them.

3a The watchers of the Great Holy One] ☩ | 4QEn^c 1
 5:19 (Milik, *Enoch*, 190) has only the fragments of two
 words in this section and appears to read, "And
]behold, the watch[er" (אֲרָרִי עֲרִי' אֲרָרִי).

4a the scribe - - - - Enoch] om. ☩^a by hmt.

b om. ☩^a.

5a "you" (pl.) ☩^a, thus placing this line in Enoch's direct
 address to the angels. This is not likely to be original,
 since it refers to the deeds of the giants, and leaves no
 reference in the indictment to the sin of the angels
 themselves.

b + "of sin" ☩, a gloss.

6a And concerning - - - - rejoice] ☩ | ☩ MSS. vary and
 appear all to be corrupt.

13:1

1a ☩^a: "And Enoch said to Azazel, 'Go . . .'" (ὁ δὲ Ἐνώχ τῷ

Ἀζαήλ εἶπεν Πορεύου), which is nonsense | ☩: "And
 Enoch, going, said to Azazel . . ." (*wahēnok hālifo yebēlo
 la'azāz'ēl*). According to ☩, Enoch responds to his com-
 mission to go to the watchers by going to Asael, to
 whom he has not been sent. Thereafter, with no transi-
 tion, he goes to the watchers. ☩ appears to reflect the
 following Aramaic consonants, וְחִנֹּךְ לַעֲשֵׂאֵל אֲזַל וְחִנֹּךְ,
 which could be translated as the ☩ does, but make more
 sense as translated above. See also Milik, *Enoch*, 192. ☩
 "Go!" may reflect a misplaced correction against the
 Aramaic.

3a Then - - - - together] om. ☩^a, perhaps due to similar
 ending (αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτό).

■ **12:3–13:3** The typical commissioning appears here in
 skeleton form: introduction (12:3a), confrontation
 (12:3b), commission (12:4–13:2), conclusion (13:3). The
 weight is on the words of commission, which are divided
 into three sections relating to the watchers (12:4-5), the
 giants (12:6), and Asael (13:1-2). Each contains a stereo-
 typed announcement of judgment ("You will have no *x*
 and *y*"). In the case of the watchers and Asael, the judg-
 ment is based on an expressed indictment of the sins
 already described in chaps. 6–11. The giants' sin is
 referred to in 12:5a, which may be out of its original

place in the text. Since this section is largely preparatory
 for 13:8–16:4 (see Introduction to chaps. 12–16), where
 many of the elements in this section are developed more
 explicitly and in greater detail, comments here will be
 limited to matters specifically relating to this section.

■ **12:3** God's messenger approaches Enoch while he is
 blessing God. Epiphanies (and commissionings) often
 take place on holy ground and/or in cultic situations.
 Cf. Gen 28:10-22; Exodus 3–4; Isaiah 6; Luke 1:5-23. If
 the geographical locations mentioned in 1 Enoch 13:7
 and 9 imply that Enoch's activities took place at a tradi-

tional sanctuary (see Excursus: The Sacred Geography of 1 Enoch 6–16), such a setting may be presupposed here. Enoch’s main commissioning occurs in an analogous setting. See comm. on 13:4-5.

This is the first in a series of passages that depict Enoch “blessing” God. Cf. 22:14; 25:7; 27:5; 36:4; 81:3, 10; 83:11; 84:12. The titles for God in these passages are stereotyped (usually “Lord of glory”) and, together with the verb “bless,” may well reflect actual liturgical usage (see below). In all the above-mentioned passages, Enoch blesses God in response to a revelation. Here the sequence is reversed.

Milik retroverts the Greek verbs, ἐστὼς ἤμην εὐλογῶν (“I was standing, blessing”) into Aram. ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐܢܐ and translates “I began to bless,” construing the verb ܩܝܡ (“rise up/stand”) in an inchoative sense.¹ More likely, this is a reference to a common posture for prayer. Cf. 1 Kgs 8:22; Pr Azar 2; Mark 11:25; Matt 6:5; Luke 18:11, 13.² If the verb is not taken literally, it may have durative rather than inchoative connotations.³

The verb “bless” may imply the liturgical formula “Blessed are you/is the God . . .” (ܐܬܝܚܝܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ/εὐλογητὸς [εἶ]). Cf. 1 Enoch 84:2; 1QH 13(5):20; 18(10):14; Tob 3:11; 8:5, 15-17; 11:14; 1 Macc 4:30; Pr Azar 3, 29, etc.

The title “Lord of majesty” (κύριος τῆς μεγαλωσύνης) occurs with certainty only here in 1 Enoch but is probably to be read in 81:3 (see comm. ad loc.). God’s majesty is mentioned in 5:4 and 101:3 and may well imply the title “the *Great* (Holy) One,” on which see comm. on 1:3. These are two of many titles in 1 Enoch that depict God as totally “other” and sovereign and worthy of praise (see Introduction §4.2.1.1). For God’s majesty in liturgical contexts, cf. Tob 12:6; 13:4, 6, 7; 14:2. Such usage is also implied in the expression “ascribe (lit. ‘give’) majesty,” Deut 32:3; (1 Chr 29:11); Sir 39:15.

“King of the ages” (βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων) occurs only here in 1 Enoch, although the singular, “King of eternity (lit. ‘of the age’)” appears in a blessing passage

in 25:5. The liturgical milieu of “King of the ages” is indicated in the hymn in Tobit 13, where it is the object of verbs of worship, “exalt, bless” (ὑψόω, εὐλογέω, vv 6, 10). On the related titles, “eternal God” and “eternal Lord,” see comm. on 1:4 and 9:4. For a parallel to the combination of titles here, cf. 1:3-4, “Great Holy One” and “eternal God.”

The appearance of a single angel (Ἀ evidently) has analogies in Dan 4:13; 9:21; 10:5, etc. In 2 *Enoch* 1:4 two angels appear to Enoch and lead him on his journey through the universe; cf. 1 Enoch 17:1-19, 21-36. The title “the Great Holy One” occurs again in this section in 14:1.

■ 4-5 These verses prepare for the emphases and nuances of 12:1–16:4 as a whole. Their placement at the beginning of the section emphasizes the sin of the watchers’ intercourse with the women. They focus on the defilement of the watchers rather than on the women or the violence of the giants. The name of the chieftain, Shemihazah, is not mentioned.

Verse 4 is paralleled phrase by phrase in the main commissioning in 15:1-2. On the term “righteous scribe” (ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης) see comm. on 14:24–15:1). For my punctuation of the sentence, “And as the sons of earth do . . .,” cf. 15:3 and the explanation in 15:4-7. It is the giants who actually desolate the earth (7:3-6). According to 15:11 and 16:1, their spirits continue to do so after the giants are slaughtered. But final responsibility lies with the watchers, who fathered these devastators (cf. 10:7). That there will be no “peace” is common to the announcements of judgment in all three sections of this pericope (12:5, 6; 13:1). For the formula “You will have no peace,” see comm. on 16:4. Here, in the double formula typical of this pericope, forgiveness is also denied. That this is the author’s emphasis is evident from its recurrence in 13:4, 7. In response to this judgment, the watchers petition specifically for forgiveness and its result, an extension of their lives. The emphasis on forgiveness is another indication that the

1. Milik, *Enoch*, 192.

2. See the discussion of H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956) 261. Rabbinic texts are cited in Str-B 1:401.

3. A durative meaning is suggested for Matt 6:5 by A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (London: Macmillan, 1915) 75. The periphrastic con-

struction in Milik’s retroversion often implies continuous past action, although a simple past is not excluded (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 223). The examples of an inchoative use of ܩܝܡ quoted by Milik use the simple perfect. Cf. also the examples in 1QapGen, cited by Fitzmyer, *ibid.*, 134.

watchers' sin is especially in focus. Outside this section, "forgiveness" is mentioned only in 5:6 (see Introduction §4.2.6).

■ ■ The punishment of the giants is discussed also in 10:9-10, 12, and 14:6-7. The parallelism in the present verse is closer to 10:12 than to 14:6; however, all three passages agree on certain common elements, which treat the giants' destruction in relationship to the watchers. The giants are *beloved* sons, in whom their fathers rejoice (13:6). As a result of the giants' destruction, which their fathers must witness, the fathers lament over them and make petition in their behalf. The destruction of the giants adds paternal grief to the watchers' punishment. The focus remains on the watchers' sin and their responsibility for its consequences. The verse ends with the typical double word of judgment. Here it is not a question of the giants not being forgiven for their deeds, but of their not being shown mercy in the face of their doom. Implied is perhaps a father's petition that his son be spared. Cf. 50:4; 62:9.

■ **13:1-2** This is the only mention of Asael in chaps. 12-16. Since it intrudes between the command in 12:4-6 and its fulfillment in 13:3, it is likely a secondary addi-

tion.⁴ See comm. on 16:2-4 and the discussion in Introduction to chaps. 6-11, § The Growth of the Tradition in Chapters 6-11. The reference here completes the list of the villains in chaps. 6-11. Asael's sin is described as in 8:1-2 and 9:6, and his punishment, as in 10:4. Here his judgment is spoken in two sentences. Along with the watchers and the giants, he is denied peace. Verse 2a stresses the irrevocability and relentless character of their punishment. Cf. 63:1. The bracketed passage appears to be a fuller form of the previous line, possibly reflecting a collation against an Aramaic ms. We cannot be certain whether the long text is expansionistic, or the short text abbreviated. For a similar problem in a similar text, cf. 10:20.

■ **3** The commissioning form concludes typically with the emissary carrying out his commission. Enoch goes to the watchers mentioned in 12:4-6. At the same time, the passage is a bridge to the next section, and functions as the circumstantial introduction to the watchers' commissioning of Enoch. The last sentence seems to be quoted in 1:5.

4 Newsom, "Development," 316-21.

4

And they asked that I write a memorandum of petition for them, that they might have forgiveness, and that I recite^a the memorandum of petition for them in the presence of the Lord of heaven. 5/ For they were no longer able to speak or to lift their eyes to heaven out of shame for the deeds through which they had sinned and for which they had been condemned. 6/ Then I wrote out the memorandum of their petition, and the requests concerning themselves,^a with regard to their deeds individually,^b and concerning <their sons> for whom they were making request, that they might have forgiveness and longevity. 7/ And I went and sat by the waters of Dan in the land of Dan, which is south of Hermon, to the west. I recited (to God) the memorandum of their petition until I fell asleep.

4a ἀναγνῶ ^ⲉ. For the idiom, cf. 97:6 | “I raise” (ʿā-reg = ἀνάγω) ^ⲉ.

6a ^ⲉ ^ⲉ: “concerning their spirits” (περὶ τῶν πνευμάτων, *baʿenta manfasomu*) | 4QEn^c 1 6:1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 192) appears to read כֹּל נְפֻשֹׁתָם (ʿconcerning all of

thems[elves], lit. their souls”), of which ^ⲉ is a possible translation. See comm.

b with - - - individually] ^ⲉ | + “all” 4QEn^c 1 6:1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 192) | om. ^ⲉ by hmt.

■ 4-7 When Enoch has carried out his commission to announce judgment to the fallen watchers, they in turn commission him to intercede for them and their sons. Elements of the typical commissioning form are even fewer than in the previous section (see Introduction to chaps. 12–16).

The watchers make a twofold request of Enoch: that he write up their petition, and that he offer it on behalf of them. The first of these requests is related to his role as scribe (see Introduction §6.2). In the present context, his scribal function is to write a copy of the watchers’ petition and to recite it. A little later, he will make a copy of the heavenly response to this petition (see comm. on 14:24–15:1) and read it to the watchers. The watchers’ second request, that he pray the petition, is based on their own unworthiness to approach God (v 5). It may also presume the theory that the prayer of a righteous man (see comm. on 14:24–15:1) is especially effective. Cf. Prov 15:29; 3 Macc 6:1–21; 2 Bar. 2:2; Jas 5:16–18.

The watchers’ request is ironic, as the author notes in 14:2. They ask Enoch, a man, to perform an angelic duty that they themselves are ineligible to perform. The pericope prepares us for God’s final word on the matter. The offering of the petition demonstrates that petitioning is futile in this case; the condemnation of the watchers and the giants is irrevocable (14:4, 7).

■ 4-5 The “memorandum of petition” (ὑπόμνημα τῆς

ἐρωτήσεως) is mentioned only in this section. Later references are simply to “your petition” (14:4, 7). In our literature a memorandum is a written or verbal communication, intended to call one’s attention to certain facts. It may be simply a chronicle (Ezra 6:2). It may refer to a prayer (Tob 12:12) or even a book (Mal 3:16), set in the presence of God for the purpose of prodding God into action. The bringing of intercessory memoranda into God’s presence is an angelic function according to 99:3 (cf. 104:1), although these reminders may be oral rather than written. See comm. ad loc. But the activities of angelic *scribe*-intercessors are depicted in 89:70–77. On angelic intercession in 1 Enoch and elsewhere, see Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents.

Enoch is to recite the petition in the presence of (lit. “before the face of,” ἐνώπιον/קְדִים/לפני) God. This preposition need only imply that God will hear, or be witness to, the prayer. Its usage is not uncommon in connection with prayers, oaths, and similar liturgical and quasi-liturgical forms.¹ But the term is also used in a special sense to refer to God’s presence in a cultic place. Cf. Exod 34:20; Lev 4:4; Num 17:22(7); 1 Kgs 8:22. In

1 See BAGD, s.v. 2b. Cf. 4 Ezra 5:22; 6:36; 8:19; 9:28 (*coram*).

1 Enoch and many other texts, it denotes God's heavenly presence, into which prayers are brought and where accusations and pleas are made (1 Enoch 98:7; 99:3; 104:1; Tob 12:12; Mal 3:16; Luke 12:6; Acts 10:31; Rev 12:10). An exact parallel to the idiom here occurs in 1 Enoch 97:6, where the record of the deeds of the wicked is read out in God's presence. In the present context, after Enoch has read the petition, he is taken up in a vision to heaven, into the divine presence (chap. 14). If we assign any cultic significance to the geographical locations mentioned in this section (see Excursus: The Sacred Geography of 1 Enoch 6–16), the present passage may refer to a heaven-earth polarity at the sacred place. This interpretation is supported by the title "Lord of heaven," which occurs only here in 1 Enoch.²

The description of the watchers' attitude reflects the wording of Ezra's classic prayer of confession (Ezra 9:6; cf. Luke 18:13). The surpassing enormity of their sin is reflected, however, in their inability to pray. The watchers' petition is for forgiveness, which is consonant with the nature of the sentence against them in 12:5.

■ 6 Enoch describes the petition in greater detail. On the one hand, it is a prayer in behalf of the watchers that confesses each of their sins (a counterpart to the heavenly book of deeds; cf. 89:68–71 and comm. on 98:8) and requests forgiveness for them (cf. v 4). On the other hand, it appears also to be the watchers' petition in behalf of their sons, the giants. Several factors support emending *περὶ ὧν δέονται*, which must be translated "and concerning the things they were requesting" to *περὶ ὧν δέονται τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῶν* (translation above).³ The fathers' petition for their sons is mentioned in 10:10, is anticipated in 12:6, and is presumed in 14:7. "Longevity" (*μακρότης*) means "length of days," which is explicitly denied the giants in 10:9–10. Their violent deaths, which will cut short their lives, are also mentioned in 12:6. Thus the petition intercedes "concerning" the two groups condemned in 12:4–5 and 12:6, requesting the alleviation of the sentences specified therein.

Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16

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2 The title is rare elsewhere. See Dan 5:23; 1QapGen 7:7; 12:17; *T. Mos.* 4:4; and for "God of heaven," see Dan 2:18, 37, 44.

3 So Milik, *Enoch*, 194. Perhaps an explanatory "their sons" has dropped from the text; cf. 12:6. See Charles, *Enoch*, 30, who has followed this line of interpretation, including a shrewd guess that

נפשתייהו = "themselves" (as opposed to the giants) may stand behind "their spirits."

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1 Enoch 13:7-9 makes a pair of precise and accurate references to several known geographical locations in Upper Galilee (the waters of Dan, Abel-Main, Lebanon, and Sēnir). Together with the references to Hermon in 6:6, they set the narrative of the angelic rebellion, Enoch's interaction with the watchers, and his ascent to heaven in a specific, well-defined geographical locale. The choice of place is not accidental. Literary, epigraphic, and archeological evidence from the Bronze Age to the Roman period indicates that over a long period of time the region around Mount Hermon was sacred to Canaanites, Israelites, non-Israelites of the Greco-Roman period, and Christians.⁴

None of this will surprise a visitor to the area.⁵ The massif that constitutes Hermon-Sēnir-Sirion is an awesome, imposing presence rising at the south end of the Anti-Lebanon chain and dominating the landscape for many miles in every direction. Snow-capped six months of the year,⁶ its enormous peak reaches up 2,814 meters (9,280 feet) above sea level, towering over the lush valley of the Beqa to the north and the Huleh to the south. At its base, four major streams converge to form the headwaters of the Jordan. Three of them—the Haṣbani, the Dan, and the Hermon—are fed by the snows of Hermon and gush forth 500 million cubic meters (132 billion gallons)

4 The initial form of this excursus appeared in 1981 in my article, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 582-99. Only in 1996 did I discover the 1971 article in which Edward Lipiński ("El's Abode") drew on precisely the same primary sources, seeing them as part of a much longer religious tradition witnessed already in the Gilgamesh Epic and the Canaanite texts of Ugarit. The independence of the two studies strengthens the case for the validity of their similar conclusions.

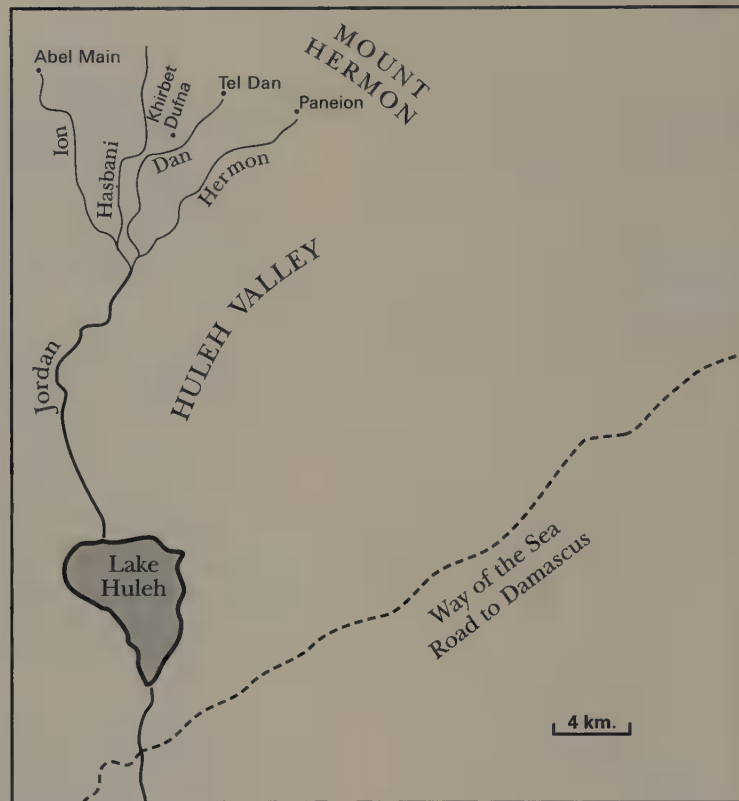
I have profited from conversations with Prof. Avraham Biran and Dr. Shimon Dar and am especially indebted to Dr. Zvi Uri Ma'oz, who graciously hosted my wife and me on a tour of Mount Hermon and its environs in 1996, and who read this excursus and made numerous detailed corrections and

suggestions (correspondence 5/14/1997). Its final form is, of course, my responsibility.

As Ma'oz notes (*ibid.*), "Upper Galilee" is a modern geographical term in Israel. For "Oulatha and Panias" (Ουλάθαν και Πανειάδα) as the designation of Augustus's gift of this territory to Herod the Great, see Josephus *Ant.* 15.10.3 §360.

5 For modern descriptions of the area, see George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (rev. ed.; repr. New York: Harper, 1966) 304-5; Denis Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1974) 191-96; and in much more detail, Dar, *Settlements*, 3-8.

6 Dar, *Settlements*, 7.



per annum of often white and roaring water.⁷ It is the kind of geography universally associated with epiphanies and worship of the gods.⁸

References to this area as the abode of the gods and the area of their activity appear already in Bronze Age sources: in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh Epic and in the Canaanite myths about the amours of Baal and Anat preserved at Ras Shamra.⁹ Canaanite reverence for Mount Hermon is also indicated in at least two places in the Bible. The place-name (Mount) Baal Hermon (Judg 3:3; 1 Chr 5:23) reflects a sobriquet of the Canaanite deity who was worshiped at Mount Hermon.¹⁰ Psalm 29, which

is widely regarded as a Yahwistic revision of a Canaanite hymn, associates epiphanies of the Deity and sacred space with the names of Lebanon and Sirion.¹¹

The Bible traces Israelite cultic activity in this area back to the migration of the Danites, who, according to Judges 18, set up a shrine at Dan (Tel Dan, formerly called Tell el-Qadi), which was attended by a Levitical priest who was said to be a grandson of Moses. Although the account is clearly polemical, it very likely reflects an old tradition about Yahwistic

7 Ibid., 6.

8 On the cosmic geography of high mountains and subterranean springs, see Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972). See esp. pp. 186–88, where he discusses 1 Enoch 13 and *T. Levi* 2:3–5 in the context of this mythology.

9 Dussaud, “Cultes cananéens”; Lipiński, “El’s Abode,” 15–24.

10 George Foot Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (ICC; New York: Scribner’s, 1910)

82; Alfred Haldar, “Hermon, Mount,” *IDB* 2:585.

11 Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms I* (AB 16; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966) 175–80; and Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) 151–56. For Sirion as a name for Hermon, see Deut 3:9 and the discussion of J. T. Milik, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RB* 62 (1955) 404; Lipiński, “El’s Abode,” 24–26. For another psalmic reference to this area, cf. Ps 42:6–9(5–8) and the discussion of Smith, *Geography*, 306–7. Worth



Mount Hermon as seen from the Golan.
Photo by Zvi Uri Ma'oz



Mount Hermon from the East on the
Road to Damascus.
Photo by George Nickelsburg

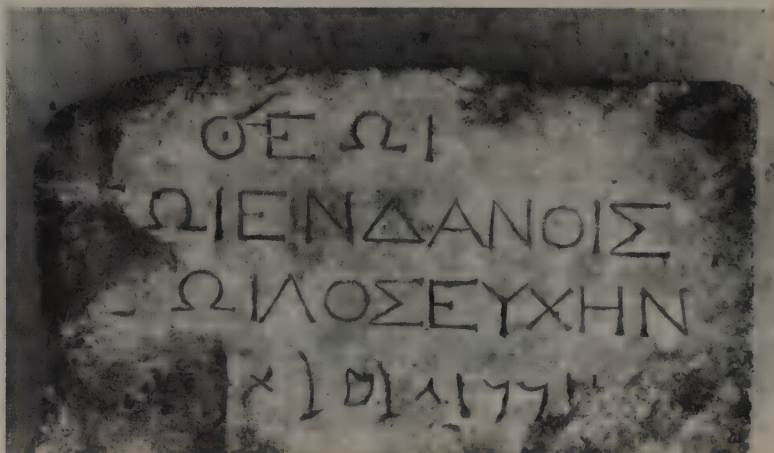
Reconstruction of the sacred precinct on Tel Dan as rebuilt by Jeroboam II (ca. 750 B.C.E.), view from the southeast. In foreground, the main altar enclosure with a remnant of the steps leading to the altar on the south and east sides. In background, the monumental stairway on the south side of the high place.
Photo by George Nickelsburg.



The rushing white waters of the River Dan at Tel Dan.
Photo by George Nickelsburg.



Bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscription from the Hellenistic period found at the sacred precinct on Tel Dan (see p. 244). Courtesy of Professor Avraham Biran.
Photo by George Nickelsburg.

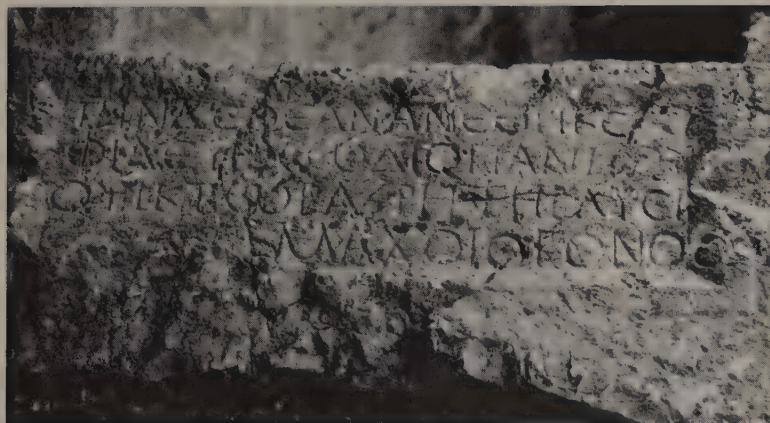




Paneion (the cave of Pan) in the middle of the escarpment on the southwest shoulder of Mount Hermon. The waters in the foreground well up from under the mountain and feed the River Hermon. Photo by Zvi Uri Ma'oz.



Sacred precinct (constructed during the Roman period) adjacent to the cave of Pan (at left edge of photograph). Photo by George Nickelsburg.



Inscription from the Roman period cut into the rock between the two niches in the center of the previous photograph (*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum* 4538). The name of Pan (IIANI) can be seen toward the right side of the second line. Photo by George Nickelsburg.

worship at this place before the time of Jeroboam,¹² who made the site famous as a cultic center when he chose it as the location for the northernmost of his two shrines (1 Kgs 12:26-31).

Archeological evidence supplements our literary sources about Dan. Avraham Biran's excavations at Tel Dan have uncovered the material remains of a large cultic area that was in use for extended periods from the tenth century B.C.E. into Hellenistic or Roman times.¹³ The principal structure is a large platform, which Biran identifies with the *bet bamah* ("high place") of Dan, which is set in a larger complex over a half-acre in size. Biran distinguishes three major building phases of the *bamah* during the Israelite period.¹⁴ He dates A to the time of Jeroboam I. After it was destroyed by fire, it underwent a massive rebuilding at the time of Ahab (B). Phase C is dated to the beginning of the eighth century, the time of Jeroboam II.

Biran's excavations indicate further construction and use of the sacred area during the Hellenistic period.¹⁵ Of particular interest is a bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscription, dating from around 200 B.C.E.: ΘΕΩ | ΤΩΙ ΕΝ ΔΑΝΟΙΣ | ΖΩΙΛΟΣ ΕΤΥΧΗΝ | בְּדָן נָדַר זִילָס לְאֵלֵי דָן ("to the god who is in Dan [or 'among the Danites'] Zoilos made a vow" ["In Dan Zoilos made a vow to the God," Aram.]).¹⁶ Whatever the identity of this god,¹⁷ the inscription makes clear

that the sacred area on Tell Dan was in use around the time that 1 Enoch 12-16 was written.¹⁸

Josephus makes one reference to this area, although there is some question about the proper name (*J. W.* 4.1.1 §3). Is *Δάφνης* the original reading and a reference to Khirbet Dufna, two kilometers southwest of Tel Dan? Or should the text be emended to *Δάνης* (Dan)?¹⁹ In any case, Josephus says that the place is "in other respects a delightful spot with springs that feed the so-called little Jordan, beneath the temple of the golden calf" (*χαρίον τὰ τε ἄλλα τρυφεροῦ καὶ πηγὰς ἔοντος, αἱ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰόρδανον ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς χρυσῆς βοῦς νεῶν*). Evidently in Josephus's time there stood on or near Tel Dan a structure that was identified with Jeroboam's shrine. Whether it was in use—and by whom—he does not say.²⁰

Another well-known sacred tradition in the area centers around modern Banias, at the foot of the southwest slope of Mount Hermon. This was the site of the *Paneion*, a cave sacred to the god Pan. The easternmost and main headwaters of the Jordan sprang up at the foot of the cave, and inside it a pool of still water lay at the bottom of a deep chasm (Josephus *Ant.* 15.10.3 §364).²¹ The use of the name *Paneion* in connection with the victory of Antiochus III at that place in 200 B.C.E. indicates that the worship of Pan was established there in the Hellenistic period, pre-

noting in this psalm are its references to "the land of Jordan," the thundering cataracts, cultic processions, and the presence of God. On this text see Ma'oz, *Paneion* 2, chap. 1.

- 12 Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 307-8, 361-62. On the iconography of the bull and its possible connections with Canaanite religion, attested in the ancient mythic sources placed in this geographic area, see Dussaud, "Cultes cananéens."
- 13 For a discussion and drawings, see Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 159-233. Biran (*ibid.*, 228-33) argues for substantial use into the third or fourth century C.E. See also *idem*, "Temenos." Zvi Ma'oz (correspondence, 5/14/1997) doubts that there was substantial cultic activity on the tell after the Hellenistic period.
- 14 Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 165-210.
- 15 Biran (*ibid.*, 215-33) finds evidence for cultic use up to the time of Constantine. See, however, n. 13 above.
- 16 Biran, "To the God who is in Dan"; *idem*, *Biblical Dan*, 221-24.
- 17 Tzaferis ("The 'God Who Is in Dan,'" 128-31) argues that the god is "the original local deity of the tribe of Dan in the 10th century BCE" in Hellenistic pagan dress.

- 18 Further evidence for pagan cultic activity in the area may be found in the torso of a marble statue of Aphrodite found in the fields near Tel Dan. See Biran, "To the God who is in Dan," 147 and plates 20.2, 3. Ma'oz (correspondence, 5/14/1997) suggests, however, that since it was not found in situ, it may have been stolen from anywhere in the area and dropped in transport.
- 19 Favoring the first alternative are H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus* 3 (LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928) 4; and Gaalya Cornfield, *Josephus: The Jewish War* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982) 254. The text is emended to *Δάνος* by Abraham Schalit, *Namenswörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*, Sup 1 of Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, ed., *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) s.v.
- 20 See Otto Michel, Otto Bauernfeind, and Otto Betz, "Der Tempel der goldenen Kuh," *ZNW* 49 (1958) 198.
- 21 For details and bibliography on this site and its ruins, see Gustav Hölscher, "Πανιάς," *PW* 18.2 (1949) 594-600; Schürer, Vermes, and Millar, *History*, 2:169-71. On the archeological excavations at Banias, see Ma'oz, *Paneion* 1.
- 22 See Polybius 16.18.2, who uses the name in the

cisely at the time of the aforementioned inscription from Tel Dan.²² Coins from the area, ceramic evidence, and overall archeological and historical considerations attest its status as a shrine of Pan from the third century B.C.E. until the mid-fifth to mid-sixth century C.E.²³ That a cult of Pan should be established at this place is not surprising. The god is often associated with springs and wooded areas and with the nymphs that inhabited these places.²⁴

Pan's association with the female spirits and his other amorous escapades²⁵ raise an interesting question. Is it coincidental that the story of the watchers and the women is set in a geographical location that is also connected with a god known for his sexual misadventures? This aspect of the Pan myth was not unknown at the Paneion at a later time. One inscription from 223 C.E., which mentions an *archon* named Marcus Agrippa, refers to the nymph Echo.²⁶ Another, dated 148/149 C.E., is dedicated "to Pan and the nymphs (ΠΑΝΙΤΕΚΑΙΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ)."²⁷ There is, however, an important difference between the story of the watchers and the Pan myths. The latter's sexual adventures generally result in frustration and rejection²⁸ and not the begetting of progeny (as half god/half goat, he is a hybrid).²⁹ Nonetheless, the aspect of violent passion present in the Pan myths³⁰ does have a counterpart in the lust of the watchers (see comm. on 6:1-2). Thus thematic parallels between the Enoch story and the Pan myth may indicate an old Semitic mythology associated with Mount Hermon.³¹ In any case, regardless of the possible relationships among these traditions, the similarities between the myths of the watchers and of Pan suggest a broader question: How might the people of this area have thought about them in relation to one another?

The Herodian family added a new transformation

of the sacred tradition of the Paneion. Around 20 B.C.E., Augustus granted Herod the region of Panias. In response Herod erected "a magnificent temple of white marble" near the cave and dedicated it to Augustus (*J.W.* 21.3 §404; *Ant.* 15.10.3 §404). Upon his succession, Herod Philip founded the city of Caesarea (Philippi) there in honor of Augustus (*J.W.* 2.9.1 §168; *Ant.* 18.2.1 §28). Archeological excavations have located the foundations of Herod's Temple directly in front of Pan's cave and indicate that its adyton was the cave itself.³² That is, the Augusteum was also a temple to Pan. The archeological excavations at the Paneion have also uncovered a paved area to the east of the Augusteum, constructed by the second century C.E. The aforementioned inscriptions were carved into the cliff behind this extension of the Pan shrine.³³

Even more remarkably, the excavations have shown that the sacred area was further extended to the east to include a temple to Zeus and a court for the goddess Nemesis. Other finds include fragments of statues representing Zeus (Jupiter), Juno, and Minerva, as well as Artemis,³⁴ and perhaps Hermes, whose statue is mentioned in any case in the aforementioned inscription dated 148/149 C.E.³⁵ In short, what had begun with a natural grotto dedicated to Pan was extended through a series of constructions to become a large temenos that was a veritable pantheon. The presence of a shrine to Nemesis suggests the same question raised with respect to Pan: How might local inhabitants have related the cult of this goddess of vengeance to myths surrounding Dan, the place of divine judgment (see comm. on 13:7)?³⁶

Banias is not the only site of pagan shrines on Mount Hermon. Excavations at Senaim, northeast of Banias, have uncovered a complex of temples from the Hellenistic period (second to first century B.C.E.)

second century B.C.E. Schürer, Vermes, and Millar (*History*, 1:144) read Polybius to infer that the cult of Pan was already in place at the time of Antiochus's victory. Ma'oz (*Paneion* 1, chap. 4) attributes the establishment of the cult to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, ca. 260 B.C.E. Tzaferis ("The 'God Who Is in Dan,'" 132-33) agrees with this interpretation of Polybius, but argues that the cult site was established after and in connection with the victory.

23 See Ma'oz, *Paneion* 1.

24 Konrad Wernicke, "Pan," in W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897-1902) 3/1:1390-95.

25 Ibid.; Borgeaud, *Cult*, 74-129.

26 For the inscription see *CIG* 3/1:244, no. 4539, dis-

cussed by B. Isaac as inscription 5 in Ma'oz, *Paneion* 1. See also *CIG* 3/2:1180.

27 For the inscription see *CIG* 3/2:1179, no. 4538b.

On the date see B. Isaac, inscription 2 in Ma'oz, *Paneion* 1.

28 Borgeaud, *Cult*, 73-79.

29 Correspondence from Zvi Ma'oz, 11/1/1994.

30 Borgeaud, *Cult*, 73-87.

31 See Wernicke, "Pan," 1371.

32 Ma'oz, "Banias," 140. For a preliminary report, see idem, "Banias, Temple of Pan-1990"; idem, "Banias, Temple of Pan-1991/1992."

33 Ma'oz, "Banias," 140.

34 Ma'oz, "Banias, Temple of Pan-1991/1992," 4-6.

35 Ma'oz, "Banias," 140.

36 On Nemesis see M. B. Hornum, *Nemesis: The Roman*

and later, dedicated to Helios, who apparently came to personify a number of Semitic deities.³⁷ These temples, moreover, are a very small component in a much larger picture. The Anti-Lebanon chain (especially) and the Lebanon mountains are spotted with over three dozen temples of Roman origin—to mention only those charted in the 1930s.³⁸ To these must be added the monumental structures in the Beqa, at Baalbek/Heliopolis.³⁹

Several Jewish and Christian texts that presume the sacred status of the area around Mount Hermon appear to reflect the tradition in 1 Enoch 13–14. The first is the account of Levi's commissioning in *Testament of Levi* 2–7.⁴⁰ Briefly stated, the *Testament of Levi* locates in the same geographical area (at Abel-Main and Mount Hermon, called the Mountain of the Shield, probably reflecting the name Sirion) an ascent in a vision to the heavenly temple similar to that in 1 Enoch 14, in which the patriarch is commissioned to be high priest and to be executor of judgment against a person who has committed a sexual irregularity that violates God's command (Shechem's rape of Dinah). Later the *Testament of Levi* strongly denounces the Jerusalem priests, notably for their sexual sins (14:5–17:11).⁴¹ Also noteworthy in the account in *Testament of Levi* is this sentence: "And as we were tending sheep in Abel-Main, the spirit of the understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I observed all men making their way desolate and that unrighteousness had built itself walls, and lawlessness sat upon the towers" (ὥς δὲ ἐποιμαίνομεν ἐν Ἰαβελ-μαούλ† πνεῦμα συνέσεως κυρίου ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἐμέ, καὶ

πάντας ἑώρων ἀνθρώπους ἀφανίσαντας τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι τεῖχῃ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ ἡ ἀδικία, καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους ἡ ἀνομία κάθηται, 2:3). Given the setting at Abel-Main, this could be an allusion to structures on Tel Dan: depending on the date, either the high place, which the author considered idolatrous or heterodox, or the Iron Age fortifications.⁴²

The Matthean account of Simon's confession of Jesus' messiahship at Caesarea Philippi and Jesus' commissioning of Simon as "Peter" (Matt 16:13–19) is another revelatory tradition set in this geographical region that may be related to the stories of the commissioning of Enoch and Levi.⁴³ Moreover, Mark's juxtaposition of this pericope and the story of Jesus' transfiguration "on a high mountain apart" (Mark 9:1–8) suggests a broader, post-resurrection revelatory tradition bound to the area of Hermon.⁴⁴

Another early Christian commissioning tradition that ascribes revelatory activity to the area of Mount Hermon occurs in the accounts of the apostolic call of Saul of Tarsus, who is confronted by the risen Christ on the road to Damascus—which runs along the southeast side of the mountain. In form and content, these commissioning stories have much in common with 1 Enoch 14.⁴⁵

Two other texts, one Jewish and the other Christian, appear to connect eschatological revelatory activity in the area around Hermon. The Qumran Damascus Document identifies "the land of Damascus" as the place of religious renewal for the Qumran sect or a predecessor of it (CD 7:14–8:21).⁴⁶ The fact that fragments of 1 Enoch, the Aramaic Levi docu-

State and the Games (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

37 Dar, *Settlements*, 42–88.

38 See the drawings and photos in the survey by Krencker and Zschietzmann.

39 On Baalbek see Theodor Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905* (3 vols.; Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1921–25).

40 For a discussion of this text, the problem of its Jewish or Christian origin, and its relationship to 1 Enoch, see Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 588–90.

41 On the possible allusions of 1 Enoch 13–14 to the Jerusalem priesthood, see Introduction §4.2.7, Temple and Cult in 1 Enoch.

42 Suggested by Zvi Ma'oz in correspondence dated 11/1/1994.

43 The possible connection between *T. Levi* 2:3–5 and Matt 16:13–23 is noted briefly by Krister Stendahl, "Matthew," in Matthew Black, ed., *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons,

1962) 787. Independently of this, it is placed in the broader context of other texts mentioned in this excursus by Lipiński, "El's Abode," 35; and Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 390–99. This interpretation is set in a broader Christian context by Riesner, "Bethany Beyond the Jordan"; and is developed by Tord Fornberg, "Peter—the High Priest of the New Covenant?" *EAJT* 4 (1986) 113–21.

44 Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 599 n. 106.

45 The parallels between the Acts accounts and 1 Enoch 14 were noted by Johannes Munck (*Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* [London: SCM, 1959] 30–31), although he did not refer to the proximity of the geographic settings of the two texts.

46 See Naphtali Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism* (London: East and West Library, 1962) 1–51, esp. 1–10.

ment, and the Damascus Document were found in Qumran Cave 4 is noteworthy. Rainer Riesner has suggested another possible reference to this general area in a study that identifies as the territory of Batanea “Bethany Beyond the Jordan,” the place that John 1:28 mentions in connection with the beginning of John the Baptist’s activity.⁴⁷

A later attestation of the sacred character of Mount Hermon appears in an enigmatic Greek inscription, perhaps from the third century C.E., which was found on its peak: *Κατὰ κέλευσιν θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἁγίου οἱ ὁμνούντες ἐντεῦθεν* (“According to the command of the greatest a[nd] holy God, those who take an oath [proceed] from here”).⁴⁸ The inscription, which was found among the ruins of what was perhaps a sacred temenos, makes no specific identification of the deity. Possibly it refers to pagan cultic activity.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, two parallels to Enochic language are noteworthy. In addition to the oath, which is reminiscent of the oath of the watchers in 1 Enoch 6:6,⁵⁰ the title “the greatest and holy God” closely parallels one of 1 Enoch’s favorite divine titles, “the Great Holy One,” often rendered into Greek as “the Great and Holy One” (see comm. on 1:3c-4). The similarities might reflect cultic activity that was somehow informed by traditions from 1 Enoch.

Two final attestations concerning the sacred character of Hermon occur in the church fathers. In the *Onomasticon*, s.v. *Ἀερμών*, Eusebius says of the mountain that “it is honored as sacred by the gentiles” (*ὡς ἱερὸν τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν*). Interpreting this, Jerome states, “At its peak is a noted temple that is revered by the Gentiles from the region of Paneas and Lebanon” (*In vertice eius insigne templum quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Paneadis et Libani, De Situ et nominibus* s.v. *Aermon*, PL 23:914 B; cf. Hilary of Poitiers, cited in Introduction §6.3.2.18).

In summary, a stunning mass of literary, epigraphic, and archeological evidence, stretching from the third millennium B.C.E. to the middle of the first millennium C.E., attests that Canaanites, Israelites, Greek, Romans, and Christians treated the area

around Hermon as sacred territory. How a sifting of the evidence and one’s historical imagination might envision the religious activity and interaction in this area at any given time is a matter that will require a monograph, which will in turn have to wait for reports of archeological excavations still in progress.

Focusing on a narrow segment of the evidence, the parallels between 1 Enoch 13 and *Testament of Levi* 2-7 must be taken seriously as attestations of Jewish religious, indeed, revelatory activity in this area during the Hellenistic period. The Damascus Document testifies to an historical connection between this literature and the origins of the Qumran sect, and the early Christian evidence cited above may indicate a further historical connection with the Jesus movement and the early church.

■ 7 Milik reconstructs the opening clause, “And I went on [sitting . . .],” *וְהָיִיתִי אֹתָן לֹיֵשׁ*.⁵¹ But the verb “to go” corresponds to the same expression in 13:3, where it functions as the typical commissioning formula (12:4). The formula is missing in 13:4, which is in indirect discourse; see comm. ad loc. Moreover, v 9 indicates movement from “the waters of Dan” to Abel-Main, where he speaks to the watchers. “The waters of Dan” are the stream that rises near and on Tel Dan and forms one of the headwaters of the Jordan River. The location of the stream given in the text is precise: Dan is just south of the western slope of Mount Hermon. Perhaps the author implies a wordplay on Dan (“he has judged”).⁵² See comm. on 13:9-10.

47 Riesner (“Bethany Beyond the Jordan,” esp. 54-55), who cites a brief study by Wieder, “The ‘Land of Damascus’ and Messianic Redemption,” *JJS* 30 (1969) 86-88. If Riesner is correct, it is noteworthy that the Synoptic accounts of Jesus’ baptism describe it as an epiphany that takes place at a river (Mark 1:9-11; cf. 1 Enoch 13:7).

48 Charles Warren, “Summit of Hermon,” *PEFQS* 5 (1870) 210-15; Clermont-Ganneau, “Mont Hermon.”

49 Clermont-Ganneau, “Mont Hermon,” 351.

50 See *ibid.*, 358-59.

51 Milik, *Enoch*, 196.

52 Charles, *Enoch*, 31.

Narrative Summary

8

And behold, dreams came upon me, and visions fell upon me.^a And I saw visions of wrath,^b and there came a voice, saying, "Speak to the sons of heaven to reprimand them." 9/ And when I had awakened, I went to them. And all of them were assembled together, and they were sitting and weeping at Abel-Main,^a which is between Lebanon and Senir,^b covering their faces. 10/ And I recited in their presence^a all the visions that I had seen in the dream,^b and I began to speak the words of truth and the vision and reprimand to the watchers of heaven.

8a And behold - - - fell upon me] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 | 4QEn^c 1 6:5 has a longer reading, but the ms. is badly damaged. Milik (*Enoch*, 196) reconstructs "<until I lifted up> my eyelids to the gates of <the heavenly temple>" (𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤍 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀), on the basis of a parallel passage in *T. Levi*, on which see comm. on 13:8. Approximately two-thirds of a line is missing after "gates of."

b + of re[primand] (𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤍) 4QEn^c 1 6:5 (Milik, *Enoch*, 193). On the translation "visions" (pl.), see Larson, "Translation," §3.2.3 on 4QEn^c 1.vi.5.

9a EBAACATA 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 | 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍. On the basis of the parallel in *T. Levi*, Milik (*Enoch*, 196) makes an identification with Abel-Main, reading here Abel-Mayyā. The original translator of 1 Enoch, Milik argues, wrote ABEACAIA, reading the Aram. *mem* as a *samek*. In a Greek corruption, the *iota* was read as a *tau*. 𐤀 indicates a confusion of a final *alpha* for a *lambda*. I have retained the form Abel-Main found in 4QLevi^b at frg. 2 line 13 (Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi," 403–5; Michael E. Stone and Jonas Greenfield, DJD 22:30) and presume that the final *nu* in the original Greek of 1 Enoch was read as a *lambda* or an *alpha*, the same corruption

that led to ABEAMAOTA in *T. Levi* 2:3.

b σενησηλ 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍 | *sēn(ē)sēr* 𐤀. The identification with Sēnir was made first by Dillmann, *Henoch*, 107. So also Charles, *Enoch*, 31; Milik, *Enoch*, 193.

10a 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤍 4QEn^c 1 6:7 (Milik, *Enoch*, 193), which is supported by 𐤀: *watanāgarku qedmehomu* | 𐤀: ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνγγεῖλα αὐτοῖς ("before them, and I announced to them"). Milik (*Enoch*, 197) assumes that a verb dropped out of 𐤀, and Larson ("Translation," §3.2.3 on 4QEn^c 1.vi.7) thinks that a verb has dropped out of both 𐤀 and 𐤀—a different verb in each case. This does not explain the precise correspondence between 𐤀 and 𐤀, including the dropping of the second verb and its object. I suggest that 𐤀 attest the original reading and that 𐤀 reflects the dropping of ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν, the addition of αὐτοῖς in its absence, and a corrector's restoration of the original phrase, which was subsequently copied into the wrong place. This limits the error to one level of text (𐤀 and its ancestors) rather than positing coincidental errors in 𐤀, 𐤀, and *𐤀. in the dream] Following Milik's (*Enoch*, 193) retroversion of κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνου to 𐤏𐤕𐤏𐤍, by analogy with 14:1.

■ **13:7–16:4** In response to his petition on behalf of the watchers, Enoch is taken to heaven, where God himself commissions him to announce judgment to the watchers. This commission is described three times. (a) In 13:7-10, Enoch describes for his readers the circumstances of his commission and the manner of its execution. The message itself is summarized in a sentence (v 8c). Enoch carries out his commission by reading the indictment to the watchers. (b) The text of this indictment is recorded in 14:1–16:4. At the beginning of this "book" (14:1-7), Enoch summarizes the circumstances of the commission and announces the heavenly verdict with regard to their petition. It has been rejected. He reads the sentence of the heavenly court. (c) In 14:8–16:4 he elaborates on this with a detailed description of his ascent to heaven and his progress to the divine throne room. His lengthy oracle is the indictment on which the announced sen-

tence was based. This whole section corresponds most closely to the prophetic commissioning form, especially Ezekiel 1–2.

■ **13:7-10** The narrative elements of this summary of Enoch's second commission and its execution closely parallel elements in the account of his first commission:

	13:7-10	12:3–13:3
Introduction	I recited petition	I was blessing the Lord
Confrontation	a voice came	watcher(s) called
Commission	speak to sons of heaven to reprimand them	go, say to watchers of heaven no peace, forgiveness
Conclusion	I went, spoke all of them together	I went, spoke all of them together

■ **7** This verse functions both as the conclusion to Enoch's commission by the fallen watchers and as the typical circumstantial introduction to his commission

from God himself. As in his first commission (12:3), Enoch is engaged in prayer, here petitionary prayer. Epiphanies often occur in such circumstances, as answers to prayer. Cf. Dan 9:21; 4 *Ezra* and 2 *Baruch* passim; 3 *Baruch* 1; Tobit 3; cf. Luke 3:21-22; 9:29. Here the voice announces that the prayer is refused. If we allow a background of mysticism in this section (see comm. on 14:8-23), this verse could reflect the practice of inducing a vision through recitation.¹

The setting of a vision by a river is traditional.² In Ezek 1:1 the prophet receives his vision of God and prophetic call by the river Chebar (for other parallels to Ezekiel, see the discussion of 14:8–16:4, § Form: A Prophetic Commissioning). Daniel's great vision of the future is set by the river Tigris (Dan 10:2–12:11).

■ 8 Enoch receives his final commission in a vision of heaven that comes in a dream vision. See Introduction §3.3.1.5. On this combination of “vision” and “dream” in this context, see also 13:10 and 14:1-2. In 14:4, 8, 14, it is called simply a vision. In chaps. 83–84 and 85–90, Enoch relates two other dream visions, the one about the flood, the other an account of world history leading up to the judgment. On the broader phenomenon of visions at night or in one's sleep, see comm. on chaps. 83–90. Frequently, these dreams predict future events. Three exceptions are *Testament of Levi* 2–5, where Levi is commissioned as priest and is given a sword to execute vengeance on Shechem; 2 Macc 15:11-16, where Judas Maccabeus is given a sword for his battle with Nicanor; and Gen 28:10-22, Jacob's dream at Bethel. *Testament of Levi* is dependent on the present chapters of 1 Enoch.³ On Judas's dream, see comm. on 89:19. Jacob's dream, like Enoch's, occurs at a sacred place, the companion shrine to Dan. He sees the ladder between heaven and earth, and above it God himself (Gen 28:13; cf. 1 Enoch 14:18-23). It is “the gate of heaven” (Gen 28:17; cf. the long Aramaic text of this verse in textual n. a). Although God speaks of future events, he is at the same time

announcing Jacob's patriarchal status, a kind of commissioning. See further Excursus: The Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16.

What little we can reconstruct of the long Aramaic text (see textual n. a) is based in large part on the parallel in *Testament of Levi*.⁴ The term “eyelids” (שכני עיני) is extremely rare,⁵ but may stand behind the Greek of the Mount Athos addition to *T. Levi* 2:3: τότε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἦρα πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, for which 4QLevi^b frg. 1 8 reads [שכני עיני]. The “gates of heaven” are mentioned in 4QLevi^b frg. 2 18 and in *T. Levi* 5:1, but these passages are not identical.⁶ Enoch's words here are part of his brief recapitulation of the vision described in detail in chaps. 14–16. The gates are most likely those through which he passed to enter heaven (14:9, although gates as such are not mentioned there, but in 14:12, 15, 25).

Enoch's vision is here tersely summarized. An angry God has commissioned him to announce his judicial reprimand against the fallen watchers. Parallels to the wording of 15:1-2 indicate that the voice was God's. The single word that repeatedly characterizes Enoch's message and mission is the *aphel* form of the Aram. verb כִּחַ (<13:8>; 13:10; and 14:1, 3 by retroversion). This form, as well as the corresponding *hiphil* form of the same Hebrew verb, has strong juridical overtones,⁷ occurring in parallelism with דָּן and שָׁפַט, respectively (“to judge,” Isa 2:4; 11:3, 4; Mic 4:3) and in juridical contexts (Isa 29:21; Hos 4:4; Amos 5:10). It can mean to render a legal decision or to issue a rebuke (in a judicial situation). The former meaning is not likely here, since Enoch, not God, is the subject of the verb. The juridical overtones of Enoch's reprimand are evident from the formal setting and manner in which it is spoken (see comm. on 13:9). In the literature of this period, God's wrath (here ὀργή) is often mentioned in connection with his judgment.⁸ In 1 Enoch cf. 5:9; 39:2; 55:3; 62:12; 84:4, 6; 91:7; 91:9; cf. 99:16; 101:3, θυμός.

1 Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (3d ed.; New York: Schocken, 1961) 49.

2 Milik, “Le Testament de Lévi,” 405.

3 See Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 588–90.

4 Milik, “Le Testament de Lévi,” 404–5; idem, *Enoch*, 196.

5 Milik, *Enoch*, 196.

6 On the complex problems of the tradition history

of this part of *T. Levi*, see Marinus de Jonge, “Notes on Testament of Levi II-VII,” in idem, ed., *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975) 247–60.

7 On the Hebrew verb see H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974) 76.

8 E. Sjöberg and G. Stählin, “ὀργή,” *TDNT* 5 (1967) 414.

■ 9-10 These verses describe a scene in which the assembled watchers hear Enoch's formal reading of the reprimand that has issued from the heavenly throne room. The key to the meaning of these verses is the expression "And I recited in their presence" (ומללת קודמיהון), used with reference to Enoch's reading of his book (14:1–16:4), the title of which is referred to in 13:10. This expression and its parallel, קרא קדם, are regular targumic renderings of the Hebrew idiom דבר/קרא באזני, "to speak (or 'read') in the hearing (lit. 'in the ears') of. . . ."⁹ The idiom occurs in various biblical scenes that describe the formal reading of, for example, the book of the covenant (Exod 24:3-7; 2 Kgs 23:1-3), the Torah (Deut 5:1; 31:11), the Torah and the Song of Moses (Deut 31:28; 32:44), and Jeremiah's scroll (Jeremiah 36). In its broadest sense the expression denotes a situation in which a formal legal agreement or offer is made or in which a proclamation with the force of law is read (cf., e.g., Gen 23:10, 16; 2 Sam 3:19-20). That is, laws, covenants, legally binding agreements, and edicts must be spoken publicly in the hearing (or physical presence) of the parties involved. The closest parallels to our present text are Jer 2:2, where Jeremiah, at the end of his call, is told to proclaim publicly God's indictment of Israel; Jeremiah 36, where Baruch reads to the Jewish leaders and the king Jeremiah's indictment of Israel, Judah, and all the nations; and Deuteronomy 31–32, where Moses recites the Torah and his Song, which is a prophecy and an indictment, before the fact, of Israel's violation of the covenant. Supporting the parallel to the biblical texts is the expression "all of them were assem-

bled" (וכלהון כנישין). This verb occurs in Deut 31:28 and 2 Kgs 23:2 (כנש in the Targumim) to denote the assembling of the people for a formal reading of the document in question. The idea is implied in the other biblical loci mentioned above.

Thus this section of Enoch describes a formal convocation, in which the sentence of the heavenly courtroom is read in the presence of those who have been sentenced.

Abel-Main is the Aramaic form of Abel-Maim, the name by which ancient Abel-Beth-Maacah was known in the Persian period (cf. 1 Kgs 15:20 and its parallel in 2 Chr 16:4).¹⁰ It is modern Tel Abil, situated approximately 7 kilometers west-northwest of "the waters of Dan," at the mouth of the valley between the Lebanon range to the west and Mount Hermon, here called Sēnir, one of its biblical names (Deut 3:8-9; cf. Cant 4:8; Ezek 27:5). Here, as in 13:7, our author is well informed on the geography of upper Galilee. To the west of Abel-Main flows the Nahr Bareighit, the westmost of the four main sources of the Jordan River. The evident pun on the place-name ("weeping," אבלין/Abel-Main, אבלמין)¹¹ may suggest a similar wordplay in 13:7 (see comm.; cf. also 6:6).

The watchers cover their faces in shame (cf. Jer 14:3-4), a motif connecting this scene with the previous one (cf. 13:5). The weeping offers another connection with Ezra 9–10 and Nehemiah 8. See comm. on 13:4-5.

9 On this Hebrew idiom see Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators," *HUCA* 46 (1975) 94–103.

10 Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi," 403.

11 Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," 244; Charles, *Enoch*, 31; Milik, *Enoch*, 197.

The Commission Summarized

- 1 THE BOOK OF THE WORDS OF TRUTH AND THE REPRIMAND OF THE WATCHERS WHO
WERE FROM ETERNITY, according to the command of the Great Holy One in the dream
that <I dreamt>. 2/ In this vision I saw in my dream^a what I now speak with a tongue^b of
flesh and with the breath of my mouth, which the Great One has given to the sons of
men,^c to speak with them and to understand with the heart. 3/ As he destined and cre-
ated^d men to understand the words of knowledge, so he created and destined me^b to
reprimand the watchers, the sons of heaven.
4 I wrote up your petition,^a and in the vision it was shown to me thus,^b
that you will not obtain your petition^c for all the days of eternity;
but judgment has been consummated in the decree against you,^d
5 that from now on you will not ascend into heaven for all the ages;
and it has been decreed to bind you in bonds in the earth^a for all the days of eternity.^b
6 And that before these things, you will see the destruction of your sons, your beloved
ones;
And that you will have no pleasure in them;
but they will fall before you by the sword.^a
7 Accordingly,^a you will not obtain your petition concerning them, nor concerning
yourselves.^b
You will be petitioning and making supplication;^c
... but you will not be speaking any word from the writing that I have written.

- 2a in the dream ----- my dream] 𐤒𐤁 𐤇: "in this vision. I
saw in my sleep" (ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁράσει. ἐγὼ εἶδον κατὰ
τοὺς ὕπνους μου) | My text above follows the recon-
struction of 4QEn^c 1 6:10 by Milik (*Enoch*, 193, 197):
[... בחלמא די אנה [הלמת בחזיתא דא חזיתא אנה בחלמי
The length of the lines in 4QEn^c seems to require this
reconstruction rather than the assumption that "in my
dream" and "in this vision" have been transposed in 𐤒𐤁.
The reconstruction presumes an omission of four
words in the Aramaic archetype of 𐤒𐤁, due to hma.
b "my tongue" a few mss. of 𐤇 (q T⁹ 2080, bna'), perhaps
by analogy with the next phrase.
c "sons of [men]" 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤁 4QEn^c 1 6:10 (Milik, *Enoch*,
193) | "men" (τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, *lasab'*) 𐤒𐤁 𐤇. On the
translation, see Larson, "Translation," §3.2.1 on 4QEn^a
1.iii.18. The fuller forms provide contrasting paral-
lelism with "sons of heaven" in v 3.
3a 𐤒𐤁 𐤇: "created and destined" (ἐκτίσεν καὶ ἔδωκεν,
faḡara wawahaba). Text here follows the analogy of the
following parallel clause, on which see n. 3b.
b men ----- me] om. 𐤒𐤁 by hmt. (ἐκτίσεν κ. ἔδωκεν <...
ἐκτίσεν κ. ἔδωκεν>) | Translation depends on 4QEn^c 1
6:12, וברא חלק וְעבד בְּרָא; see Milik, *Enoch*, 193 ("me he
destined and made and created"). For the meaning of
חלק, I follow Milik, *Enoch*, 197, who translates "has
decreed," citing this meaning of the word in 4QTob ar^b
1 10:18, which is translated in Tob 6:18 as μεμερισμένη
S/ ήτοιμασμένη AB. This meaning is common in Syr-
iac. For a possible analogy, see comm. on 98:4-5. There
remains some uncertainty about the details of the text,
however, not least the relationship of the two Greek
verbs to the three in 𐤒. See Larson, "Translation,"
§3.2.3 on 4QEn^c 1.vi.12. Cf. the similar series of verbs
in a similar context in 1QH 9(1):27-31. See comm. on
14:2-3.

- 4a 𐤒𐤁: "I wrote up the petition of you angels" (ἐγὼ τῇν
ἐρώτησιν ὑμῶν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔγραψα), probably a
gloss.
b in the vision ----- thus] 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤁
4QEn^c 1 6:13 (Milik, *Enoch*, 193) | 𐤒𐤁: καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁράσει
μου τοῦτο ἐδέιχθη ("and in my vision this was shown")
| For "this," 𐤇 reads "thus" (*kamaze*), presuming κατὰ
τοῦτο; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 37 n. 2. 𐤒 μου ("my") is
corrupt for μοι and is followed by 𐤇. Cf. the parallel
passage in 14:8.
c 𐤇: Lit. "your petition will not be to you" (*wase'latekemu*
'itekawwenakemu) | 𐤒𐤁: καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἐρώτησις ὑμῶν παρε-
δέχθη ("and your petition has not been received"); cf.
103:14 for a similar idiom. I take 𐤇 to be the correct
reading by analogy with 14:7. This expression appears
to be a blanket reference to the requests in 13:3, 6, and
the similar negative formulations in 12:5, 6.
d for all the days ----- against you] *westa kwellu mawā'ela*
'ālam, wakwenanē fešmat lā'lekemu 𐤇 + *wa'iyekawwena-*
kemu ("and it shall not be to you"), evident dittography
from the previous line. | om. 𐤒𐤁.
5a 𐤒𐤁: καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῆς γῆς ("and in the bonds of
the earth") | om. "the bonds of" (*wawesta medr*) 𐤇.
Charles (*Enoch*, 32) translates 𐤒𐤁 as it stands, but sug-
gests the emendation above, citing Origen *Contra*
Celsum 5.52 and Jude 6. Milik (*Enoch*, 198) emends to
δεσμίοις τῆς γῆς ("among the prisoners of the earth"),
following yet another suggestion by Charles, loc. cit.
b for ----- eternity] *lakwellu mawā'ela 'ālam* 𐤇 = 4QEn^c 1
6:15 עַד כּוֹל יוֹמֵי עוֹלָמָא (Milik, *Enoch*, 193) | 𐤒𐤁: εἰς
πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος ("all the generations of
eternity").
6a Reconstruction of the original text of v 6 is problem-
atic at best. Translation follows 𐤒𐤁: καὶ ἵνα ἑπερίῃ
(read *prō* = *emqedma* 𐤇; cf. 12:1) τούτων ἴδητε τῇν

- ἀπώλειαν τῶν υἱῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἔσται ὑμῖν ὄνησις αὐτῶν, (*terāyānihomtu* varr., “possessors of them” [Ⓢ]) ἀλλὰ πεσοῦνται ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ | 4QEn^c 1 6:15-17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 193) indicates a much longer text. Milik’s reconstruction is highly hypothetical, however, and in part it requires substantiation from 4QEn^b 1 6 (Milik, *Enoch*, 177), the fragments of which are so tiny that identification is tenuous, at best.
- 7a כלקובל 4QEn^c 1 6:17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 193). Milik (*Enoch*, 195) translates “because,” linking this verse with what immediately precedes. But it appears to be resumptive of v 4b. | “and” [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ].
- b Line length of 4QEn^c 1 6:17 indicates a more extensive expression of this idea; see Milik, *Enoch*, 198.
- c Translation of this line follows 4QEn^c 1 6:18 (אנתון בעין ומחנה; Milik, *Enoch*, 194) | [Ⓢ] reads: καὶ ὑμεῖς κλαίοντες καὶ δεόμενοι (“And you [will] weep and petition”), misreading בעין as בכין (“weeping”); see Milik, *Enoch*, 198 | [Ⓢ] omits this first verb | 4QEn^c 1 6:18 indicates that something has dropped out of [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] at this point, but the lacuna makes restoration impossible. In view of this longer text, the emendation of μὴ (“not”) to μήν (“even though”) suggested by Charles (*Enoch*, 32) seems unwise.

The author now turns to the words that Enoch recited in the presence of the watchers (14:1–16:4). In the first major section (14:1-7), he summarizes the heavenly response to the watchers’ petition. The section is divided into two parts: a prose introduction (vv 1-4a); and an oracle in poetic form, six distichs in rough antithetical and synonymous parallelism (vv 4b-7).

■ 1 The first words of this verse are the title of the book, already paraphrased in 13:10. The form of the title (The Book of the Words of . . .) is stereotyped. Cf. Tob 1:1; Nah 1:1; 1 Bar 1:1; 1 Enoch 1:1. This title has two major elements. The latter of these describes its contents; it is the heavenly court’s reprimand of the watchers’ sin. The first element, “The Book of the Words of Truth” (ספר מלי קושטא), and, indeed, the allusion to it in 13:10, are reminiscent of Dan 10:21–11:1, with its reference to “the book of truth” (כתב אמת) and the angel’s introductory formula, “and now I shall tell you the truth” (עתה אמת אגיד לך). In Daniel the angel recounts the contents of a book that records firmly fixed events that must come to pass.¹ Here the expression either indicates the irrevocable nature of the heavenly sentence or stresses that Enoch’s words are a trustworthy account of his vision and, in turn, of the decision of the heavenly court. For this meaning of קושטא as “truth” rather than “righteousness” or “uprightness,” cf. 107:2, where it is used adverbially, “in truth and without deception” (בקשט ולא בכדבין). The last part of the verse explicates Enoch’s authority; he speaks at God’s command.

On the title “the Great Holy One,” see the comm. on 1:3.

■ 2-3 Enoch contrasts his human status with the divine origin and contents of his vision and perhaps with the divine beings whom he is to reprimand (cf. 1 Cor 6:3). It is a typical feature of prophetic calls that the prophet expresses his inability to speak and that God overcomes this deficiency (Exod 4:10-16; Isa 6:5-7; Jer 1:6, 9). Enoch indicates no hesitation, but simply states that God has chosen him and equipped him to use his human organs of speech to impart a divine message (cf. 84:1). Among roughly contemporary texts, these verses are perhaps mostly closely paralleled in 1QH 9(1):21-31. Quite possibly the two texts are alternative (prophetic and doxological) developments of the wording of Isa 50:4, “The Lord God has given me the tongue of those who are taught, that I may know how to sustain with a word him that is weary” (RSV: ידעתי לומר למודים). This passage mentions not only the Servant’s prophetic speech but also his knowledge, thus corresponding to the two gifts mentioned by Enoch: speech and the understanding of knowledge. The Isaianic passage is quoted in two other Qumran hymns with reference to the author (1QH 15[7]:10-11; 16[8]:36) and may be alluded to in 2 Macc 7:10-11, where creation is explicitly mentioned and the cutting out of the youth’s tongue may be construed as punishment for reprimanding the king.² Cf. also Ezek 40:4 (and Ezek 3:10), which speaks of the receipt and transmission

1 Daniel is probably referring to something analogous to the heavenly tablets of, e.g., 1 Enoch 81:1-2; see Charles, *Daniel*, 266.

2 On the use of Servant material in 2 Maccabees 7, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 103-6. The

spokesman of the seven brothers has his tongue cut out (v 4), as does the third brother (vv 10-11), and, it would seem, the fourth brother. The fifth, sixth, and seventh brothers issue the strongest reprimands of the king (vv 13-19, 30-38).

of visionary revelation. On the relationship of this section to Ezekiel, see the discussion of 14:8–16:4, § Form: A Prophetic Commissioning.

The last clause in v 2 is difficult to relate to the preceding. Does God give humans organs of speech so that they can understand with their heart? In any event, the double idea of speech and understanding is explicated in v 3. Enoch, in particular, has been given the gift of prophetic speech so that he may utter the heavenly reprimand against the watchers. More generally, God has endowed humankind with the ability to comprehend “the words of knowledge.” This last expression appears to be an ad hoc formulation (as it is in a different way in 1 Cor 12:8). If some special people are endowed with speech from God, others are enabled to understand what is spoken. Who these latter are is not clear. Are they the readers of this book? Or is the observation a truism, not immediately applicable since Enoch’s fictional audience is angelic? Favoring the latter interpretation are the soteriological connotations frequently attached to the word.³ In 1 Enoch the word occurs elsewhere only in 69:11, where it has negative connotations.⁴ On the double title “the watchers, the sons of heaven,” see comm. on 6:2.

■ **4-6** Here Enoch announces that the watchers’ petition has been rejected. He does so in two distichs with internal antithetical parallelism. The finality and eternal duration of the heavenly verdict is emphasized by threefold repetition.

Verse 4 refers to the heavenly judgment process itself. The “consummation” (or “consuming”) of the judgment is the final executing of that judgment, according to 10:12 and 16:1. Here the Ethiopic verb indicates a past tense (see n. d), and the expression appears to refer to the completion of the heavenly decision-making process. It has resulted in a decree of damnation against the watchers. The use of גזירה (“decree,” 4QEn^c 1 6:14) here parallels Dan 4:14, 21 (17, 24), where the noun גזרה refers to the heavenly decree against Nebuchadnezzar.

Verse 5 spells out the decree with reference to the watchers themselves. They have violated the created distinction between heaven and earth (15:3-7). Therefore they are banished from their heavenly dwelling and from the heavenly sanctuary and are to be bound and confined in the earth where they had descended in rebellion and defiled themselves.⁵ The same verdict is announced in 10:11-13, and the place of their imprisonment is described in 18:11, 19:1, and 21:7-10. See comm. on 10:11-13. The expression “it has been decreed (lit. ‘spoken,’ ἐρρέθη)” parallels reference to the decree in v 4. The parallelism of מאמר (“word”) and גזרה (“decree”) in Dan 4:14 (17) suggests that we need not add another word here to parallel בגזירות.⁶

The watchers’ petition in behalf of their sons has also been rejected (cf. comm. on 13:6). Before their punishment, the fathers will be forced to witness the destruction of their sons. The text of v 6 is defective (see n. a). The first clause was probably two originally, set in synonymous parallelism (cf. 12:6). The second part of v 6 contains two lines in grammatically antithetical parallelism. The two distichs parallel one another in the idea that the fathers must witness their sons’ destruction: “you will see”/“in your presence.” Contrast the idea in later documents that the righteous will witness (with satisfaction) the destruction of their enemies.⁷

■ **7** This verse recapitulates the sense of the whole of vv 4b-6. The watchers’ double petition has been rejected. The last three lines seem to be defective (see textual notes b and c), but may have stressed the finality of the decision. No amount of prayer and petition in the future will change things. The first sentence probably originally contained two lines in synonymous parallelism. The original shape of the last lines is less certain.

3 W. D. Davies, “Knowledge in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30,” *HTR* 46 (1953) 113-39. Salvation through the revelation of knowledge is central to the Gospel of John; cf. also *Did.* 9:2-3.

4 According to 69:8-11, humans were created without the knowledge that the angels gave them and through which they are perishing.

5 For examples of the principle that judgment will be appropriate to the sin, see comm. on 95:5.

6 Pace Milik, *Enoch*, 198 nn. 17-18.

7 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 40. Cf. 1 Enoch 48:9.

Detailed Account

■ **14:8–16:4** After Enoch has briefly summarized for the watchers the contents of the heavenly oracle (14:1-7), he documents his message with a detailed account of his heavenly commissioning. This account serves as the climax of the entire section, chaps. 12–16, since here he spells out in detail what has often been alluded to in earlier sections. In the vision that he saw by the waters of Dan (13:7), Enoch ascended to heaven and made his way to the doorway of the divine throne room. There he saw the enthroned Deity, who commissioned him to utter a lengthy oracle of judgment against the watchers.

Form: A Prophetic Commissioning

In form and content, this section corresponds closely to the call scenes of biblical prophets, especially that of Ezekiel.¹ Zimmerli has distinguished among these calls between those that are primarily auditory and dialogical in form (Jer 1:4-10; Exodus 3) and those in which the enthroned Deity appears to the prophet and then speaks the commissioning oracle (1 Kgs 22:19-22; Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1-2).² 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4 is patterned after the latter class, with many details uniquely paralleling Ezekiel 1-2. Certain details in Enoch's description of the enthroned Deity have precise counterparts in Daniel 7 and its description of the installation or commissioning of "one like a son of man."³ See Table 4.

While 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4 has much in common with prophetic calls in general and with many nonprophetic biblical commissionings in general (see n. 4), the following features tie it most closely to Ezekiel 1-2.⁴ (1) The vision is set by a stream of water. (2) The narrative

moves climactically inward to the throne and to God himself, who speaks to the seer. (3) This narrative is introduced with reference to cloud(s) and wind(s). (4) The descriptions of the throne and/or its surroundings have the following elements in common: ice/hailstones and snow, fire, lightning, wheels, cherubim. (5) Ezekiel refers to the glory of the Lord; Enoch uses "the Great Glory" as a title for him. (6) The descriptions of the reactions of the two seers and their restoration parallel one another point for point. Only in his reference to the "lofty" throne of God does Enoch break with Ezekiel and agree with Isaiah.

A discussion of the form and antecedents of 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4 must also take into account unique and close parallels with Daniel 7. These have been discussed in detail by Kvanvig, who concludes that, at least in its present form, Daniel 7 is dependent on 1 Enoch 14.⁵

Ezekiel 40-44 appears also to have served as a model for 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4.⁶ There the prophet is taken in a vision to Jerusalem, where an angel accompanies him on a tour of the temple premises.

Ezekiel 40-44	1 Enoch
The hand of the Lord brought me in visions into the land of Israel (40:1-2)	the winds . . . brought me into heaven (14:8)
There was a wall (40:50)	I drew near to a wall . . . (14:9)
He brought me into the outer court (40:17)	I went in . . . (14:10)
He brought me into the inner court (40:28)	
He brought me to the vestibule (40:48)	I drew near to a great house (14:10-12)

- 1 Individual similarities have been noted by most commentators on 1 Enoch. Jansen (*Henochgestalt*, 114-17) appears to have been the first to have identified the *form* of chaps. 12-16.
- 2 Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 97-100.
- 3 For another comparison of these three texts, see Helge S. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn: Das Verhältnis von Hen 14 zu Dan 7," *ST* 8 (1984) 101-33.
- 4 Many of these features are noted by Jansen, *Henochgestalt*, 115-16. Some of them are the subject of detailed analysis by Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 104-13.
- 5 Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 114-31. For an earlier treatment that came to the

- same conclusion, see T. Francis Glasson, *The Second Advent* (3d ed.; London: Epworth, 1963) 14-17. Most recently, he has reasserted the necessity for a hypothesis of dependence ("Son of Man Imagery," 87-88) against J. A. Emerton ("The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery," *JTS* 9 [1958] 229-30), who attributes the parallels to common dependence on Ezekiel.
- 6 I am indebted to Michael Stone for this suggestion.
- 7 For these elements and their place in a wide variety of prophetic and nonprophetic commissionings, see Norman Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narratives," *ZAW* 77 (1965) 297-323; and Hubbard, *Matthean Redaction*, 25-67.

Table 1				
Element ⁷	Isaiah 6	Ezekiel 1-2	Enoch 14-16	Daniel 7
Introduction	v 1a	1:1-3	(13:7)	7:1a
Confrontation	I saw	1:1 I saw visions . . . 1:4 I looked . . . behold, stormy wind, great cloud 1:4-25 description, leading to throne itself 1:22 firmament like ice 1:4 fire from cloud 1:13 among creatures 1:13-14 lightning	13:8 dreams, visions 14:2, 8 In vision, I saw, looked 14:8 Behold clouds summoned, winds carried 14:9-17 Enoch's passage through courts up to throne vision 14:9-10 walls, house of hailstones, snow 14:15-17 house of fire 14:11, 17 lightning 14:18 I saw	v v 1b, 2, 9 I saw dream visions (v 13 Behold with clouds)
	1b Lord seated			v 9 thrones Ancient of Days sat clothes white as snow hair as wool
	lofty, exalted	1:26 above pavement on throne, like appearance of סֵפֶר (1:15-21) wheels like חֲרָשִׁים (16) (1:5-14 + 10:15) cherubim (1:13) fire among creatures under throne 1:26 likeness of man sat above it 1:28 glory of Lord 1:27 appearance like bronze, fire rainbow (1:5-14) cherubim wings (1:24) sound	a lofty throne likeness of throne its appearance like <i>κρυστάλλινον</i> its wheels were like shining sun cherubim 14:19 from beneath throne streams of fire went out from his presence 14:20 great glory sat on it his raiment like sun, whiter than snow 14:21-23 attendants	his throne fire its wheels were burning fire v 10 stream of fire
	his train filled temple v 2 seraphim wings v 3 song	fire around him context	10,000 x 10,000 context	1000 x 1000 10,000 x 10,000 context 10-12 judgment
Reaction	v 4 temple shook v 5 I cried Woe is me!	1:28 I fell on my face	14:24; cf. 13-14, fear, trembling, I fell on my face	(v 15)

Element ⁷	Isaiah 6	Ezekiel 1–2	Enoch 14–16	Daniel 7
Reassurance	I heard voice	the Lord called me		
Restoration		2:1 Son of man, stand	come here, Enoch	v 13 son of man
	vv 6–7 Isaiah’s	I will speak to you	hear my word	
	sin atoned	2:2 spirit entered	14:25 one of holy ones	
	angelic act	set me on my feet	raised me, stood me up,	
Commission	v 8 I heard	I heard him speaking	brought me to the door	brought to Ancient of Days
	voice of Lord to me		I heard his voice	
	Whom send . . .			
	I said . . . me	2:3–4 Son of man,	15:1 Fear not, Enoch	
	I send you . . . say			
	v 9a go, say	3:4 go, speak	15:2 go, say	
	vv 9b–13	2:4ff.	15:2–16:4	v 14
	message	message	message	received power, etc.
Reassurance		2:6; 3:9		
Conclusion		3:12–15	(13:9–10)	

He brought me into the nave (41:1)	I went into that house (14:13)
He went into the inner room, the holy of holies (41:3–4)	I saw a house greater than the former. No angel could enter, no flesh behold him
	The holy ones of the angels approached him (14:15–23) (Cf. wording of 13:2–3)
Look, hear, understand, declare (40:4; 44:5)	
Say to rebellious house of Israel (44:6–9)	Go, say to the watchers . . . (15:2)
Indictment of Levites’ sin (44:10–14)	The watchers have forsaken the heavenly sanctuary (15:3)

Several considerations indicate that our author is describing a tour through a heavenly *temple*. (1) The palace of the Deity is by definition a temple. (2) Both 12:4 and 15:3 speak of the eternal sanctuary. (3) Language about both the fallen watchers (see comm. on 15:2–4) and the angels “who approach” God (see comm. on 14:23) suggest that at least some of the angels are construed as priests. (4) *Testament of Levi* 2–5 reuses the material in this vision, making explicit reference to Levi’s vision of the heavenly temple.⁸

A final parallel to these chapters of 1 Enoch occurs in the Greek Addition to Esther that describes the queen’s approach to the king’s throne room (chap. 15). Esther passes through all the doors of the palace and stands before the king (cf. 1 Enoch 14:8–14). He is seated on his royal throne (cf. 1 Enoch 14:18–20a). His majestic garments are described (Add Est 15:6; cf. 1 Enoch 14:20bc). Esther collapses in terror (v 7; cf. 1 Enoch 14:13b–14, 24a). The king responds, “Take courage (θάρσει, v 9; cf. 1 Enoch 15:1), come near (πρόσελθε, v 10; cf. 1 Enoch 14:24; 15:1). While there is no literary connection between these two texts,⁹ the Esther passage indicates that the broad framing of 1 Enoch 14:8–16:4 has been influenced by current court protocol.¹⁰

Although our author’s description of Enoch’s commissioning has been heavily influenced by Ezekiel 1–2 and 40–44, significant differences shed light on the peculiarities of our author’s theology and on the circumstances in which he wrote. These are detailed in the commentary and in the introductions to 14:8–23 and 14:24–16:4.

8 See Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 588–90.

9 On the dating of the Greek additions of Esther, see Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (AB 44; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977) 165–66.

10 It is possible that the Esther passage was intended

as a little epiphany scene. Cf. Jdt 10:23–11:4, where there may be an element of irony. Most likely, however, descriptions of epiphanies were shaped by the models of the earthly court.

Enoch's Ascent and Vision

- 8 And in (the) vision^a it ~~were~~ shown to me thus:
Behold, clouds in the vision ~~were~~ summoning me, and mists ~~were~~ crying out to me;
and shooting stars^b and lightning flashes ~~were~~ hastening ~~me~~ and speeding me along;^c
and winds in my^d vision made me fly up^e and lifted me upward and brought me to
heaven.^f
- 9 And I went in until I drew near to ~~a~~ wall built of hailstones;^a
and tongues of fire ~~were~~ encircling them all around;^b
and they began to frighten me.
- 10 And I went into the tongues of fire, and I drew near to ~~a~~ great house built of hail stones;
and the walls of this house were like stone slabs;
and they were all of snow, and the floor was of snow;^a
- 11 And the ceiling was like shooting stars and lightning flashes;
and among them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven ~~was~~ water;
and a flaming fire encircled all their walls,^a and the doors blazed with fire.
- 12 And I went into that house—hot as fire and cold as snow;^a
and no delight^b of life ~~was~~ in it.
- 13 Fear enveloped me, and trembling seized me;
and I was quaking and trembling, and I fell upon my face.^a
- 14 And I ~~saw~~ in my vision,
And behold, another open door before me:
and a house greater than the former one;
and it ~~was~~ all built of tongues of fire.^a
- 15 And all of it so excelled in glory and splendor and majesty
that I ~~am~~ unable to describe for you its glory and majesty.
- 16 Its floor ~~was~~ of fire;
and its upper part ~~was~~ flashes of lightning and shooting stars;
and its ceiling was a flaming fire.
- 17 And I ~~was~~ looking,
And I saw^a a lofty throne;
and its appearance was like ice;
and its wheels were like the shining sun;^b
and its <guardians> ~~were~~ cherubim;^c
and from beneath the throne issued streams of flaming fire.
- 18 And I was unable to see.^a
- 19 And the Great Glory sat upon it;
his raiment was like the appearance of the sun^a
and whiter than much snow.^b
- 20 And no angel could enter into this house^a and behold his face because of the splendor
and glory;
and no flesh could behold him.
- 21 Flaming fire encircled him, and a great fire stood by him;
and none of those about him approached him.
Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him;
but he needed no counselor; his every word ~~was~~ deed;^a
- 22 And the holy ones of the watchers^a who approached him did not depart by night,
nor <by day> did they leave him.^b

8a ἐφ' ὁράσει ^{8a} | "the vision" (rā'yey) ^{8c}. The parallel in 14:4 supports ^{8a}.

b יִרְאִי 4QEn^c 1 6:20 (Milik, *Enoch*, 194) | διαδρομαὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ^{8a}. Cf. Aristotle *Meter*. 341a 33, 344a 16, 33, and the translation by H. D. P. Lee (LCL); and Gundel, "Sternschnupper," PW 2.3 (1929) 2440.

c ἐθορύβαζον ("were troubling me") ^{8a}, which may be supported by ^{8c} t,β (yāse^cequni; cf. 89:46 = ἔθλιβον). ^{8c} α-t: yāse^hhequni could translate σπουδάσω = "hasten." For my translation, which supplies the anticipated parallelism, see Charles, *Enoch*, 33, on the double meaning of the Aram. verb כּוּלַּל.

d Om. "my" ^{8c}.

e ^{8a}: ἐξεπέτασάν με (> ἐκπετάννυμι = "spread out [on wings]") | ^{8c}: yāsarreruni ("made me fly"), perhaps a confusion of ^{8c} for ἐξέπησαν (> ἐκπέταμαι; cf. ^{8c} of Prov 13:16). See Charles, *Enoch*, 33, who follows Lods, suggesting that ἐξεπέτασαν be emended to ἐξεπέρασαν ("carried me away"), perhaps influenced by Num 11:31, πνεῦμα ἐξηλθεν παρὰ κυρίου καὶ ἐξεπέρασαν ("a wind went forth from the Lord and brought [the quails out from the sea]").

f and lifted - - - - heaven] ^{8a}: καὶ ἐπῆράν με ἄνω καὶ εἰσήνεγκάν με εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν | 4QEn^c 1 6:20 (Milik,

- Enoch*, 194): וַיִּתְּנוּ לַעֲלָא וְאִבְרָחָא וְאִתְּרָחָא בְּשִׁמְיָא | \mathbb{E} : *wayāḡwegwaʿuni waʿanseʿuni lāʿla westa samāy*. The first \mathbb{E} verb appears to be a dittograph from the previous line (“were hastening me”). The second verb in \mathbb{A} (“and carried me”) may well be original, although it could be a misplaced double reading for the verb translated above as “made me fly” (see n. e). The last verb has dropped from \mathbb{E} .
- 9a a wall built of hailstones] \mathbb{E} : *teqm zahenset* (= οἰκοδομη- μένου) *baʿaʿbāna* | \mathbb{B} : *τείχους οἰκοδομῆς ἐν λίθοις χαλάρης* (“the wall of a building of hailstones”). Milik (*Enoch*, 195, 198) suggests “the walls of a building built of hailstones,” indicating a plurality of walls to match “encircling them” in the next line. But “them” could refer to the hailstones. Cf. 71:5, though see next note. The simplest solution is to take \mathbb{B} οἰκοδομῆς as a corrupt abbreviation for οἰκοδομημένου (= \mathbb{E}). On the meaning see the comm.
- b Translation of this line as an independent clause follows \mathbb{E} , *walesāna ʿessāi yaʿāwvedā* (*varr.*) (“and tongues of fire surrounded it [i.e., the wall]”), supported by 4QEn^c 1 6:22, סָחַר סָחַר סָחַר לְהוֹן (Milik, *Enoch*, 194) | \mathbb{B} : καὶ γλώσσης πυρὸς κύκλῳ αὐτῶν (“and with tongues of fire surrounding them”). αὐτῶν could be corrupt for αὐτό (“it” = \mathbb{E}).
- 10a The two occurrences of “snow” in this line follow \mathbb{B} (ἐκ χιόνος/χιονικά), which is supported in the second instance by 4QEn^c 1 6:24 חָלַג (Milik, *Enoch*, 194) | In both cases \mathbb{E} reads *barad* (usually “hail,” sometimes “snow” [χιῶν]). See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 507–8.
- 12a all their walls] כְּכֹל כְּחִלְהוֹן 4QEn^c 1 6:25 (Milik, *Enoch*, 194) | “the walls” (τῶν τοίχων) \mathbb{B} | “the wall” (ʿaraft) \mathbb{E} α | “its wall(s)” (ʿaraftu) \mathbb{E} β.
- 13a χιῶν \mathbb{B} , supported by 4QEn^c 1 6:26 כָּחַלַג (Milik, *Enoch*, 194) | \mathbb{E} : *kama barad* (“as hail or snow”). See v 10 n. a.
- b *fegʿa* \mathbb{E} (om. T⁹; “delight [and life]” t 2080, β) can translate τροφή, which has been corrupted in \mathbb{B} to τροφή (“food”), which makes little sense here. See Charles, *Enoch*, 33.
- 14a upon my face] \mathbb{E} | om. \mathbb{B} .
- 15a Except for the initial “and,” which is taken from \mathbb{E} , my translation follows \mathbb{B} \mathbb{E} T⁹: ἐθεώρουν ἐν τῇ ὁράσει, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄλλην (construed with “house” T⁹) θύραν ἀνεω- γμένην (om. T⁹) κατέναντί μου καὶ (om. T⁹) ὁ οἶκος μείζων τούτου, καὶ ὅλος οἰκοδομημένος ἐν γλώσσαις πυρός | \mathbb{E} -T⁹: “And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house that was larger than the former one, and its whole door was open before me, and it was built of flames of fire” (*waʿerēʿi barāʿey wanāhu kāleʿ bēt zayaʿābbi ʿemzektu wakwellu hohet rehut baqedmēya waḥanūs balesānāta ʿessāt*). Charles (*Enoch*, 34) prefers the order of \mathbb{E} . But the placement of the phrase]“greater than this one, and all” in 4QEn^c 1 6:28 (Milik, *Enoch*, 194) indicates that the order in \mathbb{B} is cor- rect. See Milik, *Enoch*, 196, who reads, “. . . and behold I saw another door” (thus explaining the \mathbb{B} acc.) “. . . and another house” (adding the adj. from \mathbb{E}).
- 18a + “in it” (*westētū*) \mathbb{E} .
- b \mathbb{B} : καὶ τρόχος ὡς ἡλίου λαμπόντος (“and the wheel was like the shining sun”) | For τρόχος \mathbb{E} reads “its wheel” (*kebabu*). The parallel description in Dan 7:9 suggests that we should read τρόχοι (“wheels”); see Milik, *Enoch*, 199–200. Milik further suggests the emen- dation of ὡς ἡλίου λαμπόντος to ὡς τρόχος ἡλίου λάμ- ποντος (“as the disc of the shining sun”), citing the expression in CD 10:15. This would explain the incor- rect genitives.
- c \mathbb{B} : καὶ ὄρος χερουβὶν (“and the boundary was cheru- bim”) | \mathbb{E} : *waqāla kirubēn* (“and the voice of the cheru- bim”). Milik (*Enoch*, 200) pluralizes ὄρος to ὄροι, taking the word to refer to the sides of the throne. I posit οὔροι (see LSJ, 1274) as original in \mathbb{B} , translated ʿuqābē in \mathbb{E} , corrupted to *waqāla*, through the confusion of the letters *b* and *l*.
- 19a For first sg., \mathbb{E} -T⁹, read third pl. “they were unable,” i.e., “one was unable.”
- 20a \mathbb{B} : τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἡλίου λαμπρότερον (“His raiment was as the appearance [neut. nom. sg.] of the sun [gen. sg.], brighter [neut. nom. sg.]”). The clumsy syntax indicates that this line has been tam- pered with. If we drop ὡς εἶδος as an addition, we have good parallelism: “. . . brighter than the sun/whiter than snow.” But the meaning of the addition is unclear. Thus with some hesitation I read λαμπρότερον as a gloss: his clothing was not like the sun, but brighter. Note the similar hyperbolic change in the next line; see n. b.
- b much snow] רַבָּנָא 4QEn^c 1 7:2 (Milik, *Enoch*, 199) | “all” (πάσης, *kwellu*) \mathbb{B} \mathbb{E} , a hyperbolic rendition.
- 21a into this house] om. \mathbb{E} . It may be a gloss.
- 22a The first half of this second line (“and . . . counselor”) appears only in \mathbb{E} . The second half (“and . . . deed”) is only in \mathbb{B} . But the juxtaposition of both elements in 2 *Enoch* 33:4 indicates that at one time both were in a single text of 1 *Enoch* (Charles, *Enoch*, 34–35).
- 23a \mathbb{B} : καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι τῶν ἀγγέλων (“and the holy ones of the angels”) | \mathbb{E} evidence splits: gu: *waqeddusāta qeddusān* (= καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι τῶν ἁγίων, “and the holy ones of the holy ones”) | t².β: *qeddesta waqeddusan* (= ἅγιον, καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι, “holy [connected with previous word], and the holy ones”) | mq(?t¹)fa: *qeddesta qeddusān* (= ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων, “the holiness of the holy ones”). While the \mathbb{E} variants may reflect some idea of a sub- class of angels: the most holy of the holy ones (perhaps in analogy with “the holy of holies,” the innermost part of the temple), \mathbb{B} reminds us that the three references to “angel(s)” preserved in the Aramaic fragments all have “watcher” (ܐܬܪܐ), and two of them, “watcher(s) and holy one(s),” 22:5; 93:2; 33:3. This suggests that we

should read as above or “the watchers and holy ones.”
 Ⲙ could result from reading an abbreviation of
 ἄγγέλων as ἄγιων.

- b “did not --- leave him] Ⲙⲁ Ⲙ om. “nor by day”: οὐκ
 ἀποχωροῦσιν νυκτὸς οὔτε ἀφίστανται αὐτοῦ;
 ʿiyerehhequ lēlita waʿiyaʾattetu ʿemennehu. The double
 expression “day and night” or “night and day” is a
 cliché that makes more sense in the present context

than simply “by night.” “Day and night” occurs in Rev
 4:8, a passage that seems to have known the present
 passage (see Introduction §6.3.1.7). Moreover, it corre-
 sponds to the double verb. Therefore I reconstruct
 chiasmic parallelism (cf. 1 Enoch 12:3): οὐκ
 ἀποχωροῦσιν νυκτὸς οὔτε <ἡμέρας> ἀφίστανται.

■ **14:8-23** These verses describe Enoch’s ascent to heaven and his progress to the divine throne room. They constitute the confrontation element in his commissioning (see Table 4). A comparison of these verses with the respective parts of Ezekiel and a study of the narrative contours of the text itself elucidate the author’s view of a transcendent God and the paradox of Enoch’s ascent into his presence. Historically, this reveals the section to be an important transition from the older Ezekiel tradition of the prophetic call to the much later tradition of Jewish Merkabah mysticism.

This transition is evident in four major points at which 1 Enoch 14:8-23 differs from Ezekiel. (1) In Ezekiel 1 the wind-borne chariot throne of God approaches the prophet at the river Chebar, and all subsequent activity takes place there. In Enoch’s vision by the waters of Dan, the winds carry the seer to heaven, where the temple and throne of God are located. The subsequent action takes place there. (2) Ezekiel’s vision in chaps. 1–2 is limited to the cherubim, the throne, and the humanlike figure seated on it. In 1 Enoch 14 the vision of the enthroned Deity and the divine attendants is granted at the end of Enoch’s journey through the various structures of the heavenly temple. Similarly, the fire beneath the throne and the icelike pavement of Ezek 1:13-14 and 22 have been transformed in 1 Enoch into the hot and cold building materials of the heavenly temple. (3) In Ezekiel 1–2 the prophet is largely passive. God appears to him where he is. Ezekiel’s action is confined to seeing the vision and reacting to it. Enoch, however, plays an active role in his vision. Five times he is the sub-

ject of a verb of motion (vv 9, 10, 13). Moreover, the structures in heaven are not simply things to be *seen*; they are landmarks on the seer’s journey, to which he relates in those actions of which he is the subject. Similarly, Enoch does not simply *see* the house made of hailstones and snow and surrounded with fire (vv 10-12), he *experiences* it in its peculiarity—hot as fire and cold as snow (v 13). This active and subjective involvement of the seer in his vision differentiates our text not only from Ezekiel 1–2 but also from other prophetic calls.¹ (4) It does, however, have a counterpart in Ezekiel 40–48 and its twin vision in Ezekiel 8–11, where the prophet is brought to Jerusalem to preach and to witness God’s abandonment of the temple. The counterpart to Ezekiel’s new temple in Jerusalem, where the glory of the Lord will again reside, is in this text the heavenly temple, where the Great Glory is enthroned. Enoch is not whisked off to an earthly temple; he is summoned and taken to heaven. Moreover, although this happens by means of divinely controlled elements, once he is in heaven, he proceeds unaccompanied to the divine throne room. Although the accompanying angel is omnipresent in our author’s prototype (Ezekiel 40-48), he is notably lacking in the present text.

The flow of the narrative in vv 8-23 is climactic in several respects. First, there is a movement from the outside inward: from earth to heaven, then through the outer wall and court of the temple, into the main room, to the door of the holy of holies through which he can see the enthroned Deity. Corresponding to this Godward movement of his journey are the increasingly

1 Moses does approach the bush to inspect it (Exod 3:3-4), but this incident is of a different order from

Enoch’s movement through the heavenly temple.

marvelous spectacles described at increasingly greater length: the outer wall, constructed of hailstones and fire, two mutually exclusive entities; the main room, in which the presence of snow and new fiery elements intensify the paradox; in the heart of the temple, the holy of holies, where the paradox of hot and cold give way to the unmitigated blazing fire that proceeds from the throne and envelops the Deity. Similarly climactic is the manner in which the successive components of the temple comprise a series of perilous barriers that threaten and impede the seer's progress inward: a belt of fire encircling the outer wall; a similar belt around the main room intensified by blazing flames in its doorways; a fiery furnace for a throne room. These increasingly perilous barriers have their respective effects on Enoch. At the sight of the first wall, he begins to fear, but he negotiates the fiery barrier. Similarly he enters the main room. Here the effect is overwhelming. He quakes in terror and collapses. Beyond the door leading to the holy of holies he will not pass. The blazing fire of the divine presence constitutes a final barrier.

Our author's God is the transcendent, wholly other, heavenly King. He does not appear on earth, as he did to Abraham or Moses or Isaiah. His chariot throne does not descend to earth as it did for Ezekiel. It is fixed in heaven, the realm of Spirit and holiness, totally different from the earthly sphere of flesh and blood (cf. 15:4-7). The author's imagery stresses the otherness of this realm. Here fire and snow can coexist. Things are larger than life. God dwells in a house greater than the great one to which it is annexed. Its ceiling is the heaven with its streaking luminaries and lightning flashes. He is seated on a lofty throne and is attended by a countless throng of angels of various orders. God's holiness and purity are indicated by such imagery as: icelike, snowlike, sunlike, glory, fire. In the final analysis, however, images break down and the truth behind the author's language is revealed. The majesty of God's throne room is beyond description (14:16), as is, of course, God (14:20). The heaping and redundancy of the author's imagery is a poetic way to describe the indescribably excellent by means of an overexcess of superlative similes and metaphors. The repetitious use of negatives in vv

16, 19, 21-22 documents the final chasm between God and mortals, and, indeed, angels. This usage parallels later apophatic theology, in which God is described in negatives (in Greek texts, the *alpha privative*). Consonant with this view of God is God's inaccessibility. Normally, he is approached by prayer and through angelic mediators (15:2). The fire in heaven functions to preserve his inaccessibility. Enoch must breach these barriers in order to approach the holy of holies, but even here he is stopped short—along with all but the holiest of the heavenly attendants.

Given this view of God, it is paradoxical that Enoch gets as far as he does. More important, God summons him; and the divine messengers, the winds, bring him to heaven. By whatever means, Enoch is enabled to negotiate the fiery barriers. When he collapses within the temple, God dispatches one of the holy ones to rehabilitate him and bring him to the threshold of the holy of holies (14:24–15:1). Enoch's is a special case. The whole tradition leads us to suppose that it is his special righteousness that enables him to enter God's presence. In short, our passage is an interpretation of Gen 5:24. See comm. on 12:1-3. Enoch's righteousness is explicitly mentioned in 15:1, where he is formally addressed as "upright man and scribe of truth." Thus God chose him to enter his presence and act as his spokesman.

The transitional character of this text now becomes apparent. On the one hand, it differs from the prophetic call visions in the seer's active participation in the vision; from these and Ezekiel 40-48 in that Enoch ascends to heaven; and from the throne visions of 1 Kings 22, Isaiah 6, Ezekiel 1-2, and Daniel 7 in its description of the heavenly temple. On the other hand, in these points and others that it may or may not have in common with prophetic texts, it contains many of the major components and essential elements of later Jewish Merkabah mysticism attributable to Ezekiel.² It begins with a view of God as the transcendent, holy king, enthroned in heaven. Access to this God is nevertheless possible for a (few) very righteous person(s). They ascend to heaven, where they make the perilous passage through the palaces of the heavenly temple. This journey culminates in a vision of the enthroned Deity, described

2 For a summary see the discussion of Scholem, *Major Trends*, 40-79. At various points in his discus-

sion, he recognizes similarities (though not necessarily historical connections) between 1 Enoch and

in language derived from Ezekiel 1–2. The imagery is often repetitious and hyperbolic, intended more to create an impression than to convey rational information.

There are also important differences from the later mystical texts. We have here no hymn of the angelic attendants. Lacking is the endless, detailed speculation that marks the later texts—though it may be seen *in nuce* here. Two other differences are perhaps more substantive. The first relates to form and purpose. Enoch's ascent and vision of God are prologue to his commissioning. For the later mystics, the vision of God was an end in itself. The second has to do with means. The later mystics used various devices to initiate their journey. Thereafter they were accompanied through heaven by an angelic guide. Enoch may have been using prayer to initiate an ascent process (13:7), though this is not explicit. In the present text it is God who summons and brings him to heaven. Thereafter he proceeds unaccompanied through the heavenly temple.

A definite historical link between our text and the later mystical texts must await careful exegesis of the latter and comparison with Enoch.³ Similarities clearly exist. It is not impossible or unreasonable that a later mystical tradition rooted in Ezekiel 1–2 should have gotten its start among persons who saw themselves standing in the *prophetic* tradition of Ezekiel. 1 Enoch is linked to Ezekiel through its prophetic form and to the later mystical texts in its language of ascent and in related details.⁴

The description of Enoch's ascent to heaven and his progress through the heavenly temple is saturated with references to meteorological phenomena and climatic conditions. These can be explained as typical components of theophanic descriptions (see comm. on 14:8) and secondarily as natural ways to describe heaven, with

its storehouses of snow, ice, and the like. It should be noted, however, that many of them are compatible with the physical appearance of Mount Hermon and the conditions that surround it: a massive snowcap, ice, heavy clouds, fierce winds, and terrible cold at its peak.⁵

■ 8 The introductory expression, “. . . it was shown to me thus: Behold . . .,” is paralleled in vv 14b-15a and 18ab. In vv 9a and 10a, where we might also expect it, verbs of motion occur. See comm. on 14:8-23. Cf. Dan 7:2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, where the verbs of sight occur with much greater frequency.

This verse, which describes Enoch's ascent from earth to heaven, is structured in threefold progressive parallelism with an interesting syntactical variety: noun verb, noun verb | noun noun, verb verb | noun verb, verb verb. Each of the three lines describes one set of meteorological or cosmic elements that are for the most part typical constituents of theophanies of the storm God. For clouds, lightning, and winds in such contexts, cf. for example, Exod 19:16; 20:21; Job 38:1; Pss 18:10, 15 (9, 14); 77:19 (18); 97:2, 4; Ezek 1:4; Joel 2:2 | Zeph 1:15.⁶

Since it is paired with νεφέλαι (“clouds”), one might translate *ὁμίχλαι* as “mists.” Cf., however, Job 38:9 and Joel 2:2 | Zeph 1:15, where *ὁμίχλη* (sg.) translates Heb. ערפל (“gloom, dark cloud”). The frequent occurrence of ערפל and of the word pair ענן/ערפל (cloud, gloom) in theophanic contexts suggests such a connotation here. Cf. Exod 20:21; Ps 18:10 (9); and for the word pair, Deut 4:11; Joel 2:2 | Zech 1:15; Ps 97:2. Different from Dan 7:13, there is no clear indication here (except the analogy of the next two lines) that the clouds convey Enoch to heaven. They summon and cry out to Enoch. Perhaps

the Merkabah texts. On this relationship, see also Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 32–40. For an older, history-of-religions treatment of the idea of heavenly ascent, see W. Bousset, “Die Himmelfahrt der Seele,” *ARW* 4 (1901) 136–69, 234–73.

3 One similarity in detail occurs in *Midrash Mishle* (ed. Buber, folios 34a ff., cited by Scholem, *Major Trends*, 71, 366 n. 112). A fiery stream proceeds from *beneath* the throne of God, a point at which 1 Enoch 14:19 agrees with Ezek 1:13 against Dan 7:10.

4 A full analysis of the relationship of 1 Enoch 14 to the Jewish mystical tradition would also have to consider traditions attested in non-Jewish texts (see above, n. 2), the forms in which those traditions were preserved, and their respective functions.

5 On the climatic conditions see Dar, *Settlements*, 5–8. For thunder and lightning at Hermon, see Ps 29:3–9.

6 On the theophany of the storm god, see Frank M. Cross, “Yahweh and Ba’l,” in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) 147–77.

we should think of God's voice coming from the thunderclouds. Cf. Psalm 29, esp. v 3. For the association of thunder and a heavenly voice, cf. also John 12:28-29; Rev 6:1; 14:2; 19:6.

The pairing of the noun זִקְקִין with "lightning flashes" (Gk. διαστραπαί) suggests a heavenly illuminative phenomenon (rather than "blasts of wind" as in 𐤔 Job 4:15 and 𐤔^{Ver} Lev 16:22. Cf. 𐤔^{Ver} Exod 20:2, 3 and 𐤔^{Neof} Exod 20:2, 3, where the words of the first two commandments proceed from God's mouth like זִקְקִין and בְּרָקִים ("lightning flashes") and שְׁלוּבִיין/לִמְפָדִין ("flames/torches"). In *b. Ber.* 58b and *y. Ber.* 9:13c, זִקְקִין of *m. Ber.* 9:1 is interpreted with reference to a heavenly phenomenon passing through Orion, evidently a comet or shooting star. The Greek translator accepted the latter meaning of this word here (see textual n. b). In 𐤔 (4QEn^c 1 6:20; Milik, *Enoch*, 194), זִקְקִין וְזִקְקִין ("were summoning, and shooting stars") provides an example of assonance. The word pair "shooting stars" and "lightning flashes" recurs in vv 11 and 17. Here the nouns are logically the subjects of verbs indicating speed. Paradoxically, these two elements that proceed from heaven to earth are means to prod Enoch on his journey from earth to heaven.

The winds, which are Enoch's vehicle for this trip, are the subject of three parallel verbs denoting conveyance (see textual n. f). In sequence, the previous line and this one are reminiscent of the chariot and horses of fire and the whirlwind (סַעַרָה) that conveyed Elijah to heaven (2 Kgs 2:11). In view of the many parallels to Ezekiel in this section, however, we cannot ignore the similarity of this verse to Ezek 40:1-2 and its parallel in Ezekiel 8-11, where it is the spirit (רוּחַ) that lifts Ezekiel up and brings him to Jerusalem and the temple (8:3). The Parables appear to read the present passage in the light of the Elijah story. See comm. on 70:1-2.

■ ■ When the winds have brought Enoch into heaven (εἰσηνεγκαν; cf. Ezek 40:3 LXX, εἰσηγαγε), he enters (the first of three uses of εἰσηλθον; cf. vv 10, 13) and approaches (the first of two occurrences of ἤγγισα

["approached"]; cf. v 10) the wall that encloses the temenos of the heavenly temple (cf. Ezek 40:5). The presence of hail and snow (v 10) in heaven is not surprising (cf. Job 38:22), and the combination of hail and fire might be drawn from the imagery of a hail and lightning storm (cf. Exod 9:23; Ps 18:13-14; [12-13]; 148:8; Rev 8:7, where "fire" is a term for lightning) or from Ezekiel's description of the throne and its chariot, where fire, lightning, and an icelike pavement are all present (1:4, 13, 22, 27). The current passage differs in its systematic emphasis on the coexistence of mutually exclusive opposites.⁷ This stress is evident in the antithetical word pair that is made the more clear by the expression "tongues of fire" (γλώσσαις πυρός). This paradox is further emphasized in 71:5, where this fire is construed as the mortar between the hailstones! Here the fire functions as a kind of moat, a protective band to exclude intruders. A similar idea occurs in *Adam and Eve* 28:4.⁸ Here the wall encircling the court of Ezekiel's temple (40:5, סָבִיב סָבִיב, 𐤔 סָחֹר סָחֹר) is extended by a band of fire that encircles (סָחֹרִין סָחֹר) the outer wall of the heavenly temple. Terrifying as the sight may be, Enoch's fear is only beginning (cf. vv 14, 24).

■ 10-14a Mention of Enoch's fear underscores the terrible nature of the spectacle and thus stresses the audacity of his next act. Isaiah 43:2 may be in the background here. In any event Enoch penetrates a barrier or ordeal that no human could expect to survive except with divine help and permission.⁹ Signaling his active participation in his vision, Enoch tells us not that he *saw* a great house, but that he *approached* it (v 10).

The author alters the structure of Ezekiel's temple. There is no inner court (Ezek 40:28-47). Perhaps its function has been assumed by the wall within the encircling band of fire. Enoch approaches a "great house" (οἶκον μέγαν, לְבֵיִת רַב, v 10). In biblical descriptions of the Jerusalem temple,¹⁰ the main building of the temple is called בֵּית, "house" (1 Kgs 6:2; Ezek 40:47-48). The front part of this building consisted of an enclosed porch or

7 Cf. *Exod. Rab.* 12:4, which notes the contradiction in Exod 9:24, perhaps in terms of fire and water; cf. Wis 16:17 and the comment by Winston, *Wisdom*, 298.

8 On the possible relationship of this text to 1 Enoch 14-16, see Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions," 526-33.

9 Cf. also Daniel 3, where the righteous survive a fiery ordeal. Here Enoch the righteous scribe is permitted what is denied ordinary mortals; cf. v 21.

10 For a detailed discussion see William F. Stinespring, "Temple, Jerusalem," *IDB* 4:534-60.

vestibule (אולם, 1 Kgs 6:3; Ezek 40:48). This led into the building's main room (היכל, 1 Kgs 6:17; Ezek 41:1), behind which was the inmost sanctuary, variously called "back room" (דביר, 1 Kgs 6:5), "holy place" (קדש, Ezek 41:21), and "holy of holies" (קדש הקדשים, 1 Kgs 6:16; Ezek 41:4). In our author's description of the heavenly sanctuary, there are two "houses." The first of these, described in vv 10-13, functions as the main room. Different from the Jerusalem temple, there is no vestibule, although once again the fire around this building and in its doors functions to put it at another remove. The second "house" functions as the holy of holies. For its description and its relationship to the first house, see comm. on 14:14b-17.

The construction of the first house is analogous to the wall, and the description here is a detailed expansion of v 9 (cf. vv 10a, 12). The lower parts of the house are of cold materials: hailstones and snow (ἐν λίθοις χαλάζης, ἐκ χιονικά, ד"י תלג, חלג). Translations of these words as "crystal" miss the point of the author's paradoxical description, which is also supported in v 13.¹¹ The noun λιθόπλακες ("stone slabs") is a hapax legomenon, evidently referring to a facing on the walls,¹² which may be compared to the wood paneling in the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 6:15; Ezek 41:15-17). The ceiling of the building is likened to hot elements. Enoch sees it like heaven, with its astronomical phenomena. Cf. v 17, where these constitute "the upper part" of the second house rather than its ceiling, and v 8b, where they fall to earth to speed Enoch on his journey. We might expect "fiery" to be descriptive of seraphim rather than cherubim.¹³ But cf. Gen 3:24. The last clause in v 11 is difficult and may be corrupt. If it is approximately correct, it appears to construe the ceiling of the building as an upper heavenly vault, which it describes either as

clear as water¹⁴ or as constructed of water, paradoxically coexistent with the fiery elements previously mentioned. In v 12 the description of v 9b is expanded with reference to the blazing fire that bars entrance through the doors of the building. As in vv 9bc-10a, the transition from v 12 to v 13 emphasizes the impossible and audacious nature of Enoch's venture.

Verse 13 explicates the paradox hitherto implied. The mutually exclusive elements of fire and snow (and hail) coexist in this building in their hotness and coldness. Moreover, Enoch's active participation in the vision is extended to his subjective experience of them as such. Verse 13b stresses the dreadful situation in which Enoch finds himself. The form of this line is closely paralleled in Sir 14:16 (οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ᾧ δου ζητῆσαι τρυφήν, א"ן בשאול תענוג לבקש תענוג, "in Sheol one cannot look for pleasure") and b. 'Erub. 54a (בשאול תענוג א"ן, "in Sheol there is no pleasure")¹⁵ in contexts that exhort one to enjoy life while one can, in view of the uncertain prospect of death. The quotation of the proverb here implies the mortal danger in which Enoch stands as he approaches God's throne room. To ascend to the heavenly temple is a cause for sheer terror rather than joy. This is no visit to the paradise of delight.¹⁶ We have here a hint of an element that will be central to later mystical texts.¹⁷

Enoch's initial fear (v 9c) has turned to sheer terror, described in extended fashion, paralleled perhaps only in Dan 10:8-10. Enoch the mortal, righteous though he be, is thrown prostrate on the ground, debilitated in the presence of a holy God. Cf. Dan 8:18; 10:15; *Adam and Eve* 26:1; 27:1. He remains in this posture until God rehabilitates him (vv 24-25).

■ **14b-17** Although the mention of Enoch's collapse marks a literary climax, the vision continues to unfold with no relief for the seer or the reader. Because of

11 Dillmann (*Enoch*, ad loc.) translates ע ברד as "Crystall." On the ambiguity of the ע texts, see textual note c. Charles (*Enoch*, ad loc.), who had the clearer א text, persisted in the translation.

12 See Milik, *Enoch*, 198, note on lines 23/24.

13 On the seraphim, see Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 264-65.

14 Charles, *Enoch*, 33.

15 Cited by Charles, *ibid*.

16 The Gk. τρυφή ("pleasure" or "delight") presup-

posed by ע translates Heb. עדן (Eden) in the א rendering of the name of paradise. See, e.g., Gen 2:15; 3:23, 24; Ezek 31:9.

17 See Gershom Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960) 14-16.

Enoch's debilitated condition, the next two parts of the vision are introduced with verbs of seeing (vv 14b, 18ab; cf. v 8ab) rather than verbs of motion.

Through an open door, evidently at the rear of the first house,¹⁸ Enoch sees the holy of holies of the heavenly temple, the throne room of God (vv 18-20). The very special nature of this structure is noted in several ways. (1) It is larger than the first house. (2) Its glory and so on (probably an initial reference to the divine כבוד; cf. v 21) exceeds description. Verse 16 is the first of four references to what is not possible in or with reference to God's presence (cf. vv 19b, 21ab). For a later parallel to the phrasing of this verse, cf. *Asc. Isa.* 7:2, 3). This house is constructed entirely of fiery material. The hailstones and snow of the first house have been replaced by fire. A fiery ceiling has displaced the shooting stars and lighting flashes, which form the "upper part" (τὸ ἀνώτερον), perhaps upper story, of this building. The precise meaning of this expression is not certain. An upper chamber stood over the main room and holy of holies of Herod's Temple (*J.W.* 5.5.5 §221 ὑπερώων; *m. Mid.* 4:5, עליה), but is not mentioned in the descriptions in 1 Kings 6 and Ezekiel 40-41 (cf., however, 1 Chr 28:11; 2 Chr 3:9, עליה [pl.]).

■ 18-20 These verses are the heart of Enoch's vision: the enthroned Deity. As in Ezek 1:26-28, the description moves climactically from the throne to God and God's appearance. The shorter line lengths in these verses create a quicker pace of description reflecting the climactic nature of the subject matter. "Lofty throne" (θρόνον ὑψηλόν) derives from Isa 6:1 and denotes God's kingship.¹⁹ The idea in connection with this expression is explicit in *T. Mos.* 4:2. For God's kingship in 1 Enoch, cf. Introduction §4.2.1.2. Lines c and d describe the appearance of the throne with terminology akin to the opposites I have noted above: ice and sun. However, here the point of comparison is not cold and heat, but brilliance. The icelike appearance of the throne may derive from the same description of its pavement in Ezek 1:22. For a

similar description of Abel's judgment throne and the table in front of it, cf. *T. Abr.* 12 A. The wheels and their brilliant appearance derive from Ezek 1:16. In Dan 7:9 they are made of flaming fire. Juxtaposition of wheels and cherubim here reflects Ezek 1:15-21; 10:1-22, where they are closely associated. It is not surprising that they should be present in the holy of holies of the heavenly sanctuary (cf. 1 Kgs 6:23-28). Their function here is uncertain. Either they form the sides of the throne, reading ὄρος as ὄροι, "boundaries," or they are its guardians, reading οὐροι. See textual note c. Ezekiel's fire beneath the chariot (1:13-14) becomes streams issuing from beneath the throne, perhaps the source of the flames of which the house is constructed. For Daniel, a stream of fire issues from the presence of God himself (7:9). The effulgent splendor of the spectacle is such that Enoch cannot see—a second reference to the breakdown of his capacities in the presence of God's glory (cf. v 16 and also v 14). The motif is traditional (cf. Exod 33:20), and its exact counterpart occurs at this point in Ezekiel's vision in an expansion in 1 Ezech 1:27, "the appearance of glory that the eye was unable to see and upon which it was impossible to look" (חיו יקר דלא יכילא עינא למדחוי) (ולא אפשר לאסתכלא ביה).²⁰ Cf. also 1 Enoch 39:14 for the reuse of the motif at the corresponding point in the Parables. The term "great glory" (ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη) recurs in 1 Enoch only at 102:3, and it is employed in *T. Levi* 3:4.²¹ It designates God in terms of the effulgent splendor that envelops him, his כבוד ("glory"). Cf. 103:1; 104:1, 2: "the glory of the Great One" (ἡ δόξα τοῦ μεγάλου). Different from Ezek 1:26 and Dan 7:9, our author avoids comparing God's appearance with that of a human being. Where Daniel speaks of God's hair and God's raiment, Enoch restricts himself to the latter, perhaps in keeping with Isa 6:1. Given the long buildup to this climax, the description is strikingly brief.

■ 21-23 This concluding section describes God's attendants and extends further the description of his glorious presence. The fourfold use of the negative in vv 21-22

18 One could interpret the passage to be referring to a house within a house, as in 3 Enoch 1:1, in which case one would have the paradox of a house larger than the house in which it stands. But the reference here first to the door suggests that Enoch is looking through that door into a second house to which it is the entry.

19 See Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 261-62.

20 Cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 34.

21 On the relationship of this text to the present one, see Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 588-90.

serves to emphasize God's unapproachability, which is further indicated by the wall of fire that encircles the throne—perhaps the fire that issues from under it (v 19). Thus at the heart of his temple the enthroned Deity sits surrounded by the fire and effulgent light typical of almost all biblical theophanies.²² This encircling fire radiates in concentric circles, so to speak, to the outer limits of the temple temenos, and its function is consistently to bar access to God, as any fire bars access to its center. The second quality of fire is its light, which is here consonant with the many images for the glory of God and the splendor and purity of his temple and its appointments: hailstones, snow, like ice, like the shining sun. Thus through his imagery the author is describing a God who is totally transcendent, overpowering in his glory,²³ unapproachable to humans and most angels, and, as we shall see in the succeeding chapters, absolute in his commands (see Introduction §4.2.1).

Verses 21-23 present some difficulties of interpretation. Who may or may not approach God? Verse 21 is an introductory, generalizing statement constructed in parallelism. Both angels and mortals are forbidden access to God's throne room. Exod 33:20 ("you cannot see my face; for man cannot behold me and live") is extended to include all angels. The wall of fire that "stood by" him (*παρειστήκει*, v 22) functions as a courtroom guard (cf. Dan 7:9, where the many thousands of heavenly attendants are the subject of this verb).²⁴ It prevents those around him from approaching him (*ἐγγίξει*). Perhaps these are the ten thousand times ten thousand. But the parallelism in v 22 should be noted:

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| a . . . fire stood by him | c thousands stood before him |
| b none . . . approached | d he needed no counselor. |

Contradicting the generalization of v 21 is v 23. Certain angels do approach him (*οἱ ἐγγίζοντες*). The text is corrupt (see textual note a), but it seems to be making an exception to v 21. Certain holy ones of the angelic corps are permitted access.

The immense number of angels mentioned in v 22 adds to the sense of majesty and splendor that the author has already created. Verse 22d ⚡ has a close par-

allel in Sir 42:21, "he has no need for any counselor" (*καὶ οὐ προσεδέηθ' οὐδενὸς συμγούλου*, לֹא צָרִיךְ לְכֹל מְבַרֵּן),²⁵ which in turn appears to reflect Isa 40:13-14. Both passages describe God's total sovereignty in the context of creation. Verse 22d ⚡ is paralleled in Ps 33(32):9, "he spoke, and it came to be" (*הוּא אָמַר וַיְהִי*, αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν ⚡), a reference to the creative word of God, in view of which all people should stand in awe (vv 4-8). A connection with the previous half of this line occurs in Ps 33(32):10-11 and its reference to God's "counsel" (*עֲצָה*, βουλή ⚡), again in a context reminiscent of Isaiah 40. Evidently, our author employs a traditional motif that stresses God's sovereignty with respect to his creative activity. This undergirds the author's portrait here of a totally transcendent and sovereign God. As at creation, so even now what he says happens and he needs no helper.²⁶ In 2 *Enoch* 33:4 the present verb is taken up and employed as the capstone of the lengthy description of creation in chaps. 25-33, evidence that the original connotations of this tradition have not been lost on the later author, although they are not explicit in his source.

The language of v 23 may indicate some kind of cultic activity on the part of the holy ones. This may be implied already in the word "holy." Moreover, the term "approach" occurs in the Bible with specific cultic connotations. See, for example, Ezek 44:13, וְגַב, ἡγγίζω; 44:15, 16 קָרַב, προσάγω, προσέρχομαι; 45:4, קָרַב, ἡγγίζω.

The use of the expression "day . . . and night" to describe the holy ones' continual attendance of God may suggest cultic activity, perhaps the praise of God. The expression occurs in a number of Jewish and early Christian texts that describe such liturgical activity. Paraphrasing 1 Chr 23:3, Josephus writes of David, "He also ordained that all those of the tribe of Levites and the priests should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them" (*διέταξε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ληουίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δουλεύειν κατὰ νύκτα*

22 E. M. Good, "Fire," *IDB* 2:269.

23 Friedrich Lang, "πῦρ," *TDNT* 6 (1968) 935.

24 On this special usage see Georg Bertram, "παρίστημι," *TDNT* 5 (1967) 838-39.

25 Cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 34.

26 Interpretation suggested by John Strugnell, private communication, June 2000.

καὶ ἡμέραν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλε Μωσῆς, *Ant.* 7.14.7 §367).²⁷ Concerning Hannah the prophetess Luke writes, “she did not depart from the temple, with fasting and prayers she served night and day” (ἡ οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ νηστεύουσα καὶ δεήσασιν λατρεύουσα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, 2:37). Cf. also Rev 4:8, which is probably dependent on the present passage (see Introduction §6.3.1.7) and especially 7:15, which makes explicit reference to the heavenly temple. Relying perhaps on Josh 1:6 and Ps 1:2,²⁸ 1QS 6:6-12 commands: “And where the ten are, these shall never lack a man among them who shall study the Law continually, day and night” (trans. Vermes: *ואל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם* (העשרה איש דודש בתורה יומם ולילה תמיד).

Alternatively the terminology of this passage occurs

in the Temple Scroll (11QT 62:1-11), of the king’s body-guard, “who will not leave him alone, . . . and they shall always be with him day and night. They shall guard him from every sinful thing” (translation of Yadin: *אשר לוא יעזובוהו . . . והיו עמו תמיד יומם ולילה אשר יהיו שומרים אותו* (מכול דבר חט).

The idea of day and night service in God’s presence may here imply the term עיר understood as “watcher” or “one who is awake.” Cf. in this context in the Parables, “those who sleep not” (39:12).²⁹

Since Enoch is already prostrate and trembling (vv 13b-14), the author need only refer to that fact to indicate the seer’s present reaction to the vision of God (v 24). This provides a transition to the next major section (14:24b–16:4).

27 It is unclear to what passage Josephus refers. According to Lev 8:35, Aaron and his sons remained at the door of the tabernacle day and night during the period of their consecration. According to 1 Chr 9:33, the Levites were on duty day and night.

28 See Benedict Thomas Viviano, *Study as Worship: Aboth and the New Testament* (SJLA 26; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 150–51.

29 Cf. the idea of “watching” in the Temple Scroll and the parallel passages cited by Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) 2:257.

The Oracle

- 24 And I had been until now on my face, prostrate^a and trembling. And the Lord called me with his mouth and said to me, "Come here, Enoch, and hear^b my word(s)." 25/ And one of the holy ones came to me and raised me up and stood me (on my feet)^a and brought me up to the door. But I had my face bowed down.^b
- 15:1 But he answered and said to me^a—and I heard his voice—
"Fear not, Enoch, righteous man and scribe of truth.
Come here, and hear my voice.
- 2 Go and say to the watchers of heaven^a, who sent you to petition in their behalf,
'You should petition^b in behalf of men,
and not men in behalf of you.
- 3 Why have you forsaken the high heaven, the eternal sanctuary;^a
and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men;
and taken for yourselves wives, and^b done ~~as~~ the sons of earth;
and begotten for yourselves sons,^c giants?
- 4 You were holy ones and spirits, living forever.^a
With the blood of women you have defiled yourselves,
and with the blood of flesh you have begotten;
And with the blood of men you have lusted,
and you have done^b as they do—
flesh and blood, who die and perish.
- 5 Therefore I gave them women,
that they might cast seed into them,
and thus beget children by them,
that nothing fail them upon the earth.
- 6 But you originally existed^a as spirits, living forever,^b
and not dying for all the generations of eternity.
Therefore I did not make women among you.'
- 7 The spirits^a of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling;
8 But now the giants who were begotten by the spirits and flesh—
they will call them evil spirits upon the earth,
for their dwelling will be upon the earth.^a
- 9 The spirits that have gone forth from the body of their flesh are evil spirits,^a
for from humans^b they came into being, and from the holy watchers ~~were~~ the origin of
their creation.^c
Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and evil spirits they will be called.^d
- 10 The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling;
but the spirits begotten in the earth, on earth is their dwelling.^a
- 11 And the spirits of the giants <lead astray>,^a do violence,^b make desolate, and^c attack and
wrestle and hurl upon the earth^d and <cause illnesses>.^e They eat nothing, but abstain
from food^f and ~~are~~ thirsty and smite. 12/ These spirits (will) rise up^a against the sons of
men and against the women,^b for they have come forth from them.
- 16:1 From the day^a of the slaughter and destruction and death of the giants,^b from the soul of
whose flesh the spirits ~~are~~ proceeding,^c they are making desolate without (incurring)
judgment. Thus they will make desolate until the day of the consummation of the great
judgment, when the great age will be consummated. It will be consummated all at
once.^d
- 2 And now (say)^a to the watchers who sent you to petition in their behalf, who formerly^b
were in heaven,
3 'You ~~were~~ in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you;^a
but ~~a~~ stolen mystery^b you learned;
and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart;
and through this mystery the women and men are multiplying evils upon the earth.'
- 4 Say to them,
'You will have no peace.'"

24a βεβλημένος ~~ἔ~~^a | ~~ἔ~~ *gelbābē* is corrupt for *gelbub* (= περι-
βεβλημένος, "covered"; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 40 n.

25). Analogies in the epiphanies in Dan 8:17; 10:9; etc., support ~~ἔ~~^a.

- b ἄκουσον 𐤊 | “holy” (*qeddus* = ἅγιον) 𐤋.
- 25a And one - - - - (on my feet) 𐤊: καὶ προσελθὼν εἰς τῶν ἁγίων ἤγειρέν με καὶ ἔστησέν με | 𐤋: “And he raised me” (*wa’anše’anī*), perhaps reproducing the last clause of 𐤊. An omission from καὶ to καί.
- b bowed down] ἔκνυσον 𐤊 | ‘*enēššer* (“I was looking”) 𐤋, probably corrupt for ‘*ānšānen* (= 𐤊); see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 41 n. 30.
- 15:1
- a 𐤊: + ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀληθινός, ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ γραμματεὺς (“the true man, man of truth, the scribe”), either a dittograph or a double reading for the next line.
- 2a watchers of heaven] 𐤋 | om. 𐤊, probably an omission by hmt: εἰπὲ <τοῖς ἐργηγοροῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ> τοῖς πέμψασίν σε. Cf. 16:2.
- b 𐤋 | 𐤊 has omission: ἐρωτῆσαι <περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῆσαι> ὑμᾶς ἔδει. Again cf. 16:2. Short reading = “to those who sent you, you should petition.”
- 3a the high - - - sanctuary] 𐤊 | “heaven, the high and eternal sanctuary” 𐤋.
- b Om. “and” 𐤊, connecting this clause with the following. Taking the clause with the previous provides more even lines of poetry, though that is not necessarily decisive.
- c 𐤊: καὶ ἐγεννήσατε ἑαυτοῖς τέκνα υἱοὺς γίγαντας (“and you have begotten for yourselves children, sons, giants”) | 𐤋 (*wawaladkemu* <*lakemu*> *weluda* ἡσῶν) om. “for yourselves” by hmt. and either τέκνα or υἱούς, one of which may be a double translation in 𐤊. But cf. 9:9.
- 4a 𐤊: καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε ἅγιοι καὶ πνεῦμα<τα> ζῶντα αἰώνια (lit. “And you were holy ones (or ‘holy’) and spirit<s>, living, eternal”) | E: *wa’antemusa qeddusān manfasāwīān heyāwāna heywat zala’ālam* (= καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅγιοι πνευματικοὶ ζῶντα ζῶν αἰώνιαν, “and you were holy, spiritual (beings), living an eternal life”). Either we must read αἰώνια as a translation of 𐤊𐤋𐤊, “forever,” as above, or we must emend it to read with 𐤋. Charles (*Enoch*, 35) prefers the latter.
- b and - - done] om. 𐤊, likely by hmt.: ἐπεθυμήσατε καὶ ἐποιήσατε.
- 6a *qadāmi konkemu* 𐤋 | ὑπάρχετε 𐤊.
- b spirits, living forever] text of 𐤊 𐤋 as in v 4 (see n. a).
- 7a πνεῦμα 𐤊 | *manfasāwīāna* (“spiritual ones”) 𐤋.
- 8a Translation of these two lines follows 𐤊 | “evil”: 𐤊 and 𐤋 (πονηρὰ/‘*ekuyāna*) agree against 𐤊 (ἰσχυρά, “powerful”) | For “they will call them,” 𐤊 and 𐤋 read “they will be called” | For the second “upon the earth,” 𐤊 and 𐤋 read “in (or ‘on’) the earth” (ἐν/*westa*).
- 9a 𐤊: πνεύματα πονηρὰ ἔσονται, τὰ πνεύματα ἐξεληλυθότα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν | 𐤋: πνεύμα<τα> τὰ πονηρὰ ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν (“evil spirits have gone forth from their body”). On the Semitism “body of the flesh,” cf. Sir 23:16; 1 Enoch 102:5; 1QpHab 9:2.
- b ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων 𐤊 | “from above” (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνωτέρων/‘*emle’ēlī*) 𐤊 𐤋. This reading provides synonymous parallelism with the next hemistich; however, the antithetical parallelism provided by 𐤊 agrees with v 8a.
- c 𐤊: ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχὴ θεμελίου (“the origin of their creation [om. “of their creation” 𐤋] and origin of foundation”). Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 43 n. 15) suggests possible dittography: 𐤊𐤋𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋 = ἀρχὴ τῆς κρίσεως corrupted to 𐤊𐤋𐤋 𐤊𐤋 = ἀρχὴ θεμελίου. But we may have a double translation. Cf. Exod 9:18, where LXX translates 𐤋𐤋 by κτίζω. The shortened form of the second phrase suggests a correction rather than a parallel phrase.
- d evil - - - called] 𐤋: *manfasa ‘ekuya yekawwenu badiba medr wamanfasa ‘ekuyān yessammayu* | Original 𐤋 read: πνεύματα πονηρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσονται καὶ πνεύματα πονηρὰ κληθήσεται | 𐤊 lost seven words by hmt. (πνεύματα πονηρὰ) | 𐤋 skipped from ἔσονται <καὶ τοὺς κληθήσεται> καὶ ὅτι ἔσται καί. See next note.
- 10a The spirits of - - - - dwelling] om. 𐤊 See comm.
- 11a Reading 𐤊 νεμόμενα (“pasturing”) as a translation of Aram. 𐤏𐤍, corrupt for 𐤏𐤍, as above, or 𐤏𐤍𐤍 (“shatter”) | 𐤊, followed by 𐤋, reads “clouds” (νεφέλας/*damanāta*), perhaps a corruption in 𐤋 or Aramaic (translating 𐤏𐤍𐤍); see Charles, *Enoch*, 36–37.
- b + “and” 𐤋.
- c Om. 𐤊.
- d 𐤊: + “the harsh spirits of the giants” (πνεύματα σκληρὰ γιγάντων), either a gloss or a double reading for the first line. Cf. Gen 21:11–12, where σκληρόν δὲ ἐφάνη and σκληρόν ἔστω translate Heb. 𐤍𐤍𐤋.
- e 𐤊: δρόμους ποιοῦντα (“make flights” or “make races”). This fits the athletic imagery in the previous line, but the point is not clear. Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 45 n. 5) suggests that 𐤋 = τρόμους. But *hāzana* means “sorrow” or “misery.” Perhaps δρόμους translates 𐤋𐤍𐤍, which consonants in Hebrew can be translated “running” or “oppression,” or which may be a corruption for Aram. 𐤊𐤍𐤍, “illness.”
- f ἀσιτοῦντα 𐤊^{as} | om. 𐤋. | + φάσμα ποιοῦντα (“make apparitions”) 𐤊, which breaks the natural sequence between references to hunger and thirst.
- 12a “not rise up” 𐤋 gq12 6281,β.
b 𐤋: *diba weluda sab’ wadiba ‘anest* | 𐤊: “against the sons of the men and of the women” (εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν). The giants have not proceeded from men and women. The giants attack “the sons of men” and the women from whom they have come.
- 16:1
- a 𐤊: “And from the days of the time” (καὶ ἀπὸ ἡμέρας καιροῦ). The last word is probably a double translation, spoken against by 𐤊 and 𐤋.
- b 𐤊: + ναφλεϊμ, οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ μεγάλοι ὀνο-

- μαστοί, a gloss reflecting Gen 6:4. On *ναφηλειμ* see comm. on 7:2. *οἱ ἰσχ. τ. γῆς* is an expansion of *עֲרֵבָה*. *οἱ μεγ. ὄνομ.* expands *עֲרֵבָה וְשֵׁם*; see Charles, *Enoch*, 37.
- c [ⓐ] Ⓢ: *ἁφ' ὧν τὰ πνεύματα ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν* | [ⓑ] Ⓢ: “the spirits that are proceeding from their soul, as from the flesh” (*τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ὡς ἐκ τῆς σαρκός*).
- d [ⓐ] Ⓢ: *ἐφ' ἧς ὁμοῦ τελεσθήσεται* | Ⓢ: *ʿemteguhān warasiʿān kwelhu yetfeššam* (“from the watchers and the goddess it will be consummated together”). The coincidence of [ⓐ] and Ⓢ indicates that this expression was in an archetype of both texts and dropped from [ⓐ] by hmt. (*τελεσθήσεται*). But it may be a fuller reading of the clause from the previous line, or a gloss. Ⓢ explains that judgment will be executed on the watchers and the wicked at the same time.
- 2a Some verb like *εἶπε* is required.
- b Om. [ⓐ] Ⓢ. Perhaps an Ⓢ addition | Ⓢ also prefaces the next line with a contrasting “and now,” which has no point there. Cf. 104:2.
- 3a [ⓐ] Ⓢ: *καὶ πᾶν μυστήριον {ὃ} οὐκ ἀνεκαλύφθη ὑμῖν*, a good Semitic formulation | For the corrupt *ὃ* (“which”), Ⓢ reads *ʿādi* (“yet” = *ἔτι*). It omits *πᾶν*.
- b but a stolen mystery] [ⓐ] Ⓢ: *καὶ μυστήριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένον* (“and a mystery that was from God”), nonsense in the present context, but evidently a corruption for: *μυστήριον ἐξουθενημένον* (“a worthless [or ‘despised’] mystery” = Ⓢ, *menuna meštira*); see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 47 n. 5. Yet a better meaning is obtained by positing a confusion between the verbs *נָבַח* (“despise”) and *נָבַח* (“plunder”).

■ **14:24–16:4** This section recounts the second half of Enoch’s heavenly commissioning vision. At God’s command, the prostrate seer is made to stand in the divine presence. Then follows the oracle (15:2–16:4), the indictment that was the basis for the sentence announced in 14:4-7. That sentence is recapitulated here briefly in 16:4.

In their major parts, including parallel threefold commissionings, the angelic oracle in 12:4–13:2 and this section correspond closely to one another, although the latter is mainly a sentence rather than an indictment.

Address, introduction	15:1-2a	12:3b-4a
Indictment of watchers	15:2b-7a	12:4b-5
The giants	15:7b–16:1	12:6
The watchers/Asael and their revelations	16:2-4	13:1-2

This oracle is the heart of this author’s reinterpretation of chaps. 6–11. He deals with two major issues: (1) the nature of the watchers’ sin (15:2-7a; 16:2-3c); (2) its consequences (15:7b–16:1; 16:3d-4).

There are several aspects of the watchers’ sinful intercourse with women. Through this act the watchers have defiled themselves, partly because intercourse in itself causes ritual uncleanness, and more importantly because the watchers have polluted themselves with their wives’ menstrual blood. Such uncleanness is, of course, remediable under Jewish ritual law. In the present case, however, there can be no atonement because the watchers’ act was in itself a violation of divine law. They have transgressed the created order by confusing the heav-

enly and earthly realms. Sexual intercourse was given by God to the human race to assure the continuity of one’s line. The watchers, being immortal, needed no such instrument. Nonetheless, they have lusted and acted like human beings and have defiled their heavenly and holy status through sexual contact with earthly women in a state of impurity. The sin is compounded by the fact that the watchers are priests in the heavenly sanctuary. Thus their holiness is not simply a special pure state that has been polluted. It is that state which allows them to draw near to God and minister to him. Since they have contaminated that state and violated God’s order of creation, they are banished from his presence in heaven and condemned to punishment on the earth to which they descended in rebellion and with whose populace they mingled (cf. comm. on 14:5). The watchers’ second sin involved yet another confusion of the heavenly and earthly spheres. They brought to earth secrets that belonged in heaven.

With respect to the watchers’ sin, the author’s reinterpretation of chaps. 6–11 revolves around his distinction between the heavenly and earthly realms and his description of the watchers’ holy and priestly status and their contamination of it.

The author’s major reinterpretation of chaps. 6–11 is in his discussion of the giants. According to 10:9-10, 12, the giants slaughter one another in war, and that is the end of them. Different from their fathers and Asael (10:4b-6, 11, 12b-13), they are not bound in the under-

world until a day of final judgment. The present author reverses this state of affairs. The giants' death is the prelude and presupposition for the continued violent and disastrous activity of their spirits, which goes on unpunished until the final judgment.

The consequences of the watchers' sin are in keeping with the author's understanding of the nature of that sin. Since the watchers are heavenly, spiritual, and immortal, the divine spirit with which they have endowed their sons is uneradicable in the normal course of events. The death of their human side serves only to free that spirit for further activity. Moreover, as one can see from their activities, the giants have inherited the wicked, rebellious side of their fathers' nature. The freed spirits of the dead giants constitute a demonic realm that carries on the activities for which the giants were judged and punished according to chaps. 6–11. Thus the author views life on this earth as the arena of demonic activity and employs the story in chaps. 6–11 to create an aetiology of this demonic realm. Nonetheless, with certain significant modifications, he retains the first of the essential points of the story in chaps. 6–11. The *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology in chaps. 6–11, which allows the reader to equate the violent activities of the giants with violence in his own time, is here transformed so that the violent spirits of the ancient giants continue to promulgate violence in the present time.

Like other apocalypists, our author believes that the evil that he experiences in his own time must come to an end. The present age, dominated by the evil spirits, will be consummated with the judgment, when God will destroy them and cure the evil that their fathers had unleashed on the world. Thus the second essential point in chaps. 6–11 is repeated here.

■ **14:24–15:1** These verses provide a transition between the two halves of Enoch's commissioning vision. Verse 24 reminds us of Enoch's state of collapse (cf. vv 13–14) precisely at the point in the form where one expects reference to this kind of reaction, and thus it prepares us for the next element, the reassurance or restoration. The seer must be rehabilitated and accepted into the divine presence before he can receive his commission. Restoration by an angel becomes a typical feature in visions, where, however, it is the angel whose appearance causes the collapse. Cf. Dan 8:16–18; 10:5–11; Rev 1:12–17. This section parallels Ezek 1:29–2:2. Note espe-

cially the double reference to hearing God's voice (word) and the triple verb of restoration in Ezek 2:2 LXX. The gradual process of restoration recalls Dan 10:9–18.

1 Enoch 15:1 parallels 14:24bc phrase by phrase, which may indicate a double reading. Since 14:25 brings Enoch to the door of the throne room, the second invitation (15:1) may indicate that Enoch actually enters the room. In view of 14:21, however, one expects mention of that momentous event. More likely, we have repetition for the sake of emphasis.

Enoch is addressed here as *ἄνθρωπος ἀληθινός καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς ἀληθείας*. The parallel formulation in 12:4 is *ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης*. My translations require some justification. The text in 12:4 almost certainly translates ܩܘܫܬܐ ܕܝ ܣܘܦܪ. The Aram. noun ܩܘܫܬܐ can mean either uprightness/righteousness or truth (see comm. on 93:1–3a) and could therefore be legitimately translated in Greek either as *δικαιοσύνη* or *ἀλήθεια*. The former translation occurs twice in 13:10 and 14:1 and once in 106:18. In the present text, however, it appears that a double occurrence of ܩܘܫܬܐ has been translated by *ἀληθινός* and *ἀλήθεια*. How, then, do we interpret our posited Aram. ܩܘܫܬܐ in its various occurrences? In the present text, the first element in the title is most easily seen as a reflection of the tradition that Enoch was an upright or righteous man. The patriarch's righteousness is an integral part of the Enoch tradition that stems from Gen 5:22, 24. Cf. 1 Enoch 1:2; *Jub.* 10:17. According to 1 Enoch 93:3, he lived in a righteous age. Paraphrasing Isa 57:1, Wis 4:10–14 maintains he was a righteous man in a sinful age. See Introduction §6.1. Enoch's righteousness is relevant here because by virtue of it he was permitted to enter the divine presence—as the vision describes. The second part of the title, however, appears to reflect 14:1: Enoch is the scribe who wrote “the Book of the Words of Truth.” The precise connotations of the Aramaic original of 12:4 are uncertain. Did the term ܩܘܫܬܐ ܕܝ ܣܘܦܪ anticipate 13:10–14:1? More likely, perhaps, the Greek translator at 12:4 saw correctly that the title there was a conflation of the double title here: Enoch the scribe was also an upright man.

■ **15:2** As I noted in the comm. on 13:4–7, Enoch's scribal function in chaps. 12–16 is twofold. He writes down and recites the watchers' petition and he writes down and recites the heavenly response to it. In 12:4 and

here, the title “scribe” is followed by the command to “Go and say.” As we learn from 13:10–14:1, what he says here is the contents of the document he has written. The formula “Go and say” is a typical introductory formula for prophetic commissionings. Cf. Isa 6:9; Jer 1:7; 2:2; Ezek 3:4, 11. The imperative “go” by itself occurs in a multitude of nonprophetic commissionings.¹ Thus one aspect of Enoch’s scribal function is to play the role of a prophet, which he does in response to a commissioning modeled after biblical prophetic commissionings (see comm. on 14:8–16:4, § Form: The Prophetic Commissioning). The oracle begins with reference to the watchers’ request in 13:4, as it will close with it (16:2). The passage is ironic. The angels are “professional” intercessors (see Excursus: Angels as Mediators, Intercessors, and Judicial Opponents). But they have not maintained the superior status that enables them to intercede for humankind (and in this case for themselves), and therefore they must ask a human being to intercede for them. Mention of the angel’s intercessory function here may relate to their status as priests in the heavenly temple.²

■ 3 This verse parallels 12:4b-5 phrase by phrase. The declarative, participial forms appear here as interrogative, finite verbs, and the word of condemnation is deferred to 16:4. The reference to the giants here has its counterpart in the “great desolation” mentioned in 12:5a. The adjective “high” (ὕψηλόν) could imply a plurality of heavens, but the idea is not as clear in 1 Enoch as it is in 2 Enoch (see comm. on 1:4). More likely the adjective is part of the attempt to portray the separation between heaven and earth. In Isa 33:5 and Sir 24:4 the adjective is used absolutely, in Isaiah to translate מְרוֹם, a common term for heaven. Cf. also 1QM 17:8. Here and in 12:4 the angels are depicted as functionaries (here specifically intercessors) in the heavenly sanctuary. Cf.

also 9:1. In the LXX, ἀγίασμα (12:4) usually translates מִקְדָּשׁ (“sanctuary”), though occasionally קֹדֶשׁ (Ps 113[MT 114]:2; Ezek 45:2) in the sense of “sanctuary.” As a rule, שֹׁקֵד with this meaning is translated by τὸ ἅγιον or τὰ ἅγια. The idea of heaven as a sanctuary recurs in *T. Levi* 5:1³ and is not infrequent in later Jewish and in Christian literature.⁴ For “the eternal sanctuary,” 12:4 has the fuller formulation, “the sanctuary of the eternal station” (τὸ ἀγίασμα τῆς στάσεως τοῦ αἰῶνος). The noun στάσις most likely translates a term equivalent to מַעְמָד (perhaps מִקְדָּשׁ; cf. 1 Kgs 10:5), which can mean priestly course in the literature of this period.⁵

The watchers have defiled themselves through the act of sexual intercourse, which rendered one ritually unclean (Lev 15:16-18). The linguistic structure of this verse prepares us for the dualism of v 4. Contrast “high heaven, eternal sanctuary” with “women, daughters of men, wives, sons of earth.” The watchers have sinned by deserting their holy, heavenly state and defiling themselves and acting like human beings. Perhaps there is an additional element of impropriety here: those designated as “those who stay awake” (עֵידִין) are lying in bed (κοιμάω = שכב).

■ 4-7a The indictment that the watchers have violated the distinction between the heavenly and earthly, the angelic and human (the external and the mortal) spheres, is spelled out in three charges, each of which picks up on an element in chaps. 6–11. As in the previous verse, the first of these charges involves the contrast between holiness and pollution (there “sanctuary/defiled”; here “holy ones/defiled”). Not only have the watchers polluted themselves through intercourse (v 3; cf. 7:1), they have slept with their wives during their menstrual period (v 4; cf. 10:11),⁶ which created a graver state of uncleanness according to Jewish ritual law (Lev

1 See Hubbard, *Matthean Redaction*, 67 n. 2.

2 Cf. Exod 28:29. This function of the high priest is applied to Jesus in Heb 7:25.

3 See Nickelsburg, “Enoch, Levi, and Peter,” 588–90.

4 See Hans Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1951) 123–37; for evidence from Qumran, see John Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran—4Q Serek Širôt ‘Ólat Haššabāt,” *Congress Volume, Oxford, 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960) 335. For the text see Carol Newsom, ed., DJD 11:173–401 and for a commentary, see idem, *Songs*

of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition (HSS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

5 Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 70–72.

6 Himmelfarb (*Ascent*, 21) suggests that the reference is to the blood of virginity and that the defilement involves the very fact of marriage. Why, then, tie the defilement to blood? Cf. 10:11.

15:19-24). Holiness is a characteristic of God that belongs derivatively to those who serve him, especially his priests. The watchers have polluted that holy state that permitted them to draw near to him and serve him in his heavenly temple. The charge of blood pollution is particularly notable in view of similar polemical passages against the Jerusalem priests. Cf. CD 5:6-7; *Ps. Sol.* 8:13.⁷

The nature of the second and third charges is indicated by the following sets of contrasting terms:

spirits	flesh and blood
living forever, not dying	who die and perish
no women among you	I gave them women.

Since humans are flesh and blood (i.e., mortal),⁸ they need progeny to perpetuate their name and line.⁹ God created women and sex as a means to this end. By contrast with flesh and blood, the watchers, being spiritual, are immortal and therefore have no need to procreate. Their sin in this case is that they have acted like human beings (thus the conclusion of v 4). They have begotten sons (cf. 6:2) where none were needed, mixing their seed with human blood (cf. *Wis* 7:2). Moreover, they have indulged in humanlike sexual desire (cf. 1 Enoch 6:2) inappropriate to their angelic state. For a parallel to v 4cd, cf. John 1:13: “who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of man” (οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς . . . ἐγεννήθησαν).

In short, the watchers have violated the created order, transgressing the boundary between the spheres of heaven and earth, spirit and flesh, and in so doing they have defiled their holy state. It is this combination that evidently makes their sin unforgivable (12:5; 16:4). No atonement can remove that uncleanness derived from an act that was not only forbidden but that violated the created order of the universe. Perhaps the legal model for this viewpoint is indicated by the term מִזְרִין (μαζή-ρεύς), applied to the giants in 10:9.

The view of woman, marriage, and sex expressed here is decidedly male oriented. Sex is for the purpose of procreating the man's line; woman was created for

him to this end. Missing is the parity of Gen 1:27-28: “male and female he created *them*. And God blessed *them* and said to *them*, ‘Be fruitful and multiply.’” Similarly missing is the viewpoint of Gen 2:18-24, where woman is created for the benefit of man but to be a partner with him, not an instrument to perpetuate his line.¹⁰

■ **7b-10** In 15:7b–16:1 the author discusses the results of the watchers' sin, that is, the offspring of the illicit union and their activities. The present section treats the nature of the offspring and their locus upon earth. Like the previous section, this passage is framed by two parallel references to the heavenly spirits (vv 7b, 10a; cf. vv 4a, 6). Internal repetition in this passage is indicated by the following parallels:

7b	8a	8a ^b	8b	8c
10a	9a	9b	9c	10b

Verses 9 and 10b are an exposition of v 8. Verse 8 tells us that the giants are evil spirits that dwell on the earth. Verse 9 tells us why they are evil, and v 10b, why they dwell on the earth.

The giants and the spirits that proceed from their dead bodies are spoken of as the same entities. The watchers' willful confusion of the created order has had its inevitable results. Because of their mixed origin (vv 8a, 9b [διότι, “because,” v 9b]; cf. *κιβδήλους* in 10:9 and comm. on 10:9), these are evil spirits. This term (*πνεύματα πονηρά*) is not especially common for demons, but in the literature of this period it always refers to malevolent spirits who cause people to sin or afflict them with evil and disease.¹¹ Of this we hear more in vv 11-12.

Because of their dual nature, the giants are both eradicable and immortal. On the one hand, the body of their flesh can die. On the other hand, their spirits have continued existence. Given the contrast between spirit and flesh in the previous passage, we should read “spirit” here not by analogy with the spiritual element of a human being (cf. 102:5), but as a reference to the immortal substance of the watchers. The watchers have

7 Himmelfarb (ibid.) sees no reference to the priests here, but note the reference to treading the altar in *Ps. Sol.* 8:13.

8 For this meaning of the terms, see Rudolf Meyer, “σάρξ,” *TDNT* 7 (1971) 116.

9 The concern is too frequent in the Bible to require comment. Consonant with the emphasis in this pas-

sage is the practice of Levirate marriage, by which progeny was sought for the *male*.

10 Phyllis Trible, “Depatriarchalizing in Biblical Interpretation,” *JAAR* 41 (1973) 35-42. But see the patriarchal interpretation in 4Q416 2 4:2-7 and the discussion by John Strugnell, *DJD* 34:127-29.

11 The term is used first in 1 Sam 16:14-23 and 18:10,

generated their substance into the world. Because this substance is spirit, it is immortal; however, the nature of its generation and the defiant attitude of the watchers who have spawned it have resulted in its malevolent character.

Because they were begotten on earth, these spirits must remain on earth. Here they constitute an empire of evil spirits who wreak all manner of havoc on the human race, as the author describes in vv 11–12. The *presupposition* of this passage is a belief in such a demonic realm. Its *function* is to explain the origins of that realm. The author employs the story in chaps. 6–11 to this end, and he uses the generational metaphor to explain the proliferation and continued existence of malevolent spirits. Here he differs from *Adam and Eve* 12–16, where the devil leads a revolt against God and is cast from heaven with his angels. The generational model occurs again in later gnostic literature, also as an explanation for evil.¹²

Glasson suggests that our author may have been influenced by Greek ideas about the δαίμονες.¹³ He cites Plato *Apol.* 15 (27B–E), where Socrates suggests that the δαίμονες may be the bastard children of gods and nymphs or other women, and Hesiod *Works and Days* 110–27, according to which the δαίμονες came forth from the men of the golden age. But the similarities do not seem to be substantial. These two separate ideas are not brought together in Greek literature. Moreover, the δαίμονες are generally thought to be good rather than evil.¹⁴ This is certainly so in Hesiod. They are never construed as a horde of evil spirits responsible for evil in the world. The term δαίμων does not occur in this passage of 1 Enoch, and δαιμόνιον occurs only in 19:1 and 99:7.

The author of *Jubilees* has employed the material from 1 Enoch 15 to explain the origin and existence of

the demonic world that he presupposes throughout his work. In 5:1–2 he draws on 1 Enoch 6–11 (see Introduction §6.2.3.2.2). In 7:20 he returns to the subject, and the origin and activity of the demons are a central part of his exposition in chaps. 10–12. Their fathers were the watchers (10:5). After the flood they began to lead the sons of Noah into sin (7:26–28; 10:1–2). Noah prays that they be imprisoned, but their chief, the prince (of the spirits) Mastemah,¹⁵ reaches an agreement with God that one-tenth of their number be allowed to continue their activity (10:8–11). This activity is similar to that of the prediluvian giants—destruction and bloodshed (10:1–5; 11:5) and the devouring of the fruits of the earth (11:11–13; cf. 1 Enoch 7:3). They cause sickness (*Jub.* 10:12) and lead humankind astray into all manner of sin (11:4). Different from the present text, in *Jubilees* their chief plays an especially prominent role, accusing the righteous and attempting to obstruct God’s purposes (chaps. 17–18, 48).¹⁶

■ 11–12 These verses describe the activities of the evil spirits in prose, heaping up verbs rather than using the poetic parallelism that characterized the previous section. Verse 11 is a snarl of textual problems (see textual notes). For the first verb, an emendation to ירעעין (“shatter”) would fit well with the verbs in the latter part of the sentence, but the emendation to רעע (“lead astray”) is equally possible. This activity is presumed in 19:1 and is a central part of the description of the spirits’ activities in *Jub.* 7:27; 10:2, 7–13; 11:5; 12:20, which reflects this section. Thus an omission of the idea here would be strange.¹⁷ In causing desolation (ἀφανίζοντα; cf. also 16:1), the spirits continue the prediluvian activity of the giants (cf. 12:5 and comm. on 12:4–5) and of the watchers and Asael (8:2; 10:7–8). The Eth. verb ’amāsana (“make desolate”) also occurs in *Jub.* 10:3, 5, 8; 11:5 of

of the evil spirit from God that afflicts Saul. For occurrences in our literature, see 1 Enoch 99:7; *T. Sim.* 3:5; 4:9; 6:6; *T. Levi* 5:6; 18:12; *T. Jud.* 16:1; *T. Ash.* 1:8; 6:5; *Tob* 6:7; *Jub.* 10:3, 13; 12:20; *Luke* 7:21; 8:2; 11:26; *Matt* 12:43; *Acts* 19:12–16.

12 Cf. *Ap. John* 73:16–78:11.

13 Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 57–61.

14 Otto Waser, “Daimon,” *PW* 4:2010–12.

15 On this name see Yadin, *War*, 233–34.

16 On these passages see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 12–13.

17 It is also possible, but less likely for the reasons

cited above, that the reconstructed verb referred to the evil spirits as wandering spirits. For this notion in early Christian texts related to the Enochic tradition, see the texts of Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and Commodianus quoted above in the Introduction §6.3.2.8, 16, 17.

the evil spirits. The next three verbs convey the image of wrestling. This violent activity is reminiscent of the giants' warlike activity (1 Enoch 7:4-5; 9:9). Here the object of their violence is the human race (v 12). The imagery is probably metaphorical, although, as Burkitt notes, it fits descriptions of demoniacal seizures.¹⁸ The last verb is also problematic. See n. e. Causing illnesses is an activity of the demons in *Jub.* 10:12-13. Cf. also Luke 7:21; 8:2; Acts 19:12-16, all of "evil spirits." As a parallel to the paradox of the spirits' hunger, thirst, and fasting, Charles cites the example of the Jinns.¹⁹ Does the last verb *προσκόπουντα* imply that the evil spirits stumble (Aram. *pē'al*) or that they strike and smite (*ʿaphel*)? Either meaning is possible. Verse 12 may imply culpability on the part of the women (cf. 8:1 Ⓞ^s), for which they are now being punished. This is the one reference in this section to the prediluvian situation.

■ **16:1** This defines the temporal extent of the evil spirits' activity. They will continue their brutality, unabated and unpunished from the death of the giants until the day of judgment. The present age is defined as under the domination of the evil spirits, but this domination has its terminus. For the same idea, cf. 19:1. Equivalents to the multiple expression "slaughter and destruction" occur in 10:9, 12; 12:6; 14:6. "The great age" could be an expression for the seventy generations of 10:12, although *עולמא רבא* could be a corruption of *עולמא רעא* ("the evil age") due to the word "great" in the previous line. For "the great judgment," cf. 19:1; 22:4; 25:4; 100:4; 103:8. For "the day of the great judgment," see the passages cited at comm. on 10:4-6, n. 21. See also "the great day of judgment," 10:6; and "the great day," 54:6. For "the day of consummation," cf. 10:12, and 18:6, "the time of consummation." On the textual problem in the last line, see n. d.

■ **2-4** These verses pick up the introductory expression in 15:2, refer to the watchers' second sin, and conclude the oracle and the entire vision with the word of condemnation for which we have waited throughout. In my comparison with 12:4–13:2 (see Introduction to chaps. 12–16, § Literary Analysis), this section corresponds to the word against Asael in 13:1-2. Different from 12:4–13:2, where the word of condemnation occurs three

times in elaborated form (12:5, 6; 13:1), here it occurs only once in simple form. Verse 3 could be an addition, which would explain why there is no verb "say" in v 2; however, the general similarities to the whole of 12:4–13:2 speaks for the originality of this element.

The revelation of "mysteries" is attributed to the watchers in 8:3 Ⓞ^s and 10:7 in the part of the speech that actually relates to Asael. He is clearly the primary revealer, and the present passage most closely parallels 9:6 and 8:1-2. Thus we have another case of the assimilation of the two traditions. In these chapters Asael rather than Shemihazah is the chief, but the revelatory activity of Asael has been subsumed under that of the watchers, who taught the heavenly mystery to their wives.

The structure of vv 2-3 parallels that of 15:2-3:

15:2-3	16:2-3
Say to watchers who sent you you should petition	Say to watchers who sent you you were in heaven and no mystery . . .
and not men . . .	but a mystery . . . you learned, forsook heaven
you have lain with women	you made known to the women.

In both cases the watchers are indicted for reversing what was appropriate (you should petition for men | not men for you; you were taught no mystery | you learned a mystery) and for having transgressed the proper bounds between heaven and earth with respect to their conduct with the women. Here they bring from heaven to earth a mystery that belonged in heaven. Moreover, in both cases, this transgression is the cause of evil on earth: the activities of the giants and their spirits | many evils. Thus the fundamental point of the two traditions in chaps. 6–11 is maintained. In v 3 four consecutive clauses spiral around the noun "mystery," with the verbs attached to them telling in simple form the story of disobedience and resultant havoc: "not revealed, you learned, you made known, multiplied evils." "Hardness of heart" defines their rejection of God's commands. See comm. on 98:11. For the combination of this attitude with the word of judgment, "you will have no peace," cf. 5:4. As in the word against Asael in 13:2, here this word of judgment is simple. For the other frequent occurrences in 1 Enoch, and for the prophetic back-

18 Burkitt, *Apocalypses*, 22.

19 Charles, *Enoch*, 37.

ground of this term, see comm. on 5:4. This attestation of the negative form renders less likely Milik's claim that we have here and elsewhere in 1 Enoch a reversal of the epistolary greeting.²⁰ In all cases the expression occurs in or among forms that have a prophetic background: 1–5, a salvation-judgment oracle (see comm. on chaps. 1–5); here, a commissioning vision; chaps. 92–105, a

series of forms with prophetic analogies (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, § Literary Analysis 1.1.1–3).

20 Milik, *Enoch*, 34–35.

Enoch's Journey to the Northwest

THE JOURNEY NARRATIVE BEGUN

- 1 And they took me (and) led (me) away^a to a certain place in which those who were there were like a flaming fire; and whenever they wished, they appeared as men.
- 2 And they led me away to a dark^a place and to a mountain whose summit^b reached to heaven. 3/ And I saw the place of the luminaries and the treasures of the stars^a and of the thunders, and to the depths of the ether,^b where the bow of fire and the arrows and their quivers (were) and the sword of fire^c and all the lightnings.
- 4 And they led me away to the living waters^a and to the fire of the west, which provides^b all the sunsets.
- 5 And I came^a to the river of fire, in which fire flows down like water and discharges into the great sea of the west.^b 6/ I saw all^a the great rivers.
- And I arrived at the great river and the great^b darkness.
- 7 And I departed (for) where no flesh^a walks. I saw^b the wintry winds^c of darkness and the gushing of all the waters of the abyss. 8/ I saw^a the mouth of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the abyss.

A DIGRESSION: A SYNOPSIS OF WHAT ENOCH SAW

- 18:1 I saw^a the treasures of all^b the winds. I saw^c how through them he ordered all created things.
- 2 I saw the foundation of the earth and the cornerstone of the earth.^a I saw^b the four winds bearing the earth and the firmament of heaven. 3/ And I saw how the winds stretch out the height of heaven.^a They stand between earth and heaven; they are the pillars of heaven.^b
- 4 I saw^a the winds of heaven that turn and bring to (their) setting^b the disk of the sun and all the stars.
- 5 I saw^a the winds upon the earth bearing the clouds.^b
I saw^c the paths of the angels.
I saw^d at the ends of the earth the firmament of heaven above.

THE JOURNEY NARRATIVE CONCLUDED

- 6 I came^a and saw a place^b that was burning^c night and day,^d where (there were) seven mountains of precious stones—three^e lying to the east and three to the south. 7/ And of those to the east, <one^a was> of colored stone, and one was of pearl, and one was of <jasper>.^b And those to the south were of flame-colored stone. 8/ And the middle one of them reached^a to heaven like the throne of God—of antimony; and the top of the throne was of lapis lazuli. 9/ And I saw a burning fire.
- 10 And beyond these mountains^a is a place, the edge of^b the great earth; there the heavens^c come to an end. 11/ And I saw a great chasm^a among^b pillars of heavenly fire. And I saw in it pillars of fire^c descending; and they were immeasurable toward the depth and toward the height.^d
- 19:1 And Uriel said to me, "There stand the angels who mingled with the women. And their spirits—having assumed many forms—bring destruction on men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as to gods^a until the day^b of the great judgment, in which they will be judged with finality. 2/ And the wives of the transgressing angels^a will become sirens."^b
- 18:12 Beyond^a this chasm I saw a place where there was neither firmament of heaven above, nor firmly founded earth beneath it. Neither was there water upon it,^b nor bird;^c but the place was desolate and fearful. 13/ There I saw seven stars like great burning mountains.
- 14 To me, when I inquired about them,^a the angel said, "This place is the end of heaven and earth; this has become a prison for the stars and the hosts of heaven. 15/ The stars that are rolling over in the fire, these are they that transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising,^a for they did not come out in their appointed times. 16/ And he was angry with them and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins—ten thousand years."^a
- 19:3 I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And none among humans has seen as I saw.

- 1a E^a : καὶ παραλαβόντες με εἰς τινὰ τόπον ἀπήγαγον | E : om. second verb (*wanaṣuni westa ʾahadu makān*).
- 2a E^a : ζοφώδη | E : “gloomy” or “stormy” (*zaʿawelo* = γνοφώδη; see Charles, *Enoch*, 38).
- b E^a : οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ | E : “the peak of whose summit” (*zakatamā reʿsu*).
- 3a and ---- stars] om. E by hmt. in * E^E .
- b εἰς τὰ ἀεροβαθῆ E^a , a hapax legomenon according to LSJ | E : “to the ends, in its depth” (*westa ʾaṣnāf haba ʿemaqā[u]*, = εἰς τὰ ἄκρα ἐν τῷ βάθει αὐτοῦ), perhaps corrupt for *westa ʾaṣnāfa ʿemaq* (= εἰς τὰ ἄκρα βάθη, “to the uttermost depths”; see Charles, *Enoch*, 38).
- c and ---- fire] om. E^a .
- 4a + “so-called” (*zayetmāggar*) E .
- b παρέχον E^a | E : “receives” (*yeʿehhez* = παραδεχόμενον).
- 5a “and I came” E , following first person sg. usage throughout | “And we came” E^a .
- b “of the west” E^a | E : “(which is) toward the west” (*[za]mangala ʿarab*).
- 6a Om. “all” E^a E gqu. Its inclusion is consonant with the many other occurrences of the word in this section.
- b river and the great] om. E due to hmt.
- 7a For “no flesh” (E^a), E reads “all flesh,” through the omission of the negative particle.
- b “And I saw” E .
- c ἀνέμους E^a | “mountains” (*ʾadbāra*) E . See comm. on 17:7-8.
- 8a “And I saw” E .
- 18:1
- a “And I saw” E .
- b Om. “all” E gmqtu 2080.
- c “And I saw” E .
- 2a E^a and E appear to construe “the foundation of the earth” with the previous sentence and to make “the cornerstone of the earth” alone the object of “And I saw”: . . . καὶ τὸν θεμέλιον τῆς τῆς. καὶ τὸν λίθον ἵδον τῆς γωνίας τῆς γῆς; . . . *wamašaratātihā lamedr. wareʿiku ʾebna maʾzanta medr*. The text as translated above clearly makes more sense. The confusion may be the result of the dropping of ἵδον and its replacement in the wrong place.
- b “And I saw” E .
- 3a And ---- heaven] om. E^a by hmt.
- b they ---- heaven] om. E^a by hmt.
- 4a “And I saw” E .
- b bring --- setting] *yāʿarrebū* (= δύνοντας) E | *διανεύοντας* (“nod, beckon”) E^a . For other possibilities see Charles, *Enoch*, 40.
- 5a “And I saw” E t²,β.
- b bearing the clouds] E t,β | E^a E al.: “on (upon) a cloud (clouds) (ἐν νεφέλῃ; *badammanāt/diba dammanāt*). Coincidence of E^a and E α-t suggests that this reading is earlier; for a possible explanation of the use of “in,” see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:104.
- c “And I saw” E q,β.
- d the paths ---- at] om. E^a by hmt. (“saw-saw”), perhaps with “at” (*westa* E) dropped by a confusion of *παρά* and *πέρατα*.
- 6a + “toward the south” (*mangala ʾazēb*) E , a dittograph from the end of the verse. See comm. for the north-westerly orientation of these mountains.
- b and -- place] om. E by hma. in * E^E (καὶ-καίόμενον).
- c καίόμενον, *zayenadded* E^a E | “and it was burning” (*wayenadded*) E al.
- d “day and night” E .
- e Om. E^a . The text requires it.
- 7a For this insertion see Rademacher, *Enoch*, 46, note on line 16.
- b E^a : ἀπὸ λίθου ἱταθενῆ | E : *ʾemʿebna faṭwew* (ἀπὸ λίθου ἰάσεως [or ἰαθέντος], “of a healing stone”). For possible emendations, see comm.
- 8a *yegwadde* E | “was” (*ἦν*) E^a .
- 10a *κἀ<π>κείνα τῶν ὀρέων τούτων* E^a , emended by Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 49 | E : *wazahallo westa kwellu* (= πάντων; *ʾellu* T⁹ = τούτων) *ʾadbār* (“and what was in [or ‘upon’] all [‘those’ T⁹ = E^a] the mountains”), here as in 18:12; 30:1, 3; 31:2, a corrupt rendering of E^a ; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 48 n. 51 | + “and I saw here” E .
- b *πέρας* E^a | E : *māʾdotu* (= *πέραν*, “on the other side of”). So also Milik, *Enoch*, 200.
- c For *samayāt* (“heavens” = E^a), E t²,u²,β read *mayāt* (“waters”).
- 11a + “of the earth” E t² 2080²,β.
- b *ba-* (= ἐν) E | εἰς E^a .
- c Translation follows E with one exception | For “in it” (77 4QEn^c 1 8:29; Milik, *Enoch*, 200), E reads “among them” (*bawestētōmu*) | For “pillars of fire,” E mqtu,β read “pillars of heaven of fire” (*ʾaʿemāda samāy zaʿessāt*) | Due to hmt, E^a om. “heavenly” and “And ---- fire.”
- d “the height and toward the depth” E .
- 19:1
- a as to gods] om. E^a by hmt.
- b the day] om. E^a by hmt.
- 2a τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων E^a | E is corrupt | + “of heaven” t²,β.
- b εἰς σειρήνας E^a | E : *kama salamāwīyāt* (= ὡς εἰρη-ναῖαι).
- 18:12
- a ἐπέκεινα E^a | (*diba* (= ἐπὶ) E . See n. 10a above.
- b E : *balāʾlehu* (= ἐπὶ αὐτῷ) | E^a : ὑπὸ αὐτῷ | (“beneath it”). Cf. 10:5 n. b.
- c “birds” E .
- 14a E^a : περὶ ὧν <πυνθανομένῳ> μοι (πυνθανομαι μοι txt.) | E : *wakama manfasa zayesseʾalani* (“and as a spirit he asked me”); see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 51 n. 5.
- 15a E^a : + ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστιν (“for the place outside heaven is empty”), a gloss on 18:12.
- 16a E^a : ἐνιαυτῶν μυρίων | E : *baʾāmata meštir* (= ἐνιαυτῷ μυστηρίου), corrupt; cf. 21:6.

Introduction

This major division of 1 Enoch consists of three sections. The first and third (17:1-8 and 18:6–19:2) narrate Enoch's journey to the northwest extremity of the earth, where he views, beyond the mountain throne of God, the places of punishment for the rebel watchers and certain transgressing stars. The second section (18:1-5) is a topical narrative, summarizing Enoch's visions of the structure of the cosmos as this is ordered by the winds.

Function

In context these chapters provide spatial reinforcement for the temporally oriented divine oracles issued against the rebel watchers in chaps. 10 and 15–16. Enoch sees the places where the punishment previously announced for the future is to be executed. Space complements and reinforces time. This vision is the goal and climax of Enoch's journey. While 17:1-8 provides some geographical data, this is secondary to the author's major purpose. He is tracing the route of his journey to the end of the earth, noting accepted landmarks. On the other hand, 17:3 and 18:1-5 are brief summaries of the rich Enochic astronomical tradition, presuming the extensive journeys through the cosmos detailed in chaps. 72–77.

Relationship to Chapters 14–16

Chapters 14–16 and 17–19 parallel one another in their basic structure, content, and message. In both Enoch is taken (by winds and angels, respectively) on a journey to God's throne (in heaven and the far northwest, respectively). The purpose of both journeys is to inform the seer about the judgment of the watchers. Each narrative refers to two types of sin. Both mention the watchers' mating with women. Chapter 16 mentions the revelation of secrets; chap. 18 speaks of the transgression of the stars. Both narratives end abruptly with oracles of judgment, spoken by God and the interpreting angels, respectively.

Several factors suggest that chaps. 17–19 were not created *de novo* to supplement chaps. 12–16, but that

they are a duplicate version of a tradition about Enoch's journey to God's throne that was secondarily attached to chaps. 12–16.¹ (1) The journey begins abruptly with no introduction or identification of Enoch's escorts, who in context, but with some difficulty, must be identified as several of God's heavenly entourage mentioned in chaps. 14–16. Perhaps an original introduction that no longer fits has been deleted. (2) The typical sequence of vision, question, and answer is presumed in 18:9b–19:2 but appears to have been compressed. (3) 18:1-5 interrupts the sequence of Enoch's journey. This may be a secondary interpolation. (4) Similarly, 18:12-16 interrupts between Enoch's vision in 18:9b-11 and its interpretation in 19:1-2. This could be a secondary interpolation, possibly to provide a counterpart to the two types of transgression in chaps. 14–16. (5) In context this journey leads Enoch from God's heavenly throne room to his earthly throne for the same purpose as his first journey. While there need not be a conflict in the idea of two thrones, the journey seems excessively duplicative as a supplement to the first. Moreover, if the author is creating *de novo* on the basis of chaps. 14–16 a narrative of a journey from the heavenly throne room to the ends of the earth, one would not expect a route across the bounds of the earth. If he is thinking of a journey from the waters of Dan, it is again strange that there is no link between Enoch's awakening from his vision and the appearance of his angelic escorts. While none of these factors is decisive in itself, taken together they constitute a series of literary problems that may well indicate later reuse of an earlier tradition, which was a kind of doublet of chaps. 14–16 and described Enoch's journey from some point east across the earth to God's mountain throne in the northwest.

1 So also Newsom, "Development," 322.

2 Grelot, "Géographie."

Date

The date of composition of these chapters is to be determined by their relationship to chaps. 12-16 and chaps. 20-36. *In their present form and context*, they are later than chaps. 12-16 and are presupposed by chaps. 20-36 (see previous section and the introduction to chaps. 20-36). This indicates a date early in the second half of the third century B.C.E. for the present form of this section.

History of Religions Context

This narrative of Enoch's journey must be placed in its context in the ancient Mediterranean world. Three models have been suggested as prototypes for the journey. Grelot has compared in detail the Enochic travel material and the mythic geography known among the Greeks and the Babylonians.² While he notes that there are significant and important parallels between 1 Enoch and the Greek sources, he finds more important similarities with the Gilgamesh Epic and the Babylonian world map. He concludes that both the Greeks and the Enochic traditions drew their ideas from Mesopotamian traditions that were very likely transmitted through Phoenicia.³ Grelot's conclusions are followed closely by Milik, who finds additional support for them in the Qumran Aramaic fragments.⁴

Grelot's and Milik's evidence and conclusions are persuasive to various degrees. The waters of life in 17:4 and some other individual items may derive from Babylonian ideas (see comm. on 17:4). In other cases, however, the evidence is less persuasive. VanderKam has examined Milik's Aramaic evidence for a relationship between the worldview of 1 Enoch 77 and the Babylonian world map (see comm. on chap. 77) and has concluded that this evidence raises serious questions about the textual base on which Grelot's and Milik's case is built.⁵ The comparison between the journeys of Gilgamesh and Enoch is also problematic. The respective journeys differ from one another both in the items they include and in the order in which parallel phenomena are presented.

Gilgamesh	1 Enoch
dark mountain and	
scorpion men	fiery beings
garden of jewels	
	darkness, mountain, and
	luminaries
	living waters, fire of west
	River of fire,
	great rivers
the great sea	Oceanus
	great darkness
	winds (or mountains)
	of darkness,
source of the waters	mouth of the abyss
	jeweled mountains
Utnapishtim's home	mountain of God
	places of punishment

It is possible that 1 Enoch reflects some rough secondhand knowledge of the ideas in the Gilgamesh Epic. Nonetheless, some of the corresponding elements function in very different ways, and a number of them could have derived directly from the Bible. The dark mountain guarded by the scorpion men, which bars Gilgamesh's approach to the garden of jewels, is on this side of the great sea, whereas the source of the waters, near Utnapishtim's island, is on the other side of that sea. In 1 Enoch the darkness and the great mountain are at a different place from the fiery beings. After that comes Oceanus and the great darkness, then more darkness and the abyss. After that is the bejeweled mountain range and then the mountain of God. These mountains appear to reflect Ezekiel 28 (which itself may or may not be dependent on Mesopotamian ideas). That the great waters rise at the foot of God's mountain throne is an idea documented in the Bible. Finally, the idea of the great rivers, among them Pyriphlegethon, is documented in Greek sources and not in Babylonian lore, as Grelot admits (see comm. on 17:5).

Although the possible influence of Ezekiel 28 on 1 Enoch 18:6-8 suggests some parallelism between Enoch's journey to God's mountain throne and Gilgamesh's journey to Utnapishtim's paradise, the purposes of the two journeys are altogether different.

3 Ibid., 54.

4 Milik, *Enoch*, 15-18, 33-41, 291.

5 James C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World," *RevQ* 42 (1983) 271-78.

Gilgamesh sets off in search of the secret of immortality. Enoch is escorted to God's mountain throne in order to view the places of eternal punishment that lie beyond it.

Newsom has proposed a second model, comparing the structure and function of chaps. 17–19 with a practice of ancient Near Eastern diplomacy—that of showing off the wealth and strength of one's kingdom to visiting courtiers.⁶ Here Enoch is escorted through the treasures and armories of the heavenly king. While this model may account for some of the metaphors employed here, it scarcely explains these chapters as a whole, especially their shape as a journey to the places of punishment.⁷

In this respect Glasson's reference to the Greek Nekyia appears to offer the best available model for Enoch's journey.⁸ The earliest extant example of such a journey to the underworld occurs in book 11 of the *Odyssey*. Odysseus's journey to Hades serves a complex literary function in that book.⁹ In any event, after he has arrived in Hades in search of an oracle and has visited with the many dignitaries, he views the punishment being meted out to Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphus (11.576–600). In other examples of the Nekyia, a similar vision of postmortem punishments is an essential component. In Plato's myth of Er, the fallen warrior visits the place of judgment and sees the punishment of the wicked. He is allowed this vision so that he can return to earth and tell what he saw (*Resp.* 10.614–21). Plato's description of Tartaros in *Phaedo* 113D–114C appears to presume a similar vision. Probably building on Plato, Plutarch describes how one recalcitrant sinner was given a tour of the underworld, in order that he might escape the terrible punishments that he viewed (*Mor.* 563–68).

It is generally recognized that Plato's accounts of the underworld are based on (Orphic or Pythagorean) tradition.¹⁰ Whether such tradition, in turn, goes back to oriental sources cannot be discussed here. However that may be, and whether or not the author of 1 Enoch 17–19 read of such a journey in Greek or oriental dress,

the closest model for Enoch's cosmic journey to the places of punishment is the Nekyia as we know it in Greek sources rather than Gilgamesh's journey.¹¹ As noted above, the author's concern is to underscore the certainty of the sinners' judgment, and this is wholly consonant with the Greek Nekyia's report of post-mortem punishments. In keeping with this author's theological interests, Enoch's vision is not of damned humanity but of the places of punishment for the angels and the stars.

As to the geography presumed in these chapters, it is best to suggest that our author knew a popular geography that was a composite of Mesopotamian and Greek ideas.¹²

Context in Third-Century Judaism

These chapters of 1 Enoch are remarkable both for what they say and what they do not say. They are an epitome and a hint of much broader Jewish "scientific" and apocalyptic speculation. On the one hand, they tell us that there was such speculation. In the case of the astronomical material, some of it has been preserved for us in other parts of 1 Enoch. This example suggests that there was other speculation about mythic geography and the like known to the Enochic authors. On the other hand, as indicated above, we have merely a hint; the author only alludes to such speculation to provide a kind of documentation for his own specific interests here, which are eschatological. See further Introduction §4.1.1–3.

■ **17:1–8** The first leg of Enoch's journey carries him to the west (see vv 4, 5) and then to the northwest or north, where he arrives at the source of the waters of the earth (v 8), perhaps at the foot of the mountain throne of God, where his journey will be picked up in 18:6. This section is notable for the mysterious and mythic character of its geography: the unnamed "place" inhabited by mysterious unnamed beings of fire (v 1); the great mountain from which he can view the sources of the

6 Newsom, "Development," 323–28.

7 See also John J. Collins, "The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers," *CBQ* 44 (1982) 104.

8 Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 8–11.

9 For details see Erwin Rohde, *Psyche* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925) 32–35.

10 William K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London: Methuen, 1935) 238–44.

11 Pace Grelot, "Géographie," 54.

12 See Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 11; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:197–98.

luminaries and lightnings (vv 2-3); the great waters of ancient mythology, connected with the underworld and mentioned in cosmological and cosmogonic speculations (vv 4-8). Thus his movement is away from the world inhabited by humans¹³ and progressively into a realm characterized by great, fearful, and primordial spectacles. The preoccupation with water and waters is understandable in a Palestinian document, and within that context the narrative moves back (and the journey proceeds) toward the source of all things—the primordial, chaotic abyss.

■ 1 Enoch's escorts are presupposed and not named, though we learn from 18:14 and 19:1 that they are angels, among them Uriel. On the idea of the accompanying, interpreting angel, see Excursus: Interpreting Angels in Apocalyptic Literature. In the present context, the abrupt beginning either assumes that the accompanying angels are among those mentioned in 14:22-25 or it reflects an accidental omission in the text. If the former is the case, we very possibly have an edited form of a tradition that originally began with an angelophany. See above, § Relationship to Chapters 14-16.

The description is consistently vague: "a certain place" inhabited by beings that are described by appearance rather than name. Either the objects of this description were well known to the readers and did not need to be named, or the author was being purposefully evasive and mysterious. In either case, we cannot be certain to what he is referring.¹⁴ Hoffmann suggests that they are angels¹⁵ (and moves chap. 20 back between chaps. 16 and 17 as an introduction to this section; see comm. on chap. 20); but while angels may be described as and appear as human beings (an important part of Hoffmann's argument) and can be connected with fire (Ps 104:4), the description here is too evasive in a con-

text of frequent, matter-of-fact references to angels.¹⁶ The author is perhaps thinking of seraphim.¹⁷ Grelot suggests that they are cherubim, whom Enoch meets now on his way to paradise.¹⁸ This is possible, although different from 24:5-25:6, 18:6-8 makes no mention of the tree of life. Even less certain is his suggestion that they may be an "echo" of the scorpion men who guard Mount Mašû in the Gilgamesh Epic.¹⁹ The gloomy mountains (if that is the correct reading) in v 7, which Grelot compares to Mount Mašû, are located at a different place. See comm. on vv 7-8.

■ 2-3 This station in Enoch's journey is of broader cosmological significance. He sees beyond earth's surface up into the sources of the celestial luminescent phenomena. The mountain's towering height and the darkness that surrounds it make it a suitable vantage point for viewing these places in the heavens.²⁰ For the "storehouses" of the sun and moon (i.e., the luminaries), see 41:5. Judging from the cosmology in 72:3; 75:6-8; 32:2-3; 36:3, the storehouses of the stars—and of the luminaries—must be located somewhere beyond the meeting point of the ends of the earth and the celestial vault, where the portals are located through which the luminaries and stars rise. Storehouses (*θησαυροί*, lit. "treasuries") is a common designation for the places of origin or storage of celestial phenomena.²¹ On the thunders, cf. 41:3; 59; 60:13-15. "The depths of the ether" (*ἀεροβαθὴ*), if it is textually correct (see n. b), does not imply that Enoch is so high that he is looking down,²² but refers to the upward depths of the heavens.²³ For the lightnings as fiery arrows shot from God's bow, see Ps 7:13-14 (12-13); 18:15 (14); 77:18-19 (17-18); cf. also Hab 3:9; Lam 2:4; 3:12-13; Deut 32:41-42. The fiery sword, here textually uncertain (see n. c), is also mentioned in Ps 7:13 (12) and Deut 32:41. The translation of αἱ θήκαι

13 Cf. also comm. on 77:3.

14 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 115.

15 *Henoch*, 1:222-24.

16 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 115. But cf. *Gen. Rab.* 21:9, which may know this idea.

17 On the seraphim as fiery beings, see Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972) 76.

18 Grelot, "Géographie," 38.

19 *Ibid.*, 57.

20 Less likely, the mountain is itself the repository of the luminaries, pace Milik, *Enoch*, 38. Cf. Plato,

Phaedo 109B-110B.

21 Deut 28:12; Job 38:22; Ps 135(134):7; Sir 43:14; and in 1 Enoch (*mazgab* = *θησαυρός*, 97:9), cf. 41:4, 5; 60:12, 15, 19-21.

22 Pace Hoffmann, *Henoch*, 1:225.

23 For this meaning of *βάθος* and *βαθύς*, see LSJ, s.v. See esp. Euripides *Medea* 1297, *αἰθέρος βάθος*.

as “quivers” is uncertain. One would expect *φάρετρα*.²⁴ *θήκη* can mean “bow case,”²⁵ and perhaps the plural here means “receptacles,” that is, both quiver and bow case.

■ Living waters (*ὕδατων ζώντων*) is a common biblical expression for flowing water (*מֵי חַיִּים*).²⁶ In the context of the references to the great rivers (v 6), this seems an unlikely interpretation here, unless we see in v 4 and vv 5-6 an a-b-b'-a' structure: (all) the living waters. the fire of the west | the river of fire, the various rivers (i.e., bodies of living water). Alternatively, water is sometimes a metaphor for life or is mentioned in connection with its life-giving characteristics.²⁷ Precisely what life-giving body of water the author might have in mind is not clear. Babylonian mythology speaks of the water of life. Ishtar must be sprinkled with it before she can return from the underworld.²⁸ Because Adapa does not drink it, he cannot obtain immortality.²⁹ Such a background may be presumed here.³⁰ It would fit well with other elements connecting Enoch's journey with voyages to the underworld.³¹ In the present form of the text, however, we would have only an allusion and not a functioning element.

The verb in v 4b is textually doubtful (see n. b). According to ⚡ (“provides”) the fire of the west reflects on the sky (and the sun) at the time of sunset. A similar idea is found in *b. B. Bat.* 84a. The sun's rosy hue at dawn and sunset reflects the roses of Eden and the fire of Gehenna, through whose gates it passes.³² The reading of ⚡ (“receives”) may indicate that the sun sinks into a fire that renews it for its next rising.³³ It is doubtful

whether this fire is to be equated with the fire mentioned in chap. 23 (see comm. on 23:4).

Excursus: Babylonian and Early Greek Cosmographies

According to a Babylonian map to be dated ca. 600 B.C.E.,³⁴ the inhabited world was a disk surrounded by “the Bitter River,” beyond which lay seven or eight triangular-shaped regions (only three can be clearly discerned in the fragmented tablet).³⁵ The inhabited world depicted on this map is confined to the area around Babylon, delimited in the north by the mountains in which the Euphrates (not depicted) has its source and in the south by the Persian Gulf, the other body of water depicted. The triangular region due north is “where the sun does not appear.”

Another early evidence of Babylonian cosmography is the *Gilgamesh Epic*.³⁶ Gilgamesh sets out to find his ancestor, Utnapishtim, so that he too may have the immortality granted his forebear. His journey to “Utnapishtim the far-away” leads him first to the twin peaks of Mount Mašu, which appear to lie on a north-south axis, allowing the sun to rise and set between them. The peaks of these mountains “[reach to] the vault of heaven,” and their “breasts reach to the nether world below” (9 2:1-5). The path through these mountains, until now untrod by humans (9 3:7-9), is deep darkness (9 3:10-5:41). Gilgamesh emerges, with the north wind to his face (9 5:38), into the bright garden of jewels (9 5:45-50). Thereafter he must cross a great and dangerous sea to arrive at the paradisiacal home of Utnapishtim (Assyrian version 1-4), who dwells with the gods (11:7) at the mouth of the rivers (11:195).

Common to the early Greeks was the idea that the inhabited world was surrounded by the great river

24 See also Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1182, s.v. *megwenepā*.

25 Thomas Gaisford, *Etymologicon Magnum* (1848; repr. Amsterdam: Adolf Hakkert, 1967) 333,41.

26 Cf. Gen 26:19; Lev 14:5-6, 50-51; 15:13; Num 19:17; Cant 4:15; Zech 14:8.

27 Leonhard Goppelt, “ὕδωρ,” *TDNT* 8 (1972) 321-22, 325-27.

28 *ANET*, 108 line 34.

29 *Ibid.*, 102 (B:62ff.).

30 Martin, *Hénoch*, 47; Charles, *Enoch*, 38-39; Grelot, “Géographie,” 39.

31 See Introduction to chaps. 17-19, § History of Religions Context.

32 Ludwig Blau, “Gehenna,” *JE* 5:582. Charles (*Enoch*, 39) wrongly introduces the question as to where the author of chap. 26-27 placed Gehenna. In any case,

the location of Gehenna does not invalidate the similarity of the illustration.

33 Hoffmann, *Henoch*, 1:225; Dillmann, *Henoch*, 116. Cf. 72:4.

34 For bibliography see Milik, *Enoch*, 15 n. 2. For a discussion see *ibid.*, 15, 17-18; Grelot, “Géographie,” 64-66. For a reproduction see VanderKam, “1 Enoch 77, 3,” 273.

35 On the problem of the numbering, see VanderKam, “1 Enoch 77, 3,” 272 n. 5.

36 See Grelot, “Géographie,” 54-64.

Oceanus,³⁷ the counterpart of the Babylonian "Bitter River." The Isles of the Blessed or Elysian Fields, located by, in, or beyond the river Oceanus, are the dwelling place of certain heroes, persons favored by the gods, who are translated there without experiencing death.³⁸ Here the paradisiacal home of Utnapishtim comes to mind. Of particular interest is the Greek mythical geography that is connected with the realm of the dead.

According to Homer (*Od.* 10.503-15; 11.12-22), Odysseus leaves the island of Circe and sails to the river Oceanus to the dark land of the Cimmerians, where the sun never shines. Hades is located on the far side of Oceanus. There three rivers converge: Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus, a branch of the Styx, flow into Acheron. The precise geographical relationship of the land of the Cimmerians and the dark house of Hades is not explicated, nor is it even clear in what direction Odysseus sails to arrive at either.³⁹

The idea of four great rivers recurs in Plato's *Phaedo*. The earth is actually honeycombed with many rivers, which rise to the surface and then plunge beneath it—originating from and returning to the great chasm of Tartarus (111C-112E). Named among these are the four: Oceanus, Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, and the Stygian (112E-113C). While Plato's description is somewhat confusing, he appears to be speaking of four concentric circles.⁴⁰ Oceanus is the outermost. Arising opposite it and flowing in a contrary direction is Acheron, which forms the subterranean Acherusian Lake. Pyriphlegethon, a boiling torrent of mud and water and fire, flows beneath the surface and makes its own lake, larger than the Mediterranean Sea. Rising opposite it and flowing in a contrary direction is the blue-hued Stygian River. For Plato, Tartarus and these rivers and lakes are the places where the wicked and not-so-wicked must suffer for their deeds in various ways and for various periods of time (113D-114C). Thus for Plato these

rivers, especially the Pyriphlegethon, are closely connected with the underworld and with postmortem punishment.

■ **5-6** The reference to the "fire of the west" in the previous verse leads here to reference to the river of fire. 1 Enoch 14:19 and Dan 7:10 come to mind. In context, however, Enoch has just left the heavenly throne room and has not yet approached the mountain throne of God (18:6ff.). These verses are best understood in light of the Greek idea of the four great rivers (see Excursus above).⁴¹ The river of fire is Pyriphlegethon, often mentioned in Greek literature in connection with the underworld and journeys to it.⁴² A graphic description of this torrent in connection with the abyss (see vv 7-8), the realm of death, Belial, and eternal punishment occurs in 1QH 11(3):28-36. Cf. also the lake of fire in Rev 19:20; 20:14-15.⁴³ The great sea of the west is not Oceanus but the Mediterranean.⁴⁴ The great rivers are the four, and the great river, Oceanus. Thus Enoch has arrived at earth's outer limits. Cf. *Testament of Abraham* 8 B, where Michael and Abraham arrive at the river Oceanus and the two gates leading to life and destruction. In the context of reference to the great rivers, the great darkness is perhaps best understood as Hades.

■ **7-8** Having arrived at the river Oceanus, the western limits of the earth, Enoch turns northward, where his journey will culminate beyond the mountain throne of God in the far northwest (see comm. on 18:6-7). It may be to this sacred territory of the throne, or to the place of punishment beyond, that he refers as the place "where no flesh walks" (cf. 14:21). Or perhaps he means

37 On early Greek geography in general, see J. Oliver Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948) 44-122; and, in more detail, Edward H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans* (2d ed.; 2 vols.; repr. New York: Dover, 1959) 2:31-155. On the river Oceanus, see *ibid.*, 33, 75-76, 86-87, 144-45.
38 Rohde, *Psyche*, 55-87; Otto Waser, "Elysion," PW 5 (1905) 2470-75.
39 Bunbury, *Geography*, 2:58-59.
40 For the explanation that follows, see R. D. Archer-Hind, *The Phaedo of Plato* (London: Macmillan, 1883) 170-71.

41 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 116; Martin, *Hénoch*, 47; Charles, *Enoch*, 39. Grelot ("Géographie," 39) admits the parallel, but argues that since the Greek derived their ideas from an oriental prototype, our author did so here too. But he cites no Near Eastern text that speaks of the great rivers of the west, nor of a river of fire.
42 S. Eitrem, "Phlegethon, Pyriphlegethon," PW 20.1 (1941) 258-60.
43 Cf. Plato *Phaedo* 113A.
44 For the biblical usage of this term for the Mediterranean, see William L. Reed, "Great Sea," *IDB* 2:472-73.

the place where no humans live (because of the cold).⁴⁵ That Enoch is approaching the northwest is indicated by his reference to the wintry winds (or mountains) of darkness. While one might think of the far north as the place of great darkness,⁴⁶ according to 1 Enoch 76:11-12, the cold, snow, and frost are borne on winds originating in the north-northwest and west-northwest.

Reference to the abyss and its waters suggests that Enoch is following the river Oceanus to its source, the subterranean תְּהוֹמוֹת,⁴⁷ the primordial chaotic waters from which God created all things (Gen 1:2-3). Like the peoples of the ancient Near East, Plato also believed that the rivers of the earth issued from the waters of a great subterranean chasm, Tartarus. Different from them, he did not think of a single point of effluence (see comm. on vv 5-6). Closely paralleling the present passage is the idea in Babylonian, Canaanite, and Israelite religious writings that God dwells on a mountain, from the foot of which issue great rivers of water.⁴⁸ This parallel may argue for the close connection between 17:7-8 and 18:6-8, which describe the mountain range in the midst of which is God's mountain throne. Although that mountain and its waters are often thought to be in the north,⁴⁹ here they have been transferred to the northwest, where the author believes God's throne to be located. This complex of ideas may indicate that the reading of ט, "mountains," is preferable to "winds" (Ⓢ^a); however, the imagery of 18:6-8 suggests a brilliantly lit rather than a gloomy mountain range. "Mouth" is used in two senses in v 8. The mouth of the abyss spews forth the great subterranean waters, which in turn are swallowed up by the mouths (points of origin) of the many rivers. Presumably Oceanus does not feed all the rivers; they, together with Oceanus, derive their waters from the mouth of תְּהוֹמוֹת.⁵⁰

■ **18:1-5** The account of Enoch's linear progression toward the northwest is here interrupted by a section more topical in nature—a summary statement that Enoch saw all the winds and related phenomena. Missing are the verbs of motion and progression that typified 17:1-8. We are told only that Enoch *saw* these phenomena. While it is surely presumed that he did visit various places in the cosmos, the language of the section does not indicate that he interrupted his journey to the northwest to make a circuitous visit.⁵¹ Why these verses are inserted here is not certain. That they represent a tradition of a circuitous visit is evident from chap. 76 and from 34:1–36:3, which summarizes it. They may have been inserted here by catchword—if "winds" is the correct reading in 17:7. Alternatively, that reading may be a secondary correction in light of this section.

In this division of the book, the author is asserting that Enoch has seen the major constitutive elements of the universe and their places of origin: the luminaries (17:3), the great waters (17:7-8), the winds and the foundations of the earth (18:1-5). The winds are here viewed as an essential part of the order of the universe.

■ **1** Different from chaps. 33–36 and 76, Enoch sees here not the portals through which the winds blow but their storehouses. Cf. 60:12.⁵² Verse 1b stresses the fundamental importance of the winds, a theme continued in vv 2-5a.

■ **2-3** The cosmos is depicted as a building. The earth rests on a foundation with a cornerstone. The firmament is set on the ends of the earth (cf. v 10), and its height is supported by the winds, which function as pillars. The "foundations of the earth" are part of the well-known trappings of biblical cosmology (Pss 18:16 [15]; 82:5; Prov 8:29; Isa 24:18; 40:21; Jer 31:37; Mic 6:2,

45 Suggested to me by John Strugnell (private conversation, June 2000).

46 Cf. the language of the Babylonian map (see Excursus above) and the Greek legend of the Hyperboreans (see Grelot, "Géographie," 51).

47 In the LXX, ἀβύσσος translates תְּהוֹמוֹת almost uniformly. For other uses see Käthe Schneider, "Abyssos," *RAC* 1 (1950) 60–61. See also 1 Enoch 21:7.

48 Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 49–51, 100–103, 158–60.

49 Ibid., 49–50.

50 For a late occurrence of such an idea, see the map

printed in Leo Bagrow, *A History of Cartography* (rev. and enl. by R. A. Skelton; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964) plate LI.

51 Pace Milik, *Enoch*, 39, who takes no note of how the language of these verses differs both from the preceding and from chaps. 33–36.

52 On the term "storehouses," see comm. on 17:2-3. For the storehouses of the winds, see Job 37:9; Ps 135:7; Jer 10:13; 51:16.

מִסְדֵּי אֶרֶץ | תִּבְל) and are perhaps to be identified with the “pillars of the earth” (1 Sam 2:8; Job 9:6; Ps 75:4[3]). Jeremiah 31:37 denies the possibility of exploring the foundations of the earth. On the cornerstone of the earth, cf. Job 38:6. All texts in this section state that the winds bear the whole cosmos—earth and heaven, suggesting that not only the pillars of heaven (cf. Job 26:11), but also the foundation and cornerstone of the earth are winds.⁵³ Dillmann suggests that the author is trying to explain the riddle of Job 26:7:⁵⁴ “He stretches out the north over the void, and hangs the earth upon nothing” (RSV) (נִסָּה צִפּוֹן עַל־תְּהוֹם תִּלָּה אֶרֶץ עַל־בְּלִיַּמָּה). The author thinks of the firmament less as a solid canopy⁵⁵ than as a flexible surface sustained by the wind. For the whole context, cf. Ps 104:2-5, where cosmic imagery fluctuates between tent and house. In the Hebrew text of Exod 14:19, the noun עֲמֹד (“pillar”) governs its cognate verb עָמַד (“stand”). The association of the two words here doubtless reflects traditional usage and not wordplay. While עֲמֹדָא (“pillar”) is attested in Aramaic, the verb עָמַד is not (cf. ^{Neof} Exod 14:19, which replaces it with קָיָם). For the same word association, however, cf. 18:11; 19:1.

■ 4 Given the focus on both sun and moon in chaps. 72–74 and the infrequent references to the stars in these chapters, it is noteworthy that this chapter speaks of sun and stars, but not of moon. That the chariots of the sun and moon are driven by the winds is stated in 72:5a and 73:2. On the analogy of the sun and a wheel, cf. 14:18.

■ 5 In v 5a the author turns from the winds that support the heaven to the winds nearer the earth. Different from Job 36:29 and 37:16, he has insight into the means of their motion.⁵⁶ For the connection between angels and winds, cf. Ps 104:4. In the context of v 5a, the paths of the angels may be their means of conveyance from heaven to earth.⁵⁷ Cf. Gen 28:12. Verse 5c refers to those points at the ends of the earth on which the celestial vault rests. Cf. 33:2. Just as the reference to the

winds in v 1 may link with 17:7, mention here of the ends of the earth forms a transition to the description of the termination of Enoch’s journey in the verses that follow.

■ 18:6–19:3 With a final verb of motion (v 6), Enoch picks up the thread of his journey narrative dropped at 17:8 and describes his arrival at the destination and climax of his journey. At the end of the earth in the far northwest, beyond the river Oceanus, he views: the mountain throne of God (18:6-8), and, more important, the places of punishment for the rebel angels (18:9-11 + 19:1-2) and the erring stars (18:12-16), which lie beyond the mountain. The importance of this section is evident from its length. The description of Enoch’s vision at the end of the earth is twice as long as the narrative of his journey to that place (18:6–19:2 || 17:1–18:5). The first section is a straightforward description and explanation of the great mountain range. But the descriptions of the places of punishment are set in vision form. Enoch sees; he inquires (explicit in 18:14); the interpreting angel explains the vision. Doublets of these three sections occur in chaps. 21, 23, 24–25.

■ 6-9a The mountain range here described forms a right angle. Its apex, to the northwest, is the throne of God, and its two sides, comprising three mountains each, lie on west-east and north-south axes. The arrangement indicates a location in the northwest.⁵⁸ The triangular shape of the whole is reminiscent of the triangular areas that lie beyond the “Bitter River” in the Babylonian map (see Excursus: Babylonian and Early Greek Cosmographies).⁵⁹ The author of 77:4 also refers to seven very high mountains somewhere in the earth’s outer limits. According to chaps. 24–25 and 32, there are two ranges of seven mountains each, related to the two paradises in the northwest and the northeast.

The idea that God dwells on a mountain has a long and rich history in the ancient Near East.⁶⁰ The description of God’s throne is reminiscent of Exod 24:9-10, but the closest biblical parallel to the present passage is Ezek

53 For possible textual emendations, see Charles, *Enoch*, 39–40.

54 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 117.

55 Theodore H. Gaster, “Firmament,” *IDB* 2:270.

56 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 117.

57 Ibid.

58 Charles, *Enoch*, 40; Grelot, “Géographie,” 40; Milik,

Enoch, 39; against Dillmann, *Henoch*, 117; and Martin, *Hénoch*, 50, who cite *Jub.* 8:22.

59 Grelot, “Géographie,” 40, 64–65; Milik, *Enoch*, 17, 18, 40.

60 Charles, *Enoch*, 41.

28:13-19. As that text now stands, Eden, the garden of God (cf. 1 Enoch 24-25) is identified with “the mountain of God” (Ezek 28:13-14).⁶¹ It is replete with precious stones of many kinds. In the context of Ezek 28:2 and Isa 14:13-14,⁶² the rebellion of the prince of Tyre (Ezek 28:16-18) appears to have involved an attempt to seize God’s throne, thought to be on the mountain. The textual juxtaposition of God’s throne (or mountain) and the pit of destruction in Ezek 28:16-17 (cf. 28:8 and Isa 14:12-19) may have suggested the geographical juxtaposition of the mountain throne of God and the pits of punishment in the present text. The fire that engulfs this mountain range in 1 Enoch is probably the fire of the divine presence (see comm. on 14:21-23). Since the tallest mountain is God’s throne, the other six mountains may represent the thrones of the chiefs of God’s heavenly entourage.⁶³

The author’s gemmology is, in part, obscure.⁶⁴ “Colored stone” could denote a variety of gems. The name of the third gem has been corrupted in textual transmission.⁶⁵ The ⲉ (= ἰάσεως) may derive from a corruption of ἰάσπιδος (“jasper”), which is mentioned in Ezek 28:13 (ⲓⲡⲥ, ἰάσπιν). The ⲉ^a (ταθεν) may be corrupt for ἰανθίνου (“violet”) or ὑακίνθου (“blue”), probably a designation for sapphire.⁶⁶ The flame-colored stones (ἀπὸ λίθου πυρροῦ) of the mountains to the south probably correspond to the “stones of fire” (שׂבני־אשׁ, λίθων πυρίθων) in Ezek 28:14, 16 (hence the plurality here) rather than to some red gem.

The mountain throne of God is of antimony (ⲉ^a ϕουκα = Aram. פוכא ⲉ pēk). While Heb. פֶּתֶן designates stibium, an ore of antimony used to darken the eye lashes (see comm. on 8:1-2), the metal itself is bright and silvery white.⁶⁷ Verse 8 seems to say that the top of the whole throne is of lapis lazuli (σαπφείρου = ספיר). Whether the

author is thinking of Ezek 1:26, where a throne of lapis lazuli is set over a crystalline pavement, or of Exod 24:9-10, where lapis lazuli forms the pavement for the throne,⁶⁸ he suggests a great glistening pedestal (cf. Ezek 1:4-25), which supports the throne on which God is seated, high and far removed from the earth. By analogy with Ezek 1:27, the fire mentioned in v 9a would be the fire of the divine presence rather than an initial reference to the fire of torment in the next section.

Although the throne of God is an awesome spectacle, our attention is drawn to the places of punishment that lie beyond it. Two factors indicate that the emphasis lies here. The author does not linger over a lengthy description of the throne. His explanation of the sight is brief in comparison to the angelic interpretations of the places of punishment, both of which describe sin and punishment.

■ 10-11 On the juxtaposition of God’s throne and the pits of punishment, see comm. on vv 6-9. The first place of punishment is for the fallen angels, as 19:1-2 tells us. It is located beyond the point at which the vault of heaven rests on the edge of earth’s disk (cf. 33:2). Although the text appears to describe the pillars of fire as immeasurable, both upward and downward, the parallel text in 21:7 may indicate that originally this was a description of the size of this yawning gulf. Nonetheless, here the immeasurable depth of the pillars indicates a “bottomless” pit. Perhaps more than anywhere else in these chapters, this passage contains a complex of noteworthy verbal parallels with Hesiod, which may well indicate direct or indirect contact with the Greek tradition. Tartarus, the prison of the Titans, is located at “the ends of the huge earth” (πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης). It is “a great gulf” (χάσμα μέγ), so deep that a falling bronze anvil would take ten days to hit bottom (the same dis-

61 Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, passim.

62 Ibid., 172.

63 On the connections between these two texts, see ibid., 160-73. See also Hanson, “Rebellion,” 207-10.

64 See Charles, *Enoch*, 41, on “the seven planet gods.” Cf. also Dan 7:9; 1 Enoch 108:12; and Rev 20:4.

65 On the difficulties in ancient gemmologies, see Forbes, *Studies*, 7:232-33.

66 For the following possibilities see Charles, *Enoch*, 41.

67 D. E. Eichholz, ed., *Pliny: Natural History* (LCL;

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) 266 n. a.

68 Harry Miller Callaway, “Antimony,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1961) 2:67; Forbes, *Studies*, 9:161. Pliny (*Natural History* 33.33 §101) describes its white, shiny color, indicating that it is sometimes called “alabastrum.” But the translation of ⲉ as alabaster (i.e., marble) here seems unfounded; pace Charles, *Enoch*, 41; Martin, *Hénoch*, 50.

tance as from heaven to earth), and a man would take a year to reach its floor. Nearby Atlas upholds the heavens (*Theog.* 713-48).

The descending pillars of fire could be the fire of God's punishment. Cf. Gen 19:24; Ps 11:6; Ezek 38:22.⁶⁹ Analogy with vv 13 and 15 suggests, however, that the pillars are themselves the angels, an interpretation borne out by 19:1. On the great size of the watchers, see comm. on 7:2.⁷⁰

■ 19:1-2 As Dillmann notes,⁷¹ these verses read most naturally as an interpretation of 18:11. Otherwise we would have 18:9b-11 with no explanation and 18:12-13 with two explanations. Since 4QEn^c 1 8:27-30 (Milik, *Enoch*, 200) almost certainly indicates that 18:12 followed immediately after 18:11 in that Aramaic text, we must use utmost caution in transposing the verses. The following factors support the hypothesis of displacement. (1) 19:1-2 is in fact an interpretation of 18:9b-11. (2) That 18:9b-11 should be followed by no explanation, but by a second vision, which is in turn followed by two explanations, the second of which relates to the first vision, is an odd and unparalleled arrangement (Vis^a+Vis^b | Expl^b+Expl^a). (3) This rearrangement is reflected in chap. 21, where the two places of punishment are described (in reverse order; see comm. on chap. 21) with the appropriate explanation attached to each description (Vis^b+Expl^b | Vis^a+Expl^a). The displacement may indicate that 18:12-16 was a secondary addition.⁷² See comm. below.

Here we learn for the first time that Enoch's guides on this journey are angels. On the role of the interpreting angel, see comm. on 20:1. The traditional association of the noun "column" and the verb "stand" (cf. comm. on 18:2-3) suggests that the pillars in 18:10 are the suffering watchers, said to be "standing" (19:1) in the chasm. While the Aramaic imperfect behind the ע

σθήσονται could be construed as future, "shall stand," this need not prove that they are not already standing there. See comm. on 21:9. Here, as in the earlier chapters, the stress is on the sin of the angels' intercourse rather than on their revelation of secrets. For the verb μίγνυμι ("mingle"), cf. 10:11.

Verse 1 agrees with chaps. 12-16, against chaps. 6-11, in teaching that the primordial punishment of the watchers did not end their evil influence in the world (see comm. on 14:24-16:4). Since the angels are themselves imprisoned, "their spirits" should be interpreted as functionally equivalent if not identical with "the evil spirits" that went forth from the bodies of the dead giants, according to 15:8-12. The formulation here ("bring destruction . . . until the day of the great judgment") is close to that in 15:11-16:1. The description in this latter passage is developed in *Jubilees* (see comm. on 15:7b-12), and *Jubilees*' reference to "leading astray" and especially to the seduction to idolatry may be drawn from the present passage (*Jub.* 11:4-5). For the charge that idolatry involves demon worship, cf. Ps 106:36-38 and Deut 32:17, followed by 1 Bar 4:7; cf. also 1 Cor 10:20. Demons here are not evil spirits that lead humanity astray (see comm. on 15:7b-10), but the spirit powers known as the gods of the nations.⁷³ Idolatry is mentioned again in 1 Enoch 99:7, with the book's only other mention of "demons." The present passage is employed by Justin Martyr (2 *Apology* 5) and Tertullian (*De idolatria* 4) in their arguments that idolatry is a perversion of the Creator's purpose. See Introduction §6.3.2.5, 9. In what way these spirits change their forms is not said. According to *T. Reub.* 5:6, the watchers assumed human form. In *Apoc. Mos.* 17:1, the devil appears to Eve in the form of an angel (cf. 2 Cor 11:14). For the translation of εἰς ἀποτελείωσιν as "with finality," cf. the expression εἰς τέλος.⁷⁴ Alternatively, it may denote final destruction.⁷⁵

69 For the identification of σάφειρος, see Theophrastus *De Lapidibus* §37, and the discussion by Earle R. Caley and John F. C. Richards, ed., *Theophrastus: On Stones* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1956) 136-37. On Exodus 24 see Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974) 506-7.

70 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 118; Charles, *Enoch*, 42.

71 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 118.

72 Newsom ("Development," 323) suggests that the reference to the stars is original to the text and that of the watchers is secondary. She does not note, however, that 18:12-16 interrupts between 18:11 and 19:1.

73 Cf., e.g., Deut 32:8; Sir 17:17.

74 See BAGD, s.v. l.d.

75 Thus Charles, *Enoch*, 43, "till they are made an end of."

Like their angel husbands, the daughters of men continue to have an evil influence. This is one of the few pejorative comments about these women in this book. Their function as seducing “sirens” appears to presume the long reading in 8:1 and the idea that the watchers were seduced by the daughters of men. According to Greek mythology, the sirens were half-women, half-birds, who lured men to their destruction.⁷⁶ In the latter respect, they are fitting companions for the spirits of the angels. Cf. also 96:2.

In their present context, connected as they are to chaps. 6–16, chaps. 17–19 reach their climax here, with Enoch’s vision of the rebel watchers’ place of punishment. This further suggests that 18:12–16 could have been a secondary addition, although we have no way of knowing the precise shape and purpose of any previous form of chaps. 17–19.

■ **12-16** In their wording and structure, these verses parallel very closely 18:9b–11+19:1–2.

18:9	καὶ πέραν τῶν ὀρέων τούτων And beyond these mountains	12	καὶ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χάσματος τούτου And beyond this chasm
10	τόπος ἐστὶν πέρας . . . γῆς ἐκεῖ συντελεσθή- σονται . . . οὐρανοὶ is a place, the end of the earth; there the heavens are completed		ἶδον τόπον ὅπου οὐδὲ στερέωμα οὐρανοῦ οὔτε γῆ . . . I saw a place where . . . neither firmament of heaven . . . nor earth
11	καὶ ἶδον χάσμα μέγα . . . <στύλους> τοῦ πυρός And I saw a great chasm, pillars of fire	13	ἐκεῖ ἶδον . . . ἀστέρας . . . καίόμενα There I saw stars burning
19:1	καὶ εἶπεν μοι Οὐριήλ And Uriel said to me	14	εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος τὸ τέλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς The angel said, “This is the place the end of heaven and earth
	οἱ μιγέντες ἄγγελοι . . . σῆσονται The angels who mingled stand	15	οἱ ἀστέρες κυλιόμενοι . . . παραβάντες The stars who transgressed roll
	μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας . . . ἀποτελείωσιν until the day, the consummation	16	μέχρι καιροῦ τελείσεως until the time of the consummation

The similarities may simply be the result of a single author writing two successive descriptions in the same idiom. Alternatively, the duplications between v 10 and vv 12a and 14a suggest that these are two alternative descriptions of a place of punishment at the end of the earth. It is also possible that vv 12–16 developed as an explanation of a tradition of seven burning mountains at the end of the earth. I am inclined to read vv 12–16 as a secondary intrusion into a narrative of Enoch’s journey to God’s throne and the place of the rebel angels’ punishment.

The beginning of v 12 indicates that in the narrative as it now stands, there are two different places of punishment at the end of the earth—one beyond the other.⁷⁷ Beyond the great chasm and the bounds of heaven and earth is a place described here as “desolate” or “desert” (ἔρημος) and in 21:2 as “unformed” (ἀκατασκεύαστος). Perhaps the author is describing something analogous to the primordial chaos of Gen 1:2.⁷⁸ “Water” (ὕδωρ = נִי־) could be a corruption of “beast” (נִי־). As the text now stands, however, lack of water explains why there is no life there, it complements “desolate” understood as “desert,” and it fits with the presence of the burning stars. If one reads with Ⳉ “beneath” rather than “upon” (Ⳉ), it states that we are beyond the primordial deep.

The punishment of the stars presumes their moral responsibility (cf. comm. on 2:1–5:3). That the stars are in some sense personified is a long-standing tradition in the ancient Near East and the Hellenistic world. Here it is implied in the ambiguous term “host of heaven” (ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = מַלְאָכֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם), which in the biblical tradition refers at once to stars and to God’s heavenly army.⁷⁹ In 1 Enoch 86:1–3 stars are an image for the watchers, and in Dan 12:3 and 1 Enoch 104:2 stars and angels may even be identified with one another.⁸⁰ An extremely close connection is indicated in 1 Enoch 82:4–20. Thus when 18:15 speaks of “transgressing” stars, it is alluding to a variation on the myth of the rebellion of the watchers. The wording of v 14 is very close to Isa 24:21–22, although it is unclear whether the connection is substantive or only verbal. The Enochic concern for celestial order is well known (cf. 2:1 and chaps. 72–82), and therefore irregularity in this realm, construed in

76 See Weicker, “Seirenen,” in W. H. Roscher, ed., *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen*

Mythologie 4 (1909–15) 602–39.
77 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 118; pace Grelot, “Géographie,”

personal terms, involves transgression par excellence. A similar type of transgression is mentioned in 80:6—there an eschatological phenomenon. It is uncertain, however, precisely what celestial phenomenon is being alluded to in either or both cases. Jude 13 seems to interpret the passage with reference to comets.⁸¹ Perhaps the author thinks of the orbits of the planets and some comets, the regularity of which would not be known to primitive astronomy. In addition to indicating their great size, the image of the stars like great burning mountains may reflect an exegesis that identified the stars of God in Isa 14:13 with the burning stones in Ezek 28:12-16.⁸² It also suggests observation of meteoritic activity (which itself may be behind the myth in Isaiah 14 and, after it, 1 Enoch 86:1-3 and Rev 9:1).

“Rolling over” (ΚΤΑΙΟΜΕΝΟΙ) could be a textual corruption for “burning” (ΚΑΙΟΜΕΝΟΙ; cf. the parallel in 21:3). In the present context, however, the verb corresponds to “stand” in 19:1 and is thus, as a verb of position rather than state, probably correct as it reads. The stars are depicted as spheres, mountainlike in their size. That they are “bound” indicates that the author is thinking of them primarily as living beings (cf. 10:4, 12). The

wording of the end of v 16 parallels in general 10:12.

■ 3 This verse marks the end of this section of 1 Enoch.⁸³ It claims that Enoch’s visions and their contents are superlative and unique (cf. 36:4). The formulation here (καγὼ Ἐνωχ ἶδον τὰ θεωρήματα μόνος . . . καὶ οὐ μὴ ἶδῃ οὐδὲ εἷς ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἐγὼ ἶδον) finds an almost identical formulation in Dan 10:7: καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιηλ μόνος τὴν ὀπτασίαν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ’ ἐμοῦ οὐκ εἶδον τὴν ὀπτασίαν = וראיתי אני דנאל לבדי את־המראה וְהָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ עִמִּי לֹא רָאוּ אֶת־הַמְּרָאָה (“And I, Daniel, alone saw the vision, and the men who were with me did not see the vision”).

“The ends of all things” (τὰ πέρατα πάντων) appears to refer to the geographical extremities of the cosmos that Enoch visited.⁸⁴ For an interpretation of this passage by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, see Introduction §6.3.2.12-13.

40 (evidently); and Milik, *Enoch*, 39.

78 For בָּהוּ, Gen 1:2 LXX reads ἀκατασκεύαστος; for חֲדָו, Isa 34:11 LXX reads ἔρημος.

79 Bernhard W. Anderson, “Hosts, Host of Heaven,” *IDB* 2:654-56.

80 Collins, *Daniel*, 393-94.

81 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 119.

82 See Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain*, 173.

83 Milik (*Enoch*, 35) believes it may be the subscript of an earlier work, but I see no evidence for such a work.

84 Milik (*Enoch*, 35) cites Dan 7:28 as evidence that τὰ πέρατα mistranslates סָף (“end”) as סִף (“extremity”), but Dan 7:28 refers to the end of the matter.

Introduction

Contents and Emphases

Chapters 20–36 recount Enoch's journey from the west edge of the earth to its east edge. This major unit of text is a rewritten and reversed version of the account of Enoch's journey to the west (chaps. 17–19),¹ and a comparison of the two sections will clarify the unique emphases of chaps. 20–36.

Several parts of the present journey narrative duplicate or correspond to parts of chaps. 17–19. In chap. 21 Enoch visits the places of punishment for the stars and the watchers (cf. 18:10–11; 19:1–2; 18:12–16). In 24:2–25:7 he sees the mountain throne of God (cf. 18:6–9). The narrative in 28:1–32:2 recounts numerous landmarks toward a goal, just as 17:1–8 did. Chapters 33–36 correspond to the cosmic scope of the narrative in 17:1–8 and 18:1–5; in chap. 33 Enoch sees and counts the gates of the stars; chaps. 34–36 are a summary of Enoch's visitation of the gates of the winds and of the stars, which is reminiscent of the summary in 18:1–5.

Chapters 20–36 also differ from chaps. 17–19 in significant ways. The section begins with a systematic listing of the angels who accompany Enoch and interpret the visions in the journey account (chap. 20).

The narrative itself commences (chap. 21) where chaps. 17–19 concluded. The first stations of Enoch's journey are the places of the punishment at the far west. Thus the counterpart to the climax of chaps. 17–19 is the beginning of the present narrative, which moves according to a strict geographic scheme to the far east and then in a circle around the earth's disk.

The next station on Enoch's journey is the first of several additions to the material in chaps. 17–19 that describe places of eschatological significance for human beings. In chap. 22 Enoch sees the place of the souls of the dead, which are held there until the final judgment. 23:1–24:1 appears to duplicate chap. 21, describing the fire of the west that pursues the luminaries.

Next on Enoch's itinerary is the mountain of God (24:2–25:7; cf. 18:6–9). For this author, the mountain is a paradise of trees that are dominated by the tree of life, whose eschatological blessings for the righteous are

recounted in detail. The passage provides a glimpse of the future bliss of some of the souls whose intermediate state was briefly mentioned in chap. 22.

In the next station of Enoch's itinerary, blessing is juxtaposed with curse (chaps. 26–27). Moving eastward to the center of the earth, Enoch arrives at Jerusalem and sees the fertile temple mountain, where the tree of life will be transplanted, and the cursed and barren Valley of Hinnom, where the wicked will be punished after the final judgment.

Enoch's journey east from Jerusalem complements the journey in 17:1–8. Enoch describes the landmarks that he saw on his way to the paradise of the east. Taken together, 17:1–8 and 28:1–32:2 document Enoch's journeys to the far west and the far east by listing the places he sees on the way. Moreover, when we identify the mountain of God in 18:6–8 with the mountain in 24:2–4, we have in 17:1–8 and 28:1–32:2 detailed itineraries of Enoch's journeys to the paradises of the northwest and the northeast. Thus, when chaps. 17–19 and 20–36 are read together, the symmetry within the present journey narrative (the paradise of God in the west with the tree of life | Jerusalem at the center of the earth where the tree will be transplanted | the paradise of Eden in the east with the tree of wisdom) is interlocked with another symmetry.

Beyond the eastern paradise, Enoch arrives at the eastern end of the earth. Here again chaps. 17–19 are supplemented by a citation of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (chaps. 72–82) and a summary of part of its contents. The brief account of Enoch's visits to the gates of the winds and the stars (chaps. 34–36), which is a kind of supplement of 18:1–5, is a summary of chap. 76, another part of the Book of the Luminaries.

Three kinds of material have been added in this section to the traditions received from chaps. 17–19. (1) Enoch sees places and objects of eschatological significance for human beings (the place of the dead, the tree of life, Jerusalem). (2) He also sees phenomena of importance in the broader Enochic cosmological tradition. (3) He visits the paradise of the east, where he sees

1 See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 119–20. In addition, it should be noted that chaps. 20–36 presume Enoch's

presence in the west, the place where chaps. 17–19 brought him.

the tree of wisdom—an evident allusion to the broader wisdom traditions that are a constitutive part of 1 Enoch.

Literary Form and Structure

Chapters 20–36 comprise a series of visions of eschatological and cosmological significance, which are recounted in a stereotyped literary form:²

1. Introductory setting of the scene (usually with the formula, “and from there I went to another place”).
2. Description of what was seen or shown (indicated by a verb of seeing).
3. A dialog between the visionary and an interpreting angel. The dialog can have two or four components.
 - Type I: a. Visionary’s question or exclamation regarding what is seen
 - b. Angel’s explanatory response
 - Type II: a. Visionary’s marveling exclamation
 - b. Angel’s query about this
 - c. Seer’s answer
 - d. Angel’s explanation

In both types element b is denoted by the formula, “(he) answered and said to me,” connected to the name of the angel and the appositive, “one of the watchers and holy ones who was with me.”
4. The visionary’s praise of God, introduced by the formula, “Then I praised . . .”—an element not present in chaps. 21, 23:1–24:1, and 28–32.

As the repeated introductory formulas indicate, these visions take place at stations in a journey across the face of the earth, and the section is a running narrative of this journey. Within this narrative, there are three additions to the simple concatenation of visions. (1) 28:1–32:2 provides a running list of places that Enoch passes on his way to the paradise of the east. Missing in this section is the dialog with the interpreting angel. (2) Enoch’s vision in 33:2–4 implies vision and interpretation by allusion to an earlier form of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (chaps. 72–82). (3) Chapters 34–36 recount Enoch’s journey counterclockwise around the edge of the earth’s disk, briefly summarizing chap. 76. Again there is no dialog with an angel, but the account ends

with an extended doxology that parallels the final element in the vision form, and it serves as a climax to the section as a whole.

Taken as a whole, this journey narrative is a kind of revelation or apocalypse, although the noun or its verb counterpart appears not to have been used by this author. Heavenly agents, whose names are listed at the beginning of the section, take Enoch on a journey to places hidden from normal human ken, where they show him phenomena of crucial significance that they must interpret for him.³ The sights requiring no angelic interpretation are the spice trees, which were known to a normal, albeit select, segment of humanity. Beyond the references to these, which function to document the progress of Enoch’s journey to paradise, the author is asserting a unique knowledge of esoteric phenomena whose significance must be interpreted by divine agents.

This journey account is a secondary revision of the tradition in chaps. 12–16. The account of Enoch’s ascent to the heavenly throne room—which climaxes in a judgment oracle against the watchers—was transformed in chaps. 17–19 on the model of the Greek *Nekyia* into a journey account that climaxed in Enoch’s vision of the places. That narrative, in turn, has been transformed in the present section along the lines indicated above. The narrative’s character as a *Nekyia* has not been lost. The visions of the places of punishment have been retained and Enoch’s vision of the mountain of the dead has been added. Nonetheless, the order of the present narrative and the contents of some of its additions mitigate its character as a *Nekyia*.

The movement of the journey is geographic in its orientation and universal in its scope: from west to east and then around the earth’s disk; from places of eschatological significance to the primordial source of wisdom and then to cosmic and celestial phenomena. Implied throughout are the broadest parameters of the Enochic tradition: eschatology, wisdom, and cosmology.

Wacker has argued that the literary structure of this journey narrative may have a prototype in Zechariah

2 For this analysis of the form of the visions, see *ibid.*, 101–2.

3 See the typology of apocalypses in John J. Collins, “Introduction: Toward the Morphology of a Genre,”

in *idem*, ed., *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (*Semeia* 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 6–8; and *idem*, “Jewish Apocalypses,” 23.

1-6.⁴ The literary form of the angelically interpreted vision outlined above has its closest analogy in the visions in Zechariah 1-6. Both Zechariah 1-6 and the present journey narrative have a kind of ring structure. The former begins and concludes with visions of horses. The latter begins with Enoch's vision of the place of the transgressing stars' punishment, interpreted by Uriel, and climaxes with Enoch's visitation of the places of the stars, interpreted by Uriel. (34:1-36:3 appears to be taken as a secondary addition.)⁵ The west to east direction of Enoch's journey also has a counterpart in Zechariah 1-6, where the first vision takes place in the west and the last in the east.⁶ Wacker's hypothesis is worthy of consideration with one modification. Enoch's journey to the gates of the winds (and stars) (34:1-36:3) has a counterpart in Zech 6:1-6, where the four chariots are sent off from the east to "the four winds of heaven." The three that are mentioned are listed in the same order as in 1 Enoch: north, west, south.

Chapters 20-36 appear, then, to be a revision of chaps. 17-19 that has taken some of its inspiration from the structure of Zechariah 1-6. It differs from the latter in the explicit journey narrative that ties the visions together, as well as in its many points of contact with the earlier Enochic tradition.

Wacker has also noted a catchword principle that binds the visions to one another:⁷

21:1-6	21:7-10	22	23:1-4	24-25	26-27	28-32
Stars						
in fire	Fiery					
	prison					
		Prison				
		in west	Western			
			fiery			
			mountains	Mountain		
				with trees	Trees,	
					treeless	Trees,
						valley
						tree of
						wisdom

Other aspects of the literary structure of this section include the literary symmetry referred to above (§ Contents and Emphases).

There is one final issue pertaining to the literary

structure of the Book of the Watchers. It seems quite likely that 81:1-4 is a fragment of a final station in this journey, where he views the heavenly tablets in the company of Remiel the angel (see Introduction to chaps. 81-82). Whether the fuller form of this fragment was placed after chap. 33 (with chaps. 34-36 being a secondary addition) or located after chap. 36 is uncertain. In either case, links between 81:1-4 and 81:5-10 suggest that very early in the tradition this station in Enoch's journey was immediately followed by an account of his return to earth (see Excursus: The Literary Unity of 1-36 + 81:1-82:4a-c + 91:1-10, 18-19 + 93:1-10; 91:11-17 + 93:11-94:5 + 104:10-105:2).

Function

Like chaps. 17-19, this journey account provides a locative complement to other revelatory material in 1 Enoch. The visionary sees the locations where events that are otherwise simply announced or predicted are taking place or will take place (see comm. on chaps. 17-19). This journey narrative complements chaps. 17-19 through its emphasis on human eschatology, which is not mentioned in chaps. 17-19 but is of great concern in the broader Enochic tradition (see Introduction §4.2.4.1-4).

The author of this section asserts God's justice in spite of its evident absence among those who suffer or prosper wrongly. This justice will be enacted through a created order in the structure of the universe, which is not evident to the casual observer and must therefore be revealed. Such revelation offers the reader comfort and stability in a world that he or she often experiences as chaotic.

Worldview—A Testimony to Setting

The author's immediate context is a community (broadly construed) that preserved eschatological and cosmological traditions ascribed to Enoch. More generally, the author has at least a passing acquaintance with a kind of

4 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 292-94.
5 Ibid., 293.
6 Ibid. She cites Harmut Gese, "Anfang und Ende der Apokalyptik, dargestellt im Sacharjabuch," *ZTK* 70

(1973) 20-49.
7 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 120-22, slightly modified with respect to 23:1-24:1.

scientific knowledge that includes things that we would call botany, geography, astronomy, and gemmology. References to these matters are not essential to this text but are ancillary to the theological issues that are crucial to the author. Nonetheless, the author's casual references to them presuppose a context in which elements typical of earlier prophetic concern and of wisdom circles are constituent parts. For this author God's world comprises trees and rocks and luminaries and winds as well as the historical evidence and enactment of human sin and divine justice. This author does not separate science from theology or history from creation. All of these are components of an *oikomenē* or universe, with spatial and temporal dimensions, created and ultimately controlled and judged by "the Lord of glory," whose activity is

properly responded to by the apocalyptist's (and readers') praise. See, in addition, Introduction §4.1.2.2.

Date

Three separate pieces of evidence testify to the existence of the Book of the Watchers in the early second century B.C.E. and therefore suggest the late third century B.C.E. as a terminus ad quem for chaps. 20–36. Paleographical evidence from 4QEn^a dates at least chaps. 1–36 to the first half of the second century B.C.E. (see Introduction to chaps. 6–16, § Date and Setting). *Jubilees*, which can be dated between 175 and 150 B.C.E., appears to know the Book of the Watchers with a testamentary conclusion (see Introduction §3.1.3.1). Daniel 12:2 alludes to the traditions in chaps. 24–25 and 26–27 (see comm. on 25:4–6).

List of the Seven Archangels

- 1 These are the names of the holy angels who watch.^a
- 2 Uriel, 𐤀𐤓𐤌 of the holy angels, who is in charge of the world and Tartarus.^a
- 3 Raphael, 𐤓𐤓𐤌 of the holy angels, who is in charge of^a the spirits of men.
- 4 Reuel, one of the holy angels, †who takes vengeance on†^a the world of the luminaries.
- 5 Michael, one of the holy angels, who has been put in charge of the good 𐤓𐤓𐤌 of the people.^a
- 6 Sariel,^a 𐤓𐤓𐤌 of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits^b who sin against the spirit.
- 7 Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of paradise and the serpents and the cherubim.
- 8 Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God has put in charge of them that rise.
The names of the seven archangels.^a

- 1a 𐤀 | 𐤓^a: “angels of the powers” (‘Αγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων) | 𐤓^a begins with next verse.
- 2a 𐤓^a 𐤓^a | 𐤀 corrupt: “for (he is) of the world and of trembling” (‘esma za[zala gq] ‘ālam wazara‘ad = τρόμου).
- 3a in charge of] om. 𐤀.
- 4a ἐκδείκων 𐤓^a = yetbēqqalo 𐤀 | ἐκεκων 𐤓^a.
- 5a who ----- people] 𐤓^a: ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν τεταγμένος (τέτακται 𐤓^a) καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ χαῶ (‘who has been put in charge of the good ones of the people and over chaos”) | 𐤀: “for he has been put in charge of the good ones of humanity, in charge of the people” (‘esma diba šanāytu lasab’ ta‘azzāzi diba hezb). All witnesses indicate two objects of Michael’s supervision. The lack of a copula in 𐤀 suggests that these objects are double readings of an original single text (𐤓^a has smoothed over the text by inserting the copula καί, “and”). The read-

- ings of 𐤓^a suggest that the initial confusion was paleographic, between a *lambda* (λαῶ, “people”) and a *chi* (χαῶ, “chaos”). The readings of 𐤀 suggest an initial confusion between a short reading (“the people”) and a long reading (“the good ones of the people”). Since the later chapters give no indication that Michael is in charge of chaos, we may assume that, whatever the cause of the confusion, the reading “chaos” was not original. We are left with an uncertainty. The original text spoke of Michael as the patron either of the people as a whole or of the righteous of the people.
- 6a sarāqā’el 𐤀.
- b + “of the sons of men” (‘egwala ‘emmaheyāw) 𐤀. Either this has dropped from 𐤓^a by hmt. (-τῶν/-πῶν) or it is a gloss.
- 8a 𐤀 omits the entire verse.

■ 1-8 With its superscription and subscript, this list is a kind of counterpart to the list of rebel angels in 6:7-8. It serves two literary functions. It separates the two accounts of Enoch’s visits to the places of punishment (18:6–19:2 | 21:1-10), and it introduces the angels who serve as Enoch’s guides in chaps. 21–33. The names of the first six angels (allowing for two emendations later) and the functions ascribed to them correspond to the order of these chapters (21:5, 9; 22:3, 6; 23:4; 24:6; 27:2; 32:6). The figure of Remiel, who is missing in chaps. 21–36, seems to be the unnamed angel mentioned in 81:1, the misplaced final passage that evidently was originally connected with the Book of the Watchers. See comm. ad loc. The number seven, which may be implied in Ezekiel 8; 9:1-2,¹ is explicit in Tob 12:15 (interceding

angels) and *T. Levi* 8:2, and it recurs in Rev 1:4, 20. In 1 Enoch see further 81:5; 87:2. To the list of four archangels in chaps. 9–10 (see Excursus: The Four—or Seven—Archangels in Jewish and Early Christian Literature) are added three others: Uriel, Reuel, and Remiel.

Excursus: Interpreting Angels in Apocalyptic Literature

The accompanying, interpreting angels in this section of 1 Enoch are an extension and formalization of similar figures in the prophetic books of Ezekiel and Zechariah. In Ezekiel 8–11 an otherworldly figure of brilliant appearance takes the prophet, “in the visions of God” (8:3), from his house in Babylon to Jerusalem, where he escorts him around the temple and comments on the abominations there, before return-

1 Charles, *Revelation*, 1:11.

ing him to Babylon. In chaps. 40–48, after Ezekiel is again taken to Jerusalem “in the visions of God” (40:2), the same figure, presumably (40:30), again escorts Ezekiel through the temple and explains various of its features to him. Noteworthy is the formula, “Brought me . . . he said . . . this is.” In Zechariah 1–6 an angelic interlocutor engages Zechariah in a question-and-answer format relating to the content of the prophet’s visions: “I saw . . . I said what is. . . He answered me, ‘these are. . .’” In both texts the device of vision and angelic interpretation are juxtaposed with the traditional prophetic revelatory formula, “the word of the Lord came to me” (Ezek 12:1; Zech 1:1; 7:1, etc.).

In this section of the Book of the Watchers, the combination of vision, question, and an answer by the interpreting angel is the sole vehicle of revelation, as is already hinted at in the book’s superscription (1:2). Moreover, here, as in Ezekiel 40–44, the angel accompanies the seer on his vision journey. The device will continue to structure parts of the Book of Parables (40:8; 52:3; 53:4; 54:4; 56:2; 60:9, 11, 24; 61:2; 64:2). The idea may also be presumed in the Book of Tobit, where Raphael guides Tobias across Mesopotamia and explains the magical properties of the fish’s viscera to the inquiring young man (6:6–8).

The interpreting angel returns in Daniel 7–9 to explain the contents of Daniel’s visions (7:16–27; 8:15–16) and the eschatological implications of Jeremiah’s prophecy (Dan 9:20–27). In chaps. 10–12 the revealing angel is himself the subject of a vision and the revealer of future history.

Angelic interpretation of visions continue to play a major role in later Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature. In 4 *Ezra* the angel Uriel is *Ezra*’s principal interlocutor, while 3 *Baruch* is almost from start to finish the account of a seer’s journey through the heavens in the company of an interpreting angel. (Remarkably, such an angelic interpreter is almost completely absent in 2 *Baruch*, which is given much more to the prophetic model of dialog with God.) The NT Book of Revelation as a whole is presented as a vision given by God’s angel (1:10–20; 22:6–11), and occasionally the seer interacts with an angel in the

vision (e.g., chap. 17). The combination of vision and angelic interpreter has a long afterlife in such Christian texts as the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Apocalypse of Peter* and of *Paul*, and, indeed, Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, where Virgil and Beatrice play the role of the interpreting angel.²

■ 1 The expression “holy angels” here and in each of the subsequent verses is suspicious. We should probably read “watchers and holy ones,” the term being slightly paraphrased here. See comm. on 1:2 and 6:1–2.

■ 2 Throughout this chapter “in charge of” translates Gk. ἐπί. For this expression cf. also 40:9 and *T. Mos.* 4:1. It is perhaps an abbreviation of the fuller expression in vv 5 and 8 below. For Uriel’s responsibility for Tartarus, see 21:5, 9, on which cf. 19:1. Reference to “the world” seems to imply also his traditional function as guide through the celestial sphere. Cf. chaps. 72–82, alluded to in 33:3–4.

■ 3 On Raphael’s (unusual) responsibility for “the spirits of men,” cf. 22:3, 6. Whereas 10:7 and Tob 3:17 play on the root רפא, “to heal” (see comm. on 10:4–6), here the author seems to be implying the Heb. מַרְפָּאִים in the sense of the shades of the dead. Cf., for example, Isa 14:9; 26:14; Ps 88:11 (10).

■ 4 For this function of Reuel, cf. 23:4. On the meaning of his name, see comm. on 23:4.

■ 5 In 10:11–11:2, Michael is the antagonist of Shemihazah and the one who brings in the eschaton for the righteous and the rest of the world. Here he assumes what will be his traditional role, the patron of Israel.³ “People” translates Gk. λαός, a technical term for the people of Israel.⁴ Depending on one’s solution of the textual problem in this verse (see n. a), he is patron of the entire people or of the righteous. Supporting the latter is 25:4–5, where Michael speaks of “the righteous and

2 For a discussion of the origin and developing form of vision and angelic interpretation from Ezekiel and Zechariah, through 1 Enoch, and on into the Christian era, see Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*. For a cross-cultural study of dreams (and visions) in the literature of the ancient Near East, the Greeks and Romans, the Hebrew Bible, Jewish Literature, and the NT, see Frances Flannery-Dailey, “Standing at the Heads of Dreamers: A Study of Dreams in Late

Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2000).

3 See esp. Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 11–15.

4 H. Strathmann, “λαός,” *TDNT* 4 (1967) 34–35, 52–54.

holy” and “the chosen.” The Gk. *τάσσειν τινὰ ἐπὶ τινος* (cf. also v 8) is idiomatic for placing someone in charge of something or someone else.⁵

■ **6** On this function of <Sariel>, see 27:2. Reference there to blasphemy against God is here construed as sin against the Spirit of God. Comparison with Mark 3:29 || Matt 12:31; Luke 12:10 may indicate that this may be a Christian alteration. In 1 Enoch 10:1-3, Sariel is God’s messenger to Noah.

■ **7** Gabriel is in charge of paradise and its guardians.⁶ On the cherubim cf. Gen 3:24. The serpents (*δράκοντες*) may be seraphim, identified with the fiery sword of Gen 3:24.⁷ In 32:6 <Gabriel> relates the events connected with Adam’s and Eve’s expulsion from the garden. In 10:9-10 Gabriel is responsible for the elimination of the giants.

■ **8** Only Remiel’s name and function are missing in chaps. 21–36. But see comm. on 81:1. He is probably to be identified with Jeremiel of 4 Ezra 4:36, which relates a conversation between this angel and the souls in the chambers, who query about the day of their reward (i.e., resurrection).⁸ His name may involve a play on the root *רום* (“to be high”; causative, “to lift up”), though this is not a normal word for resurrection.⁹ Cf. also 2 Bar. 55:3; 63:6, where Ramael is an interpreting angel. The short form of the subscription differs from 6:8, which like 6:7, has a full sentence.

5 BAGD, s.v. 1.b; see also Esth 3:13; 8:13 LXX.

6 Milik, *Enoch*, 231.

7 On the seraphim as fiery beings and serpents, see comm. on chaps. 17–19, n. 17. For the identification of the sword with fiery angels, see *Gen. Rab.* 21:9, which cites Ps 104:4 and interprets Gen 3:24 in a way suggesting 1 Enoch 18:1.

8 See Nickelsburg, “Jeremiel,” *ABD* 3:722–23.

9 Cf., however, Isa 52:13 and its long history of interpretation in terms of resurrection and exaltation; see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 24–26, 62–65. For the retroversion “Jerahmeel,” see B. T. Dahlberg, “Jerahmeel,” *IDB* 2:822. For a full discussion see Pierre Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* (2 vols.; SC 144–45; Paris: Cerf, 1969) 2:428–37.

The Places of Punishment

THE PLACE OF PUNISHMENT FOR THE DISOBEDIENT STARS

- 1 I traveled to where it was chaotic.^a 2/ And there I saw a terrible thing; I saw neither heaven
above, nor^a firmly founded earth, but a chaotic and terrible place. 3/ And there I saw seven
of the stars of heaven, bound and cast^a in it together,^b like great mountains,^c and burning
in fire.
- 4 Then I said, "For what reason^a have they been bound, and for what reason have they been
cast here?"
- 5 Then Uriel said to me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader,^a
he said to me,^b "Enoch, why do you inquire, and why are you eager for the truth?
6/ These are the stars of heaven^a that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have
been bound here until ten thousand years^b are fulfilled^c—the time^d of their sins."
- THE PRISON OF THE REBEL ANGELS
- 7 From there I traveled to another place, more terrible than this one. And I saw terrible^a
things—a great fire burning and flaming there. And the place had a narrow cleft^b
(extending) to the abyss, full of great pillars of fire,^c borne downward. Neither the
measure nor the size^d was I able to see^e or to estimate.
- 8 Then I said, "How terrible is this^a place and fearful to behold."
- 9 Then Uriel^a answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me,^b and said^c to me,
"Enoch, why are you frightened so and shaken?"
- And I replied, "Because of this terrible place^d and because of the^e fearful sight."
- 10 And he said,^a "This place is a prison for the angels. Here^b they will be confined forever."^c

- 1a ἕως τῆς ἀκατασκευάστου ℣^{aa1} | ℣: "to (+ a place t²,β),
where it was chaotic" (ʿeska [+ makān t²,β] ḥaba ʾalboftu]
zayetgabbar).
- 2a ℣^{a1} ℣ | + "did I see" ℣^a, dittography: τεθέαμαι
τεθεμελιωμένην.
- 3a and cast] om. ℣, probably by hmt. in *℣^E. The double
verb here prepares for the two clauses in v 4.
- b ḥebura ℣ | om. ℣^{aa1} by hma.: ὁμοῦ/ὁμοίους.
- c great mountains] (ὄρεσιν μεγάλους) ℣^a ℣ | "a great
vision" (ὀράσει μεγάλη) ℣^{a1}, corrupt.
- 4a ℣: "for what sin" (baʿenta ʿayy ḥāmīʾat = διὰ ποίαν
ἀμαρτίαν) | Both ℣^{aa1} read: διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν ("for
what reason"). This same reading (διὰ τὶ ℣^a) occurs in
the next line, supported by ℣. The parallelistic usage of
περὶ τινός/περὶ τινός in v 5 supports the ℣ here, with
"sin" being a corruption in *℣^E.
- 5a my leader] ℣.
- b Om. "to me" ℣-T⁹.
- 6a of heaven] om. ℣-T⁹ 2080. Cf. v 3, from which it may be
an addition in ℣ here.
- b ἔτη, ʿāmat ℣^{aa1} ℣ T⁹ | "age(s)" (ʿālam) E-T⁹, an inner
Ethiopic corruption.
- c ℣^{a1} ℣ | active voice ℣^a.
- d τὸν χρόνον ℣^{aa1} | "the number" (ḥwalqwa) ℣.
- 7a φοβερά, geruma ℣^{a1} ℣ | "more fearful" (φοβερώτερα)
℣^a.
- b "and a narrow cleft was in the place" (wamemtarta botu
makānu) ℣. For makānu ("place" = Gk. τόπος), ℣ t²,β
read wasanu ("boundary"), an example of a common
Ethiopic error binding these two.
- c ʾaʿemāda ʾessāt ʿabayt ℣ | "pillars of great fire" (στύλων
πυρὸς μεγάλου) ℣^{aa1}.
- d μέγεθος, ʿebaygo ℣^{a1} ℣ | "width" (πλάτος) ℣^a.
- e ℣ has a double reading.
- 8a this] om. ℣^a by hmt.
- 9a Uriel] om. ℣^{aa1}. It could be a gloss here. Cf. 19:1; 18:14,
where only one angel is identified.
- b one --- me] om. ℣^{a1}.
- c ℣^{a1} ends here.
- d place] om. ℣^a by hmt.
- e "this" ℣. Perhaps an omission in ℣^a.
- 10a + "to me" ℣.
- b "and here" ℣.
- c ʿeska laʿālam ℣ | ℣^a: μέχρι εἰς (= αἰῶνος; cf. Ezek
25:15; Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 57 n. 4) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
dittography.

■ **1-10** Enoch's journey eastward begins where his westward journey ended. He visits in reverse order the places of punishment for the transgressing stars and the rebel angels. Close parallels in both content and wording indicate that these pericopes are doublets of 18:10–19:2.¹ These parallels do not indicate, however, that the author of this section knew the traditions in 18:6–19:2 in a form different from what is now preserved there.² Most likely, the visions here depend on chaps. 17–19. Although the format of vision|question|angelic interpretation is doubtless presumed in the compressed account in 18:6–19:2, the full format here is typical of chaps. 21–32 as a whole. See the analysis in Introduction to chaps. 20–36, § Literary Form and Structure. As the commentary below indicates, the two visions here are closely related to one another, much as the two in 18:6–19:2 are related to one another. As part of this author's compositional device of catchword, the visions are associated by the image of fire.³

It is noteworthy to what extent the author employs double, parallel phrases and verbs in this section (see vv 4, 5, 8-10). I have not set the translation in poetic form because the parallelism is not consistent and may involve only a pair of verbs (v 9). The technique indicates, however, the close connection between prose and poetry in this book (see Introduction §3.3.2.1).

■ **1-3** The Gk. verb ἐφοδεύω (“to make the rounds”) occurs here for the first of six or seven times.⁴ It is unique to these chapters of 1 Enoch. The verb seems to indicate that Enoch is coming from somewhere, yet in the context of chap. 19, he is already at the stars' place of punishment. Does this indicate that these chapters circulated separately?

The format of these verses parallels that of v 7: “I traveled to . . . I saw something terrible . . . [description].”

As in 18:12, the place of the stars' punishment is beyond the meeting place of heaven and earth. Here it is designated as chaotic. The adjective ἀκατασκέυαστος occurs in the LXX only in Gen 1:2, where it translates

Heb. בָּרוּךְ. “Desolate” (ἐρημος) in 1 Enoch 18:12 may reflect the twin term תָּהוּ in Gen 1:2. The elaborations on the solitary nature of the place in 18:12 are here dropped, as the author focuses on the content of the vision. On the expression “burning in fire,” see comm. on 18:12-16. For a wonderful allegorical interpretation of this verse by Origen, see Introduction §6.3.2.13.

■ **4** Different from v 8, Enoch's response here is in the form of a question rather than a marveling comment. Like v 8, it has a parallelistic structure, typical of these chapters (see the analysis in Introduction to chaps. 20–36, § Literary Form and Structure). The two verbs have their referents in v 3.

■ **5-6** For “holy angels,” we should perhaps read “watchers and holy ones.” Cf. comm. on 20:1. In what sense Uriel rules over the angels (ἡγείτο αὐτῶν) is not clear. The same expression is applied to Michael in 24:6. Perhaps it is the equivalent of “archangel.” In 72:1 and 74:2 it designates Uriel's authority over the heavenly luminaries. The angelic counterquestion occurs also in v 9 and 24:6–25:1. Different from those instances, here Enoch does not respond, and Uriel moves on to answer the question. The double form of Uriel's question, paralleled also in v 9, corresponds here to Enoch's double question in v 4. The seeking after or disclosure of “the truth” (τὴν ἀληθείαν) is typical in contexts of (esp. angelic) revelation.⁵ In 1 Enoch cf. 25:1; cf. also 13:10–14:1 (comm. on 14:1) and 106:12, etc. Different from 18:15-16, v 6 does not specify what command the stars have transgressed.

■ **7** Different from 18:6–19:2, this verse makes the spectacle of the angels' punishment climactic. If we may judge from chaps. 17–19, especially the juxtaposition of 18:6-8 and 18:9-11 + 19:1-2, the pit of the angels' punishment runs past God's throne (see chaps. 24–25) to the great abyss. The difference between the verbs, καταφερομένων here and καταβαίνοντας in 18:11, is due to alternative interpretations of נָחַל in its normal and

1 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 117–19.

2 Ibid., 119–20.

3 Ibid., 120–21.

4 21:7; 22:1; 23:1; 26:1; 32:2. See comm. on 32:2.

5 Cf. Dan 7:16, 19 (on which see Charles, *Enoch*, 44–45); 11:2; Tob 12:10 S.

causative forms.⁶ Reference to size here could apply to the columns of fire or to the chasm, the latter especially if one accepts the reading *πλάτος* (see n. d). 18:11 refers to the size of the columns.

■ **8-10** Here, as often in these chapters, Enoch marvels over the spectacle rather than asking a question (see the analysis in Introduction to chaps. 20–36, § Literary Form and Structure). But he implies a question that is

answered in v 10. A parallelism of expression occurs in each of the members of this section: terrible, fearful; frightened, shaken; terrible, fearful; prison, confined. Different from vv 5-6, Enoch responds to the angelic counterquestion. The reference to this place as a prison (*δεσμωτήριον*, v 10) links this vision with the one that follows (see comm. on 22:1-4).⁷

6 For similar usage of the two verbs to translate Aram. ܬܬܐ, cf. Dan 5:20 *ܬ* (*καταφέρω*) and 4:13 *ܬ* (4:10 *ܬ*; 4:13 Eng.); 4:23 *ܬ* (4:20 *ܬ*; 4:23 Eng.) (*καταβαίνω*).

7 See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 121.

The Mountain of the Dead

- 1 From there I traveled to another place. And he showed me to the west a^a great and high mountain^b of hard rock. 2/ And there were four hollow^a places in it, deep^b and very smooth. Three of them ~~were~~ dark and one, illuminated; and ~~a~~ fountain of water was in the midst of it.
- And I said,^c "How smooth are these hollows^d and altogether deep and dark to view."
- 3 Then Raphael answered,^a one of the holy angels who ~~were~~ with me, and said to me, "These hollow^b places (are intended) that the spirits of the souls of the dead might be gathered into them. For this very (purpose) they were created,^c (that) here the souls of all the sons of men^d should be gathered. 4/ And behold, these are the pits for the place of their confinement. Thus they were made^a until the day (on) which they will be judged,^b and until the time of the day of the end of the great judgment, which will be exacted from them."^c
- 5 There^a I ~~saw~~ the spirit of a dead man^b making suit,^c and his lamentation^d went up^e to heaven and cried^f and made suit.
- 6 Then^a I asked^b Raphael, the watcher and holy one^c who who ~~were~~ with me, and said to him, "This spirit that makes suit^d—whose is it—that thus his lamentation goes up^e and makes suit unto heaven?"^f
- 7 And he answered me and said, "This is the spirit that went forth from Abel, whom Cain his brother^a murdered. And Abel makes accusation against him until^b his seed perishes^c from the face of the earth, and his seed is obliterated from the seed of men."
- 8 Then I asked^a about all the hollow places,^b why they ~~were~~ separated one from the other.^c
- 9 And he answered ~~me~~ and said, "These three ~~were~~ made that the spirits of the dead might be separated.
- And this^a has been separated for the spirits of the righteous, where the bright fountain of water^b is.
- 10 And this has been created for <the spirits of the> sinners,^a when they die and are buried in the earth, and judgment has not been executed on them in their life. 11/ Here their spirits ~~are~~ separated for^a this great torment, until the great day of judgment, of scourges and tortures of the cursed forever, that there might be a recompense^b for their spirits.^c There he will bind them forever.^d
- 12 And this has been separated for the spirits of them that make suit, who make disclosure about the destruction, when they were murdered in the days of the sinners.
- 13 And this was created for the spirits of the men who will not be pious, but sinners, who were godless,^a and they were companions with the lawless. And their spirits^b will not be punished^c on the day of judgment, nor will they be raised from there."
- 14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said, "Blessed is the judgment of righteousness and blessed are you, O Lord of majesty and righteousness, who ~~are~~ Lord of eternity."^a

1a "another" ܐ, evidently a dittograph from the previous line.

b + "and" ܐ; see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 41–42.

2a For ܐ ܟܘܝܠܝ ("hollow"), ܐ reads *šanāyāt* ("beautiful"), translating ܟܠܝܝ, a corruption; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 56 n. 12.

b + "and wide" ܐ, either a double reading or a gloss. It has no counterpart in Enoch's comments that follow; see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 43–44.

c Three ---- said] om. ܐ, either to harmonize with the next verses that speak only of dark hollows, or due to haplography in *ܐ; see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 44. In addition to "very" before this omission, uT⁹ om. "how smooth" after it, due to hmt. (*walemuš* <*teqā kama lemuš*>).

d these hollows] for τὰ κοιλώματα ταῦτα, ܐ reads

zayānkwarkwer, presuming τὰ κυκλώματα ταῦτα ("these circles"); cf. also v 8. See Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 56 n. 16; Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 44–45.

3a + "me" ܐ q¹t²T⁹ 2080 6281,β. Cf. vv 7, 9.

b For ܐ ܟܘܝܠܝ, ܐ reads *šanāyāt* (*-ān*). See above, n. a on v 2.

c Emending ܐ ἐκρίθησαν ("were judged") to ἐκτίσθησαν after ܐ *tafaṭru*; see Charles, *Enoch*, 47.

d Following the word order of Aram.: ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܠܒܝܬ ܐܢܝܢ (4QEn^c 1 22:1 [Milik, *Enoch*, 229]) | ܐ ܐ: "All the souls of (+ the sons of ܐ) men."

4a And behold ---- made] Following 4QEn^c 1 22:1-2 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229): ܐܢܝܢ ܕܠܒܝܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܕܠܒܝܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܕܠܒܝܬ ܐܢܝܢ | ܐ, followed by ܐ, may presume an almost identical Aramaic text, but translates with a slightly different nuance: καὶ ἰδοὺ οὗτοι οἱ τόποι <οἱ κοιλῶται>

- <είσιν> εἰς ἐπισύσχεσι <ν> αὐτῶν ἐποιή<θη>σιν (“And <behold,> these <hollow> places <are> for their confinement. They were made”). For this and other possible explanations for the variants, see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 50–51.
- b (on) --- judged] יִחְיֶיךָ דִּי 4QEn^c 1 22:2 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229) | Ⓢ Ⓢ: “of their judgment” (τῆς κρίσεως αὐτῶν, *kwennanēhomu* = דִּי דִּנְהוּ).
- c the time ---- them] זמן יום קצא דִּין דִּנְא רבא דִּי מנהון 4QEn^c 1 22:2-3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229) | Ⓢ: “the limit and the determined time in which the great judgment will take place among them” (τοῦ διορισμοῦ καὶ διορισμένου χρόνου ἐν ᾧ ἡ κρίσις ἢ μεγάλη ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς) | Ⓢ: “their determined time—and that time is great—and until the great judgment upon them.” See the discussion by Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 51–53.
- 5a חמון 4QEn^c 1 22:3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229), which may be reflected in Ⓢ gt², β, wa = Gk. καί, corrupt for ἐκεῖ (“there”) | om. Ⓢ and Ⓢ al.
- b מַנְאֵשׁ רוח 4QEn^c 1 22:3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229) | Ⓢ: *manāšēa welud sab’ ʿenza mutān weʿetomu* (“the spirits of the sons of men who are dead”) | Ⓢ: ἀνθρώπους νέκρους (“dead men”) | The sg. is attested in Ⓢ in the rest of the verse and in part in Ⓢ. See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 55.
- c Om. Ⓢ.
- d מַנְאֵשׁ 4QEn^c 1 22:4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229) | Ⓢ: καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ (“and his voice”) | Ⓢ: “And their voice” (*waqalomu*). Beyer (*Texte*, 241) emends מַנְאֵשׁ to מַנְאֵשׁ (“petition” [Anliegen]). Larson (“Translation,” §3.2.5 on 4QEn^c 1.xii.4) notes similar confusion of *ʾalep* and *ʾayin* in the scrolls, but sees no need for the emendation here. In either case, *φωνή* is “a very loose equivalent” (ibid.).
- e סלק 4QEn^c 1 22:4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229) | προέβαινεν (“went forth”) Ⓢ, followed by Ⓢ (*yebasseh*). But cf. 9:10.
- f ומוזעק 4QEn^c 1 22:4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229–30). Cf. Gen 4:10 | The expression has dropped from Ⓢ *Ⓢ through hma.: καὶ <... καὶ>.
- 6a weʿeta gize Ⓢ | καὶ (“and”) Ⓢ | Unless one presumes a *vacat*, space in 4QEn^c 1 22:5 suggests יְיָ בָּרָא rather than י.
- b Ⓢ | “he asked” Ⓢ. See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 57.
- c מַלְאָכָא וְקַדְשָׁא, 4QEn^c 1 22:5 (Milik, *Enoch*, 229) | “the angel” Ⓢ Ⓢ. See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 57.
- d that makes suit] om. Ⓢ.
- e “voice goes forth” Ⓢ Ⓢ. Translation after Ⓢ of v 5; see nn. d and e above.
- f unto heaven] om. Ⓢ.
- 7a ὁ ἀδελφός (“the brother”) Ⓢ.
- b + “all” Ⓢ. See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 61.
- c ἀπολέσαι Ⓢ | *yethagwal* (“is destroyed”) Ⓢ.
- 8a + “about him and” Ⓢ, a reading that ties the spirit of Abel together with those described in this section; see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 62.
- b <τῶν κυκλωμάτων> | Ⓢ: τῶν κυκλωμάτων (“the circles”). Cf. above, v 2 n. a. | Ⓢ: *kwennanē* (“judgment” = τῶν κριμάτων) | + “and said” Ⓢ t² 2080,β.
- c ʾaḥadu ʾem ʾaḥad Ⓢ | ἡν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος Ⓢ corrupt.
- 9a Reading οὕτως (“thus”) of Ⓢ here and throughout as οὗτος, in keeping with “in it” (ἐν αὐτῷ) at the end of the verse; see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 65–66.
- b + “of life” Ⓢ gq, a gloss.
- 10a laḥāteʾān Ⓢ | τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν (“of sinners”) Ⓢ. Emendation, based on the analogy of vv 9b, 12, 13, follows Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 67: <τοῖς πνεύμασιν> τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν.
- 11a εἰς Ⓢ | “upon” (*diba*) Ⓢ.
- b Emending ἦν ἀνταποδόσεις (“there were recompenses”) of Ⓢ to ἵνʼ ἀνταπόδοσις, with Radermacher, *Enoch*, 52 | Ⓢ: *wabaqal* (= καὶ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως, “and recompense”). See also Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 70.
- c *lanafsomu* Ⓢ | τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν (“of their spirits”) Ⓢ.
- d + “Truly he (or ‘it,’ sc. the place) is from the beginning of the age” Ⓢ. Almost certainly a gloss, though there could conceivably be an omission by hmt. (μέχρις αἰῶνος <... ἀπ’ αἰῶνος>).
- 13a Ⓢ: *ʿella seṣṣumān(a) ʿabbasā* (“who were wholly godless [or ‘were full of godlessness’]),” perhaps reflecting ὅσοι <ῶλοι> ἀσεβεῖς. See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 78.
- b Ⓢ: + ὅτι οἱ ἐνθάδε θλιβέντες ἔλαττον κολάζονται (“because those who suffer affliction here are punished less”) | This section, wholly missing in Ⓢ, interrupts between “spirits” and its modifier, “their,” and appears to be a gloss.
- c οὐ τιμωρηθήσονται Ⓢ | *ʾitetqattal* (“will not be slain”) Ⓢ. Wacker (*Weltordnung*, 83) suggests the influence of 99:11.
- 14a Although Ⓢ and the versions do not agree on the content of Enoch’s blessing, it seems possible to arrive at the original text and to explain the principal divergencies as due to errors on the Greek level. Ⓢ (Ⓢ): καὶ εἶπα εὐλογητὸς εἶ (om. equivalent of εἶ Ⓢ α + *weʿetu*, “is he” Ⓢ t² 2080,β) κύριε (*ʾegziʿeya*, *ʾegziʿa*, “my Lord, the Lord”) ὁ τῆς (+ *seḥat wa*, “splendor and” q,β) δικαιοσύνης κυριεύων τοῦ αἰῶνος (+ *ʿeska laʿālam*, “forever”), “And I said, ‘Blessed are you, O Lord of righteousness, who are ruler of eternity’” | Ⓢ: לַחַיִּים וְלָעוֹלָם בְּרִיךְ דִּין קִשְׁפָּא וּבְרִיךְ אֱלֹהֵי מַרְאָא בְּבוּחָא וּקְשָׁא דְּמַרְאָא 4QEn^d 1 11:2-3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 218, slightly modified). Ⓢ indicates: (a) that an expression blessing the righteous judgment is missing in the versions; (b) that God is addressed as the Lord of majesty or the great Lord. We may reconstruct an original Greek translation as follows: καὶ εἶπα <εὐλογητὴ ἔστιν ἡ κρίσις τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ> εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε ὁ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης καὶ> τῆς δικαιοσύνης κυριεύων τοῦ αἰῶνος. By a simple error of sight, τῆς μεγαλωσύνης (perhaps, though not certainly, attested by Ⓢ q,β) was read as τῆς δικαιοσύνης or dropped out, if the second occurrence

of the latter expression was indeed in the original text (cf. 101:3 for the confusion of the two words). Then by hma. and hmt. the whole first clause dropped from the text, leaving the Greek archetype of $\Theta^a \mathbb{C}$. For alter-

native explanations of the omission, see Milik, *Enoch*, 219; Larson, "Translation," §3.2.4 on 4QEn^d 1.xi.2.

■ **1-14** From the places of punishment for the transgressing stars and rebel angels (chap. 21), Enoch proceeds to a great mountain with huge pits that serve as repositories for the souls of the dead—both good and evil. Between its introduction (v 1a) and conclusion (v 14), the chapter comprises three parallel and complementary sections:

Vision	Enoch's comment or question	Raphael's explanation
vv 1b-2a	v 2b	vv 3-4
v 5	v 6	v 7
(v 2a)	v 8	vv 9-13

The first and third sections constitute a two stage description of the mountain, which is interrupted by the description of Abel pleading for vengeance.

Two major themes are the substance of the first and third sections. First, the souls of all the dead are sorted into escape-proof pits, in which they experience retribution that is consonant with their conduct and circumstances during their lives. Second, final disposition of the fate of these souls will be made on the day of the great judgment. Emphasis on that judgment, and especially on its consequences for the righteous and the wicked, is the subject matter of chaps. 24-25 and 26-27. In the present chapter, the author indicates the certainty of that judgment by asserting that the process of retribution begins already at the time of death. While the author presumes some sort of resurrection, he provides no details about it.

As the text now stands, the first and third sections of the chapter are consistent and complementary in their general content and in the correspondence between the vision, the author's two questions, and the angel's interpretations. Section one provides an initial explanation for aspects of the vision; this is the place where the dead are gathered until the time of the judgment. Section

three takes up details of Enoch's vision and moves the eschatology another step. The gathering place of the dead is divided into separate compartments in which different kinds of recompense prevail already in a preliminary way after death and before the final day of judgment. For this reason the seer can already praise God and God's righteous judgment.

In its form and idiom, this vision parallels others in this journey (see the analysis in the Introduction to chaps. 20-36, § Literary Form and Structure). In its emphasis on the eschatological fate of human beings, it is one of several sections that distinguish this second journey from the one described in chaps. 17-19.¹ Although the account of Enoch's journey westward hints that the seer traveled into the realm of the dead (see Introduction to chaps. 17-19, § History of Religions Context, and comm. on 22:1-4 and 22:9b), it provides no vision and interpretation of the place.

Literary History

Although the present form of this chapter has a certain consistency, there are several contradictions and related interpretive problems that commentators have attributed to the developing history of the tradition.² The basic problem is that v 2 speaks of four compartments for the souls of the dead and v 9 mentions three. Moreover, both the first and third sections of narrative (vv 1-4 and 8-13) have their own internal contradictions. According to v 2ab, the souls of *all* the dead are contained in four compartments, three of them dark and one illuminated and with a spring of water.³ This statement is contradicted, however, by Enoch's question in v 2c, which presumes that *all* the compartments are dark:⁴

1 Milik, "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân," *HTR* 64 (1971) 346.

2 For the most thorough survey of the problems and

attempts to solve them, see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 35-131.

3 On the textual problem see n. 2c.

4 Charles, *Enoch*, 47.

v 2ab hollow places deep smooth dark illuminated
v 2c hollows deep smooth dark to view

The third section presumes the scheme of dark and light compartments, but v 9a states that there were only three compartments. These would have to be: v 9b, a compartment for the righteous; vv 10-11, a compartment where sinners who were not recompensed on earth are punished; vv 12-13, a compartment for sinners whose violent deaths result in less, or no, punishment for them after death.⁵ The difficulty with this interpretation is the formula, "And thus it has been separated/created for (the spirits of) . . .," which introduces not only vv 9b, 10, and 12, but also v 13, suggesting that v 13 describes another (fourth, as in v 2) compartment.⁶ Another problem emerges when one compares this chapter with the others in chaps. 21-36.⁷ This chapter alone breaks the typical formal pattern:

- A. 1. Introductory setting of scene (22:1a)
- 2. Description of vision (vv 1b-2a)
- 3. a. Enoch's exclamation (v 2b)
- b. Angel's interpretation (vv 3-4)
- B. 1. New setting of scene (v 5a)
- 2. Description of new vision (v 5)
- 3. a. Enoch's question (v 6)
- b. Angel's interpretation (v 7)
- C. 3. a. Enoch's question referring back to v 2 (v 8)
- b. Angel's interpretation (vv 9-13)
- 4. Enoch's praise (v 14)

In this scheme vv 5-7 present four difficulties. This is the only section in chaps. 21-36 with a secondary vision and interpretation enfolded within the first vision and interpretation. This secondary vision (B.1-2) interrupts between the first vision (A.1-2) and its full interpretation (C.3). Both in its content and its manner of describing the interpreting angel, it differs from the technique used throughout chaps. 21-36 (see comm. on vv 5-7).

To date the best explanation of these problems and contradictions is the history of tradition proposed by Wacker.⁸ The first stage of the tradition consisted of a form of vv 1-4 that described and explained a mountain with an unspecified number of deep, dark, smooth caves

as the place of confinement for the souls of the dead. Testifying to this stage of the tradition is Enoch's question in v 2, which presumes that all of the hollow places are dark.

This first stage of the tradition was then expanded, in order to differentiate the fates of the dead according to their situations and conduct during their lives. The expansions—which Wacker believes took place at one time—were as follows. In v 2 the hollow places were enumerated and differentiated: four in all, three dark and one illuminated with a fountain in it. In preparation for one aspect of the interpretation of these details of the vision, vv 5-7 added a second "vision" and interpretation—the spirit of Abel pleading for vengeance. Verses 8-13 were added as an interpretation of the four compartments. As the literary structure of the section indicates, "three" in v 9a originally read "four." Also at the time of this expansion, several changes were made in vv 3 and 4. Verse 3bα ("These hollow places . . .") is a duplication of v 3bβ ("For this very purpose . . ."), but it employs the anthropological term "spirit," found throughout vv 5-13; v 4b ("and until . . .") duplicates and expands on v 4a. It is less certain, though probable, that v 14 was added at this time, since its emphasis on God's *righteous* judgment relates better to the distinctions made in vv 8-13 than to the general concept of judgment present in the original form of vv 1-4.

Next, on the Greek level of the tradition, "four" in v 9 was changed to "three" because vv 12-13 were interpreted to refer to one group, viz., the generation of the flood.⁹ In general, this reconstruction seems plausible, although it is by no means certain that vv 5-7 belong to the same level of composition as vv 8-13 (see comm. on vv 5-7).

Biblical and Nonbiblical Context

In their descriptions of the place of the dead, both major stages of the tradition in chap. 22 depend on biblical teaching and transcend it, using ideas current else-

5 Ibid., 46.

6 Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 15; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 137.

7 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 102-3.

8 Ibid., 122-31.

9 Ibid., 130.

where in antiquity. That the disembodied shades of all the dead were taken to the gloomy regions of Sheol is a widespread idea in the Hebrew Bible,¹⁰ and in this respect the dark pits originally described in vv 1-4 are consonant with biblical imagery.

In at least two respects, however, the original description in vv 1-4 differed from most biblical portrayals of Sheol. First, Sheol was thought to be in the underworld and not a mountain in the west. For the latter idea Babylonian religion and cosmography provide the best analogies, although aspects of these are common in Greece and the ancient Near East.¹¹ Second, almost without exception, the biblical texts portray Sheol as the final residence for the shades of the dead. The exceptions are Isa 26:14-19, which may posit a resurrection of the righteous,¹² and Dan 12:2, which speaks of the fate of “many” of the righteous and wicked.¹³ Our dating of the present section of 1 Enoch in the third century B.C.E. makes the earliest form of 22:1-4 one of the two earliest extant Jewish testimonies to the belief in a postmortem judgment, and chap. 22 and 24:2–27:2 constitute the earliest detailed treatment of the fate of the dead. Taken together, these chapters provide a scenario that was probably taken for granted by the author of Daniel 12:2.¹⁴

The second major stage of the tradition in chap. 22 is a major revision of the first, importing the idea that the intermediate state between death and judgment is already the locus of reward and punishment. Here the influence of Greek rather than ancient Near Eastern ideas is most likely evident (see comm. on vv 8-13).

■ **1-4** In the earlier, shorter form of these verses, which constituted the first stage of the tradition in these chapters (see above, § Literary History), Enoch recounted how he had seen a great and high mountain in the west

with an unspecified number of large pits and how Raphael had explained that it was a repository that held all the souls of humanity until the day of judgment.

On the verb ἐφοδεύω (“traveled”), typical of chaps. 20–36, see comm. on 21:1-3 and 32:2. The verb “he showed me” (ἐδειξέν μοι) is unusual in these chapters. Elsewhere it occurs only in 24:1 and 33:3-4, where its subject is the angel mentioned in those sections. Here the subject would have to be Uriel, who was mentioned in the previous section (21:9), but this is unlikely since Raphael will be introduced in v 3 as the interpreting angel. Perhaps the Aramaic verb was mistranslated, and we should read “And I saw”¹⁵ or “I was shown.”¹⁶

The Greek term that designates the respective compartments in the mountain varies in the text: τόποι κοίλοι (“hollow places”) in vv 2a, 3; κοιλάματα (“hollows”) in vv 2c, 8. In v 4 τόποι <κοίλοι> corresponds to Aram. ܢܦܬܐ of 4QEn^c 1 22:1, and this word for “pit” (from the verb “to dig” or “hollow out”)¹⁷ probably stands behind all the Greek variants. The description evokes the image of a mountain with caves in its sides. Since caves were often used as burial places, the author appears to envision the place of the dead as a mammoth necropolis.¹⁸ Reference to the hardness of the rock prepares us for the smoothness of the pits (in contrast to rougher limestone caves). The deepness, darkness, and smoothness of the pits implies their great size, as well as the impossibility of climbing out of them. This in turn is consonant with their function as a prison or place of detention (see below).

The enumeration of the pits and the distinction between the three and the one (v 4) are a secondary addition to the original tradition, which prepares for vv 8-13 (see comm. on vv 8-13). Indicative of the different emphases in the two levels of tradition is the difference

10 Ibid., 179–80.

11 For a thorough analysis of the data, see *ibid.*, 146–77.

12 On the interpretation of Isa 26:19-21, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 17–18.

13 For alternative interpretations of this passage, see *ibid.*, 17–23; and Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 267–70.

14 In this respect, it is necessary to revise my chronology in Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*. There I date 1 Enoch 22 later than Daniel 12, though I am aware of the pre-Christian dating of the former (p. 134). It is a good example of data falling victim to typology.

15 Cf. 21:1, 7; 23:2; 24:2; 26:1, 2, 3; 28:1; 29:1; 30:1, 3; 32:1, 3; 33:1, 2, 3; 34:1, 2; 35:1; 36:1, 2, 4.

16 See comm. on 31:2.

17 For this meaning of the Hebrew verb, see passages cited by Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 2:1155. The meaning occurs also in Syriac.

18 See Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 133 and 139, where she reproduces a photograph of el-Habs in Petra.

in the verbs used in vv 3-4 and in vv 8-13. Raphael's explanation in v 3 twice uses the verb "gather" (ἐπισυνάγω) and never "separate" (χωρίζομαι), which occurs five times in vv 8-13. The first author thought of the pits as collecting places for human souls without respect to their moral character or the circumstances of their lives. As in 102:7, and in many biblical descriptions of Sheol, the land of the dead is a place of darkness, even for the righteous.¹⁹ (Cf. also 17:6-7 in the account of Enoch's journey to the northwest.) Here it is called בית-עגנון (lit. "house of seclusion"). It is a place of detention, where one awaits judgment (cf. comm. on 10:4-6). The terminology is paralleled in Isa 24:22, ויכשנון ויכשנון (lit. "to the pit") ("And they will gather them to the house of bondage, and they will incarcerate them in the house of seclusion").²⁰ On this passage with reference to the imprisonment of the watchers, see comm. on 10:4-6. See also 21:10 and its reference to the watchers' prison, which Wacker cites as an example of the catchword principle that provides continuity in this part of the journey narrative.²¹

On the propriety of Raphael—the angel in charge of the shades (רפאים)—as the interpreting angel here, see comm. on 20:3. Very likely the Aramaic here described Raphael as one of "the watchers and holy ones" rather than "the holy angels." Cf. v 6, where the expression occurs in א (see n. c on v 6).

The anthropological terminology is not altogether consistent in this chapter. Verse 3b speaks of "souls" (ψυχάι), vv 5-7 and 8-13 of "spirits" (πνεύματα), and v 3a of "the spirits of the souls of the dead." This last is probably due to a combination of "souls" from the early stage of the tradition with "spirits" from the later stage.²² The three sentences in vv 3b-4a are repetitive but stress different things: these are the souls of the dead;

they derive from human beings rather than the angels mentioned in chap. 21; they are held in confinement. Reference in vv 3, 10, and 13 to creation stresses the place of this mountain, its structure, and its function in God's purpose. Cf. also 25:7.²³

The two clauses in v 4bc have a stepped parallelism that is similar to the repetition in vv 3b-4a.²⁴ The second clause stresses the finality and fullness of the judgment and its fixed time. The Aram. זמן implies a fixed, appointed time (cf. Dan 7:12, 22), and "the day of the end" (יום קץ) is the counterpart of קץ הימים and עת קץ in Dan 12:13 and 8:17; 11:35, 40; 12:4, 9.²⁵ The expression of judgment. Cf. 1QapGen 20:14; 1 Enoch 100:4. On the day of the great judgment, see comm. on 10:4-6, n. 21.

■ 5-7 Although these verses are cast in the literary form typical of these chapters (vision|question|angelic interpretation), they differ from all other instances of the form in two respects. The vision here is of an individual rather than a cosmological phenomenon.²⁶ The angel here described is the object of the verb "to ask" rather than the subject of the verb "to answer" at the beginning of a new sentence.²⁷

In this exegetical elaboration of Gen 4:10, Abel's blood—in Genesis, inanimate but personified—is understood as the seat of נפש ("life" or "soul"; cf. Gen 9:4), which in this author's anthropology is identified with רוח ("spirit"). This spirit is in turn an active being, portrayed in terms familiar to the Hellenistic world. It is like the restless spirit of the murdered Clytemnestra (Aeschylus *Eumenides* 98), who cries out for revenge on the murderer.²⁸

The terminology in vv 5-6 is especially close to 1 Enoch 9:2, 10, where the narrative of Genesis 6-9 has been interpolated with the extraneous motif of the dead pleading for vengeance.²⁹ Both here and in 1 Enoch

19 On the uniform human fate in Sheol, see *ibid.*, 179-80.

20 For Sheol as a place of imprisonment, see *ibid.*, 142-44; for ancient Near Eastern parallels, see *ibid.*, 161-68.

21 *Ibid.*, 121.

22 See *ibid.*, 124-25.

23 Cf. Matt 25:34, 41. See also Introduction §4.1.2.2.

24 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 126-27.

25 See John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the

Transcendence of Death," *CBQ* 36 (1974) 26, who translates עת קץ as "time of crisis."

26 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 129.

27 *Ibid.*, 102.

28 Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 16; Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 187.

29 For the parallels between chap. 9 and 22:5-7, 12, see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 188-90.

6–11, the cry of the dead (and of the earth that has soaked up the blood of the dead, 7:6; 9:2, 9; cf. Gen 4:11) continues to bring accusation until divine judgment is executed against the murderer(s). Although 1 Enoch 22 was composed after chaps. 6–11, both may contain primitive elements of a common, earlier exegetical tradition on Gen 4:10. Here “the spirit” of Abel brings suit against his murderer and his seed. In chaps. 6–11, where the souls (pl.) of men make accusation (9:2, 9), the anthropological term *ψυχή* (= *נַפְשׁ*) more closely approximates the Genesis idea that *נַפְשׁ* resides in the blood. The principal difference between 1 Enoch 9:2, 10 and 22:5–7 is in the plurality of souls and the single figure of Abel. As the translators of *G* and *C* recognized, however, the author of the present passage understood Abel as a *type* of those violently put to death. This is suggested in v 7, with its reference to the descendants of Cain, and is evident in v 12.

It is widely assumed that vv 5–7 depict Abel as the prototype of the martyred righteous.³⁰ Later tradition clearly regarded him as such, and the contrast between Cain’s and Abel’s sacrifices in Gen 4:4–5 suggests such an interpretation.³¹ Nonetheless, pre-Christian texts, including 1 Enoch, do not specifically attest such an interpretation.³² The present passage, as well as 22:12 and chaps. 6–11, emphasize not the righteousness of those who have been murdered, but the violence of their murderers and the certain judgment that will befall them (see comm. on chaps. 6–11 and 22:8–13).

The place of vv 5–7 in the literary history of this chapter is less than certain. Wacker believes that v 12 is hardly understandable apart from vv 5–7 and suggests, therefore, that they were probably added at the same time as vv 8–14.³³ That vv 5–7 were added to provide a context for v 12 is certain; however, the allusions to Gen 4:10 in 1 Enoch 9 already provide such a context, and 22:5–7 could have been added after vv 8–14 to clarify further the meaning of v 12.

■ **8-13** This section is a carefully structured reinterpretation

of the original form of vv 1–4. The originally unspecified number of pits, which Raphael interpreted as receptacles to *gather* the multitude of human souls (vv 3–4), are now interpreted as four repositories that *separate* the dead according to the individual’s ethical quality and lot in life. The righteous are separated from the sinners. The sinners who were adequately recompensed in their lifetime suffer no further punishment and are separated from those who are severely punished because they escaped such recompense during their lives. Through this scheme, the pits that were originally understood to be a common place of detention until the time of the final judgment are now described as separate places of reward and punishment preliminary to the judgment.

The anthropology of the section is consistent. The “spirits” of the dead are separated into the various compartments. The Gk. *πνεύματα* doubtless translates Aram. *רוח* to judge from 4QEn^c 1 22:3–4 (1 Enoch 22:5), where this terminology appears. Although these spirits have been removed from the bodies of their earthly existence, there is continuity with that existence. The spirits are rewarded or punished according to the circumstances of that existence, and they can remember and protest their violent death. Certain functions appropriate to the human body are attributed to the spirits. They can appreciate the presence of light and have their thirst quenched (v 9). They also suffer “scourges” and “torments” (v 10).³⁴

That this author believed in some kind of a resurrection is evident. Although this mountain is the permanent residence of the sinners described in v 13, not all the spirits of the dead remain here. The spirits of the sinners described in vv 10–11 will be transferred to a final place of terrible and eternal punishment. Moreover, from 24:2–25:6, it appears that the righteous will be raised to a new and long life in Jerusalem (see comm. on 24:5–25:1).

30 Ibid., 182 and the references cited in n. 10.

31 Ibid., who cites Matt 23:35 and mentions *Q^{Neof}* Gen 4:7–8, which can be read in the light of the story of the persecuted righteous one in Wisdom 2–5; see Nickelsburg, “Eschatology in the Testament of Abraham,” 36 n. 46a.

32 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 181–83; however, she probably

dismisses too quickly the biblical idea that God accepted Abel’s sacrifice and rejected Cain’s.

33 Ibid., 128–29.

34 On the anthropology of this section, see *ibid.*, 281–88, and see further the comm. on 102:4–5.

This author's debt to Greek ideas (esp. those of the Pythagorean and Orphic provenance preserved in Plato) is especially evident in his divisions between the various kinds of sinners and in the imagery of the fountain.³⁵ The viewpoint here differs from non-Israelite prototypes, however, in that it describes not the final dispensing of rewards and punishments, but an intermediate state preliminary to the final judgment and its rewards and punishments.³⁶

The parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31) is an interesting example of the early Christian use of the kind of cosmology presumed here and its function in a context concerned with theodicy. The parable contrasts poor, oppressed Lazarus with the rich man, who does not obey the Law and the Prophets and unjustly enjoys good things in his life and honor in his burial. Their situations are reversed after death. In Abraham's bosom, Lazarus is refreshed with water, while Dives suffers torments in Hades. The cosmology of the parable differs somewhat from the present chapter in its details, but not in its function. In the place of pits that separate the righteous from the sinners, there is a single great chasm that separates the two groups. In both cases mythic cosmology undergirds an assertion about the execution of divine justice.³⁷

■ **8-9a** The author of vv 8-13 has prepared for this section by revising v 2 to refer to four compartments, one light and three dark. Given that revision, Enoch's question in v 8 follows logically from Raphael's explanation in vv 3-4. If this is the *gathering* place for all the spirits of the dead, why are there separate and differing compartments? The importance of the question is underscored in the fourfold repetition of the catchword "separated" (*χωρίζομαι*) in vv 9-12. Raphael answers Enoch's question in a general way in v 9a and then explains in vv 9b-13 why, for what purpose, and in what way the spirits of the dead are separated. The correspondence between v 2 ("three of them were dark and one illuminated") and the symmetrical fourfold formulas of vv 9b, 10, 12, 13

indicates that the number "three" in v 9a is secondary (see above, § Literary History).

■ **9b** The general term "the spirits of the righteous" suggests that all such spirits are gathered in this compartment. In chaps. 17-19 the reference to the living waters in 17:4 may be a counterpart to this verse. Verse 2 explicitly contrasts the light that illuminates this compartment with the darkness of the other compartments. The light imagery suggests the divine presence. Such an idea contrasts with older Israelite ideas about Sheol (cf. Isa 38:10-20; but contrast Psalm 139). The imagery of water connotes life, even if this is the place of the dead.³⁸ The combined imagery of light and life-giving water appears in Israelite literature in Ps 36:10 (9) ("For with you is the fountain of life; in your light we shall see light," כִּי־עֵמֶךָ מְקוֹר חַיִּים בְּאוֹרְךָ נִרְאֶה־אֹרֶךְ), and a Jewish reader might well think of this psalm with its contrast between the righteous and the wicked. But the specific idea that there is a vivifying, refreshing fountain of water in the underworld is attested in Greek, and especially Orphic, sources, and these may have directly or indirectly influenced the author of this text.³⁹

■ **10-11** This description of the second compartment mentioned in v 9a is introduced by a formula that parallels v 9b, except for the verb "created" (*ἐκτίσθη*), which also occurs in vv 3, 13. On this motif see comm. on 22:1-4. The idea of separation, missing in this formula, appears in v 11.

In this compartment, sinners whose unspecified sins went unpunished during their lifetimes now undergo bitter and tortuous punishment. The passage implies that in some cases sinners are punished in their own lifetime.⁴⁰ The problem of theodicy, treated briefly here, will be dealt with in more rhetorical style and in the broader context of unrequited sins and righteous deeds in 102:4-104:8. Cf. comm. on 103:5-8 for close terminological parallels with the present text, which indicate that the parenthesis in the later section is based on the vision in this chapter. The expression "judgment will . . .

35 Ibid., 211-19.

36 Ibid., 232.

37 For a discussion of the parable in light of 1 Enoch 92-105, which presumes the present chapter, see Nickelsburg, "Riches," 338.

38 On the connection between water and life, see comm. on 17:4, n. 24, and comm. on 96:5-6.

39 For this suggestion see Charles, *Enoch*, 49; and Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 217, 233, 288. For the Greek material see Rohde, *Psyche*, 575-76 nn. 151, 152.

40 See, e.g., Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 131-37.

be executed on them" (κρίσις . . . ἐγενήθη ἐπ' αὐτῶν) quite possibly translates the same Aramaic expression as 1:9, where the verb is active (ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ, עבד דין על).⁴¹

Verse 11 makes both a local and a temporal distinction. "Here" (ᾧδε) one experiences "this great torment" (τὴν μεγάλην βάσανον ταύτην), which will last until the great day of judgment. "There" (ἐκεῖ), after the judgment, in the place where they will be bound, those who are cursed forever will have "scourges" and "torments" (μάστιγες, βάσανοι) inflicted on them. The identity of the place of this eternal punishment, designated as "there," is less than certain. According to 10:13-14, both the rebel angels "and everyone who is condemned" will be taken away to the fiery abyss. Since the present chapter follows immediately after the description of that abyss in 21:7-10, it is reasonable to suppose that "there" refers to that abyss.⁴² Less likely, the reference is to the Valley of Hinnom, which is for "those who are cursed forever" (27:2; see comm. on 27:2-3a).

Whether one should think of the sinners' transfer from "here" to "there" as a resurrection depends to some extent on whether the final words of v 13 ("nor will they be raised up from here") are intended to provide a contrast with the present group of sinners. In any event, the contrast between vv 10 and 11 ("judgment was not executed on them in their life" and "until the great day of judgment") indicates that the present group of sinners will be taken from their present place to a final judgment—whether or not this will be separate from or identical with their eternal punishment. This transferral and the distinction between now and then also indicates that the sinners' present suffering is not to be understood as final and full judgment.

■ 12 The introductory formula indicates that the author is describing a third compartment, separated from the previous two. The identity of the occupants of this compartment has long been an interpretive problem.⁴³ Terminological similarities to vv 5-7 suggest that they are

innocent victims like Abel. But their unjustified violent deaths need not imply that they were "righteous." According to v 2, they dwell in a dark compartment, bereft of the light and life-giving water provided for the righteous in the first compartment. That the martyred righteous should lack the refreshment enjoyed by other of the righteous dead is unlikely. The kind of justice that distinguishes between the three groups in the first, second, and fourth compartments precludes the possibility that the martyred righteous—the most egregious victims of injustice in this world—would be consigned to darkness and restless complaint until the time of the final judgment. The level of interpretation represented by the adjective "three" in v 9 solved the problem by reading vv 12 and 13 as a description of a single compartment, but on this see the comm. on v 13. Wacker suggests that as plaintiffs the members of this group are construed as ethically neutral and bound by the common situation of restlessly seeking vengeance on their murderers.⁴⁴

■ 13 The formula that introduces this verse indicates that the verse describes a fourth compartment. This interpretation is borne out by the number "four" in v 2, which remains in both the Ⓞ and Ⓢ witnesses in spite of the number "three" in v 9. See comm. on chap. 22, § Literary History.

That the occupants of this compartment were "not pious, but sinners" is explicitly stated. Several factors distinguish them from the sinners described in vv 10-11. They occupy a different compartment. They do not seem to be presently suffering "torment." It is explicitly stated that they will not be punished at the time of the judgment. Why do their situation and fate differ from that of the sinners in vv 10-11? The term "companions of sinners" is a cliché and does not lessen their guilt.⁴⁵ The simplest explanation is that, different from those described in vv 10-11, these sinners were judged during their lifetime, and for that reason they need not be recompensed either immediately after death or at the great day of judgment.⁴⁶ Wacker suggests that this group

41 Cf. 1QapGen 20:13, where עבד דין ב is used parallel to עבד דין מן in 20:14.

42 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 197-99.

43 Ibid., 179-90.

44 Ibid., 184-90.

45 Ibid., 191-92.

46 Cf. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 79-80, regarding the

transformation of a judgment tradition from an apocalyptic to a this-worldly setting and mode.

specifically comprises the generation of the flood who were judged by their destruction in the flood.⁴⁷

■ 14 For parallel blessings at the end of visions, cf. 25:7; 27:5; 36:4. Cf. also 12:3; 81:3-4, 10. On the term “Lord of glory,” which is textually uncertain here, see comm. on 25:7. According to A, Enoch blesses not only God but also the judgment, which has been the central subject matter of the chapter.⁴⁸ The righteousness of God’s judg-

ment, especially evident in the appropriate modes of reward and punishment described in vv 8-13, is the subject not only of much of 1 Enoch but of other parallel Jewish literature.⁴⁹ The parallelism of Lord of majesty and Lord of eternity, suggested by A, occurs in 12:3, on which see comm..

47 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 193-95.

48 Also breaking the pattern of a single blessing of God is 81:3-4.

49 Cf., e.g., 1 Enoch 63:8, in a confessional form, and *Ps. Sol.* 2:19 and passim.

The Fire of the West

- 1 And from there I traveled^a to another place, to the west of^b the ends of the earth. 2/ And I
 3 saw a fire^a that ran and did not rest or quit its course^b day and night, but^c continued.
 3 And I asked and said, "What is this that has no rest?"
 4 Then Reuel answered me,^a one of the holy angels who was with me,^a and said to me,^b
 24:1 "This^c course of fire^d is the fire of the west, which pursues^e all the luminaries of
 heaven.^f 1/ And he showed me mountains of fire that burned day and night.^a

23:1

a ἐφώδευσα [Ⓢ] | *horku* [Ⓢ] | אורבול 4QEn^d 1 11:3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 218) = "I was transported." Cf. 14:8; 32:2; 36:1.

b "to the west, as far as . . ." [Ⓢ].

2a + "burning" (*zayenadded*) [Ⓢ].

b Om. "its" [Ⓢ].

c emending [Ⓢ] AMA to ΑΛΛΑ = 'allā [Ⓢ].

4a-a [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ] | 4QEn^d 1 12:5 evidently omits it, so Milik, *Enoch*, 219 note on lines 5–6.

b and said to me] om. [Ⓢ], perhaps by confusion of ἐμοῦ and μοι.

c + "which you saw" (*zare'ika*) [Ⓢ].

d of fire] τοῦ πυρός [Ⓢ] | [Ⓢ]: "and (om. β) this is" (*wazeni* [za β]). The former may be a corruption of wā'y = [Ⓢ].

e τὸ ἐδιώκον [Ⓢ] | [Ⓢ]: "which burns" (*zayenadded*), probably

corrupt for *zayesadded* = [Ⓢ] (Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 60 n. 25). For more serious textual problems, see comm.

f Milik (*Enoch*, 218) reconstructs 4QEn^d 1 12:5-6 somewhat differently from [Ⓢ]. At the end of this sentence, [Ⓢ] + "and from here I went to another place of the earth" (*wa'emheya horku kāl'a makāna medr*), which could have dropped from [Ⓢ] by hma.: καί . . . καί. See, however, comm.

24:1

a For "day and night" (*ma'alta walēlita*), [Ⓢ] has only "by night" (*νυκτός*). The fuller expression corresponds to v 2. Cf. 14:23 n. b. Cf. also 18:6 for the image. Milik (*Enoch*, 218, 220) reconstructs 4QEn^d 1 12:6-7 somewhat differently from [Ⓢ] [Ⓢ].

■ **23:1–24:1** Moving to another place in the west, Enoch sees a restless (river of) fire, probably the equivalent of the one mentioned in 17:4-5. Because of textual problems, we cannot be certain of its function. Either it provides fire for the luminaries, or it executes vengeance on them.

■ **23:1** With an introduction almost identical to 22:1, the author states that Enoch is still in the west, albeit at a place different from the place of the dead.

■ **2-3** Terminological similarities between vv 2, 4, and 17:4-5 suggest that this is the equivalent of the fiery waters described in the first journey.¹ The four-times repeated image of motion and restlessness (v 2) suggests that the author has a river in mind. This restlessness is epitomized in Enoch's brief question in v 3.

Enoch's throne vision, specifically 14:19-23, offers another parallel to, and the possible source of, this imagery.² Streams of fire issue from under God's throne, and this fire encircles him and stands by him like a

guard. Those who "approached him did not depart by day, nor by night did they leave him."³ Supporting this parallel is the description of God's throne attendants in Rev 4:8: καὶ ἀνάπανσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες . . . (cf. τὸ μὴ ἔχον ἀνάπανσιν, 1 Enoch 23:3). In the next chapter Enoch will arrive at the mountain throne of God, which in 18:6 is associated with fire that "burns night and day" (cf. 18:9).

■ **4** All the major elements in v 2 have their counterparts in the verses that follow: "west" (v 1) | "fire of the west" (v 4); "a fire" | v 4 and 24:1; "did not rest" | v 3; "its course" | v 4; "day and night" | 24:1. These close correspondences suggest a single line of interpretation for 23:1–24:1. A crux for the interpretation of this passage is the last verb in v 4.

The verb in [Ⓢ], ἐκδιώκω (lit. "pursue" or perhaps "persecute"), parallels the verb "ran" in v 2. According to this interpretation, this relentless river provides fire for the luminaries as they set in the west,⁴ or a driving

1 Charles, *Enoch*, 51.

2 See comm. on 14:21-23.

3 Cf. the verbs οὐκ ἀποχωροῦσιν . . . οὔτε . . . ἀφίστανται (14:23) with οὐδὲ ἐλλεῖπον here.

4 Dillmann (*Henoch*, 128) suggests this interpretation

on the basis of the corrupt Eth. verb *yenadded* (see n. f) and is followed by Martin (*Hénoch*, 63), who translates [Ⓢ] as "poursuit."

force to move them around to the beginning of their trajectories.⁵ Milik suggests that the Aram. verb 𐤓𐤓𐤓 stands behind the Greek and argues that Safaitic usage of this verb as a synonym for “to let graze” indicates that our author interprets the angelic name Re‘u’el to mean “shepherd of God.”⁶ 𐤓𐤓𐤓 is surely the best retroversion for ἐκδιώκω.⁷ Usage of the passive participle of 𐤓𐤓𐤓 in connection with a “rapid” stream⁸ may indicate a close connection with the imagery suggested above for v 2. That connotations of the verb that we know only from Safaitic led the author to connect this fire with Re‘u’el (= “shepherd of God”) is an unprovable suggestion.

An alternative line of interpretation derives from 20:4, where Reuel is connected with the verb ἐκδικέω (“to take vengeance”).⁹ Two factors support the originality of this verb. All the other visions in chaps. 21–27 center on some aspect of the final judgment or its anticipation.¹⁰ Moreover, the mountains of fire in 24:1, which appear to be the counterpart of “the luminaries of heaven” in this verse (see below), are reminiscent of 18:13-16 || 21:3-6, where the transgressing stars, which appear like burning mountains, are punished. Thus the present text could be in some sense a doublet of 21:3-6.

Problematic for this interpretation, however, are the expressions “all the luminaries of heaven” (v 4) and its parallel, “the world of luminaries” (20:4). 18:13-16 and 21:3-6 speak of the punishment of only seven transgressing stars. In what sense and for what purpose are *all* the luminaries avenged? In retaining ἐκδικέω, Charles is forced to posit a more general meaning of “requite in a good or bad sense,”¹¹ which is hardly consonant with the fire imagery.

■ 24:1 The reading of Ⲙ indicates a change of place prior to the vision of the burning mountains (see n. f on 23:4) and seems secondary. If 24:1 describes a new vision, we would expect a new query and explanation. The lack of such indicates an essential connection with 23:4 and an identification between the “luminaries of heaven” and the “burning mountains.” The same imagery occurs in 18:13-16 and 21:3-6, in close connection with the vision and description of the seven mountains, to which the author now turns.

5 Cf., however, 72:5; 73:2, where the wind drives the chariots of the sun and the moon. See comm. on 18:4.
6 Milik, *Enoch*, 219–20.
7 See statistics cited by Elmar Camilo dos Santos, *An Expanded Hebrew Index for the Hatch-Redpath Concordance to the Septuagint* (Jerusalem: Dugith Publishers Baptist House, n.d.) 190, s.v.

8 Cf. *b. Yoma* 77b; *b. B. Bat.* 73b.

9 For the confusion of the two verbs in MSS., cf. Sir 39:30, cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 51.

10 That chap. 28 begins a new section, see comm. on chaps. 28–32.

11 Charles, *Enoch*, 51.

The Mountain of God and the Tree of Life

- 2 And I proceeded beyond them,^a and I ~~saw~~ ~~seven~~ glorious mountains, all differing^b each from the other, whose stones were precious in beauty,^c and all (the mountains) were precious and glorious^d and beautiful in appearance—three to^e the east were firmly set one on the other,^f and three to the south, one on the other, and deep and rugged^g ravines, one not approaching the other. 3/ And^a the seventh mountain (was) in the midst of these, and it rose above them in height, like^b the seat of ~~a~~ throne. And fragrant^c trees encircled it. 4/ Among them ~~was~~ a tree such as I had never smelled, and among them ~~was~~ no other like it.^a It had a fragrance sweeter smelling than all spices. And its leaves and its blossom^b and the tree never wither. Its fruit is beautiful,^c like dates of the palm trees.
- 5 Then I said, “How beautiful is this tree and fragrant,^a and its leaves are lovely, and its blossoms^b are^c lovely to behold.”
- 6 Then Michael answered me, one of the holy^a angels who ~~was~~ with me and ~~was~~ their leader, 1/ and he said to me, “Enoch, why do you inquire and why do you marvel^a about the fragrance of this tree, and why do you wish to learn the truth?”^b
- 25:1 2 Then I answered him—I, Enoch—and said,^a “Concerning all things I wish to know, but especially^b concerning this tree.”
- 3 And he answered me^a and said, “This high mountain that you saw,^b whose peak is like the throne of God, is the seat where the Great Holy One, the Lord of glory,^c the King of eternity, will sit, when he descends to visit the earth in goodness.^d 4/ And (as for) this fragrant tree, no flesh has the right to touch it until the great judgment, in which there will be vengeance on all and a consummation forever. Then it will be given to the righteous and the pious, and its fruit will be^a as food for the chosen. And it will be transplanted to the holy place, by the house of God, the King of eternity. Then they will rejoice greatly and be glad, and they will enter^a into the sanctuary. Its fragrances will be in their bones, and they will live ~~a~~ long life upon the earth, such as your fathers lived also in their days,^b and torments and plagues and suffering will not touch them.”
- 5 And it will be transplanted to the holy place, by the house of God, the King of eternity.
- 6 Then they will rejoice greatly and be glad, and they will enter^a into the sanctuary. Its fragrances will be in their bones, and they will live ~~a~~ long life upon the earth, such as your fathers lived also in their days,^b and torments and plagues and suffering will not touch them.”
- 7 Then I blessed the God of glory, the King of eternity, who has prepared such things for people (who are) righteous, and has created them and promised to give (them) to them.

24:2

- a “toward it” (*mangalēhi*) ~~Ε~~, a corrupt rendering of ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν, see 18:10, n. a.
- b “And all differed . . .” ~~Ε~~.
- c ὧν οἱ λίθοι ἔντιμοι τῇ καλλονῇ ~~Ε~~ | “And the stones were precious and beautiful” (*waʿaʿbāna keburāna wašanāyāna*, wrongly in acc. case) ~~Ε~~.
- d + “in their appearance” (*tāʾyomu*) ~~Ε~~, perhaps a double reading for *gašsomu* in the next line.
- e Three to] om. ~~Ε~~.
- f one -- other] *diba* ~~Ε~~ | ἐν τῷ ἐνί ~~Ε~~.
- g τραχεῖα ~~Ε~~ | *tawāyāt* (“twisting”) ~~Ε~~.
- 3a + “to the mountain” (*τῷ ὄρει*) ~~Ε~~, perhaps a misplaced object of ἐγγίζουσαι (“approaching”).
- b and ---- like] καὶ ὑπερείχεν αὐτῶν τῷ ὕψει ὅμοιον ~~Ε~~ | ~~Ε~~ hob: “And it arose over them. All of them were like” (*wanoḥomusa yetmasselu kwellomu kama*) | ~~Ε~~ al.: “And their height. All of them were like” (*wanuḥomusa yetmasselu kwellomu kama*). Both readings of ~~Ε~~ presume

- an object to “arose,” which I have emended in ~~Ε~~. But 25:3 seems to presume that only the mountain’s peak was like God’s throne. Thus the text is uncertain.
- c *maʿāzā* (= εὐωδῇ) ~~Ε~~ | “beautiful in appearance” (εὐειδῇ) ~~Ε~~. For the opposite textual situation, cf. v 5 n. a.
- 4a and ---- it] “And no one other of them rejoiced and no other was like it” (καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος αὐτῶν ἠύφρηνθη καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὅμοιον αὐτῷ) ~~Ε~~ | “And not one among them and there were not others like it” (*waʿi-l-ʿemwestētomu wabāʿedānehi zakamāhu ʾikona*) ~~Ε~~. The two parts of ~~Ε~~ look like double readings, with ἠύφρηνθη and ὅμοιον representing inexplicable variations. ~~Ε~~ lacks one occurrence of ἕτερ- and the verb ἠύφρηνθη. Perhaps for ἠύφρηνθη we should read a form of ὁσφραίνομαι, i.e., “And there was no other among them that was fragrant like it.”
- b Om. “its” ~~Ε~~. Perhaps the original read, “and the blossom of the tree. . . .”
- c “and those about the fruit” (οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν κάρπον) ~~Ε~~

- | “And its fruit was beautiful, and its fruit was . . .”
(*waferēhuni šanāy waferēhusa* . . .) **℣**. **℣** looks ditto-
graphic. On the other hand, **ⲥ**^a *περί*, which makes no
sense, may reflect a transliteration of Aram. ܡܪܝܬ.
“Beautiful” (*καλός*) could have dropped from **ⲥ**^a by
hma.
- 5a *εὐώδες* **ⲥ**^a | “beautiful to see” (*šanāy lareʿey* = *εὐειδές*)
℣. See above v 3 n. c.
- b *τὰ ἀνθή αὐτοῦ* **ⲥ**^a | “its fruit” (*ferēhuni*) **℣**.
- c + “very” E-T⁹.
- 6a + “and honored” (*wakeburān*) **℣**.
- 25:1
- 1a and --- marvel] om. **℣** | + “of me” **℣**.
- b “do you seek to know” **℣**.
- 2a I, Enoch—and said] om. **ⲥ**^a | Third sg. **℣** mtu 2080
6281.
- b **ⲥ**^a repeats this adverb (*μάλιστα* - - - - *σφόδρα*).
- 3a + “me” **℣**-gT⁹.
- b that you saw] *zareʿika* **℣** | om. **ⲥ**^a, by parablepsis: *τὸ
ῥος ὁ ῥῶς*.
- c “the great Lord, the Holy One of Glory” **ⲥ**^a.
- d “in beauty” (*bašanāy*) **℣**.
- 5a Reading *εἰς ζωήν/heywal* (“unto life” = ܐܝܬܐ) of **ⲥ**^a **℣** as
ܐܝܬܐ, “will be”; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 63 n. 15. See
comm.
- 6a “bring in” **℣**, corrupt causative form of verb.
- b + “sorrow” (*hazan*) **℣**.

■ **24:2–25:7** This vision is linked to the previous one by the common reference to mountains (24:1, 2).¹ At the same time, the seven mountains mentioned here return us to the itinerary (in reverse) of chaps. 17–19. There the description of the seven mountains (18:6-9) was juxtaposed to the vision of the places of punishment for the rebel angels and transgressing stars (18:10–19:2 | chap. 21).

The eschatological emphasis that typifies chaps. 21–27 is responsible for the major differences between the present section and 18:6-9. First, a formal difference is noteworthy. In 18:6-9 the mountain range is described, with no angelic interpretation, as a final landmark on Enoch’s journey to the places of punishment. The present author, however, provides a separate vision, complete with inquiry and interpretation, employing the form of the other visions in this journey. Second, in two respects the details of the present vision differ from 18:6-9, and both are interpreted in eschatological terms. (a) The angel interprets the seventh mountain—which is like a throne—as God’s eschatological judgment throne. (b) The author replaces details about the kinds of jewels that constitute the other six mountains with reference to trees that surround the mountain throne and especially with a detailed description of the tree of life. This is God’s paradise. Third, a major subject of the angelic interpretation is the transplanting of the tree of life to

Jerusalem after the judgment and the long and blessed life that the righteous will enjoy there when they eat of its fruit.

■ **24:2-3b** The mountain range described here closely approximates the range in 18:6-9 in its orientation, its construction of precious stones, and the centrality and towering height of the thronelike mountain. Also similar are the references to fire (24:1 || 18:6, 9). While the text of v 2 is uncertain (see n. f), the author appears to think of the six mountains as an enormous dais, with steps rising from the south and the east, which supports the throne of God at its northwest apex.² The text recalls descriptions of the New Jerusalem that speak of foundations and walls of precious stones.³ The reference to the ravines is unclear. If the text is correct as it stands, the ravines do not flow into one another.⁴ If the reading *τῷ ῥρει* of **ⲥ**^a is correct but misplaced (v 3, n. a), the ravines do not come near the throne mountain. Verse 3ab, and its reference to the throne of God, is the first of two foci in the vision.

■ **3c-4** The second and principal focus in the vision is on the trees around the mountain throne, especially the tree of life. As details of the vision, the trees replace the description of the precious stones in 18:7. They constitute a grove or garden, for which “paradise” would be a correct term.⁵ The description of the one tree stresses the uniqueness of its fragrance, its beauty, and its eter-

1 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 121.

2 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 128.

3 Cf. Isa 54:11-12; Tob 13:16-17; Rev 21:12-21.

4 Charles, *Enoch*, 52.

5 Already in Gen 2:9, 16-17; 3:2, 8 the trees of the garden are emphasized. Cf. also *Apoc. Mos.* 20:4.

nity. The author will return to these aspects and to the tree's various components, that is, its leaves, blossoms, and fruit.

■ **24:5–25:1** As in other visions in this journey, there is a duplication in the comment and interpretation. Enoch's first response is wonderment at the tree's beauty (cf. 21:8; 22:2; 26:6; 32:5). He refers to the tree's fragrance and to the spectacle of its beauty and its parts. In keeping with the emphasis of the angelic interpretation later, the mountain throne is not mentioned.

Michael's function as interpreting angel corresponds to 20:5. He will speak of the future of the righteous, of which he is patron. See comm. on 20:5 and cf. 25:4d-6. On the whole, 24:6–25:1 closely parallels 21:5, both in its description of the angels and in the wording of its question. In what sense Michael is "their leader" is unclear. Cf. comm. on 21:5-6. Is he chief of the archangels,⁶ or does the passage imply that he has other angels with him who are not of the seven? The words "and why do you marvel," attested here only in *Ḥ*^a, break with the wording of 21:5. They fit the nature of Enoch's response here, whereas there is no wonderment in 21:4. Thus they may well be original here, an appropriate addition to the form used first in 21:5. Whereas in 21:5 the double question, "Why do you inquire, and why are you eager . . . ?" is simply a double, parallelistic formulation, here Enoch's double question, presented chiastically in the next verse, is anticipated.

■ **25:2** Enoch's desire "to learn the truth" is the desire "to know all things." On the encyclopedic range of Enoch's knowledge, cf. 93:2 and the parallels cited in the comm. on that verse. Here the immediate concern of Enoch—and of the apocalypticist—is the tree.

■ **3** Before turning to the tree and the climax of this section, the author explains the first part of the vision, the mountain. Formally, this explanation corresponds to Enoch's inquiry about "all things":

Vision	Reaction	Michael's Query	Enoch's Answer	Interpretation
seventh mountain		Why learn the truth	know all	throne
trees tree	how beautiful	Why inquire about tree	especially tree	tree of life

The seventh mountain, which 18:8 described in general terms as "God's throne," is identified as the throne on which God will sit at the time of the eschatological judgment. Thus the final judgment, referred to in 22:4, 11, 13, is brought into the discussion here. The verb ἐπισκέπτομαι ("to visit"), used of God's judgment, is traditional,⁷ but occurs only here in 1 Enoch. On the title "Great Holy One," see comm. on 1:3, where it is paired with "eternal God." The other two titles recur in 25:7 (cf. also 25:5). The combination of the three titles here stresses the transcendence of the great Judge. The goodness of God's judgment is from the viewpoint of the righteous, whose blessings will be recounted in 25:4d-6. Cf. also 1:8 and 5:6-9, where this side of the judgment is described.

■ **4-6** The second and main focus of the angelic interpretation is the tree of life. According to v 4, the coming judgment will constitute a dividing point between the present time, when the fruit of this tree is forbidden, and the future, when it will be given to the righteous. It is another formulation of the scheme in 16:1 (see comm.). That the tree of life is forbidden to all people is biblical (Gen 3:24). According to the present text, God has transplanted it from the original paradise in the east (see chap. 32) to the present inaccessible location, where it will remain until the universal judgment (cf. 1:8), which will divide between righteous and wicked and bring to a consummation the present age, opening up the time of life. The inaccessibility of the tree until the eschaton is an important structural feature of the later Adam literature (*Apocalypse of Moses* and *Adam and Eve*),⁸ and the theme is explicit in *T. Levi* 18:10-11 and is alluded to in Rev 2:7.

Verses 4d-6 are in poetic form. The first distich (vv 4d-5a) is set in virtually synonymous parallelism, with the tree (= it) and its fruit indicating slight progression. Progressive parallelism marks the second distich (v 5bc). The parallelism in the third distich (v 6ab) is less clear, though its second hemistich corresponds to both lines of the previous distich. The final lines form a tetrastich (6 c-f). Line two carries out the implications of line one;

6 Cf. Dan 12:1: "the great prince."
 7 Hermann W. Beyer, "ἐπισκέπτομαι," *TDNT* 2 (1964) 601, 606-7.

8 See Nickelsburg, "Some Related Traditions," 515-33.

lines two and three are in progressive parallelism, with the final line forming an antithesis.

The poem describes the eschaton with reference to the tree of life and its blessings. For the author his world is characterized by a short life, torments, plagues, and suffering (v 6cde), to which a healthy and extraordinarily long life are an appropriate contrast and antidote. See Introduction §4.2.4.1. His *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology anticipates a return to paradise, a motif already implied in 10:17-19, a passage that, like the present one, has drawn its imagery from the new creation context of Isaiah 65 (see comm. on 10:16-21). Here v 3 has already alluded to Genesis 2-3.

The opening line of the poem presumes the division between the righteous and sinners in the judgment mentioned in v 4. The parallelism of “righteous” and “chosen” appears in 1:8-9 and 5:4-9, where, however, “chosen” dominates, and in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17). Here no special sectarian connotations seem to be present. On the term “pious” (ὅσιοι), see comm. on 102:4-5.

Verses 5b-6b provide no clue to the author’s attitude about the present state of Jerusalem and its sanctuary. They indicate only that life in the eschaton will center around Jerusalem and its sanctuary, the source of eternal life. These lines correspond to 10:21 and its emphasis on worship in the new age, and both reflect Isaiah 65, where a new Jerusalem is the center of a new heaven and new earth (see comm. on 10:21). The subject is pursued further in chaps. 26-27. Characteristic of worship in Jerusalem is the joy and gladness that typify many of the Psalms, but that are also a hallmark of the new age.⁹

Verse 6c, the first line of the final tetrastich, recapitulates and extends the theme of the first distich. Because the righteous eat the fruit of the tree of life, its fragrances are in their bones. That our author is interested in aromatic trees is evident from chaps. 28-32. Moreover, according to 25:4-5, the tree of life is the most fragrant among many fragrant trees. This fragrance, which

is a repeated theme in chaps. 24-25, finds its explanation here. It will be the breath, the spirit, the élan of the life of the new age, which will permeate “the bones” of the righteous (cf. Isa 66:14; Sir 49:10). The precise connotations of “bones” here is uncertain. In Semitic usage, the “bones” may refer to the seat of sensation.¹⁰ One may think of the fragrance bringing new life to weary bones.¹¹ The term can mean the “self,”¹² in which case the analogy of breath may be more appropriate. The term “their bones” (גִּרְמֵיהֶן) rather than the other reflexive נַפְשֵׁיהֶן (lit. “their souls”) may have been used to avoid duplication of synonyms. Finally, it is possible that the author is thinking of a resurrection of the body. The language of Ezek 37:5, 7-10 is close at hand. From 1 Enoch 22 we learn that the place of the dead is a temporary abode until the final judgment. In any event, the use of the term here suggests bodily life in the new Jerusalem.

The fruit of the tree of life and its fragrance bring long life, not simply in the sense of Exod 20:12, but a life whose length is compared to that of Enoch’s forebears, that is, more than nine hundred years. The Gk. ζῶην πλείονα ζήσονται . . . ἣν ἔζησαν οἱ πατέρες suggests a life longer than that of these fathers.¹³ Again the imagery of an extraordinarily long life parallels 10:17 and calls to mind an important motif in Isa 65:20, 22. See comm. on 10:16c-17, especially n. 42. In context the references to torment, plagues, and suffering suggest illness and other kinds of suffering that shorten human life, but that will not be part of the new age. This negative assertion corresponds to the commands in chap. 10 to remove moral evil and to the promises in Isa 65:19-20, 23.¹⁴ The present verse has its closest counterpart in Wis 3:1 in the context of a discussion of immortality and eternal life.¹⁵

The present vision, and its dependence on Isaiah 65, and the next vision, and its allusions to Isaiah 66, constitute a scenario for the eschaton that appears to be presumed and alluded to in Dan 12:2 and its references to “eternal life” and “eternal contempt.”¹⁶ The presence of

9 Cf. comm. on 10:16c-17, n. 9.

10 R. K. Harrison, “Bones,” *IDB* 1:453.

11 Cf. Ps 32:3; Jer 20:9. Contrast Isa 66:14; *Jub.* 23:31, in an eschatological context.

12 Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1:270, sub גִּרְמָה; 2:1103, sub עצם. Cf. also Charles, *Enoch*, 54.

13 Cf. “a long life such as your fathers lived.”

14 Cf. Rev 21:4, which is also based on Isaiah 65.

15 Charles, *Enoch*, 54.

16 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 19-23.

Michael here and his preeminence are also paralleled in Dan 12:1.

■ 7 The concluding doxology takes up the titles of God in 25:3, 7. The title “Lord (or ‘God’ or ‘King’) of glory,” which appears also in 22:14; 25:3, 7; 27:3, 5; 36:4; 63:2; 81:3; 83:8, alludes to the effulgent splendor that envelops the enthroned deity (see comm. on 14:18-20) and complements other terms that define the transcendent God (see Introduction §4.2.1.1-2). Appropriately, it occurs, with one exception, in doxologies or references to blessing and prayer.¹⁷

In biblical usage the verb “to prepare” (ἐτοιμάζω) is often almost synonymous with “to create.”¹⁸ It is employed with aspects of the eschaton as its object.¹⁹ Here the two verbs may be used to indicate two stages: foreordination and actual creation.²⁰ For the verb “to create” in a similar context with reference to eschatological matters, cf. chap. 22. Behind the present usage may be an allusion to the idea of new creation, stemming from Isaiah 65, which has influenced this poem at a number of points.

17 Cf. 1 Cor 2:8 and Eph 1:17 (“Father of glory), which are marked by allusions to the enthroned Deity and references to revelation.

18 Walter Grundmann, “ἑτοιμος,” *TDNT* 2 (1964) 704.

19 *Ibid.*, 705.

20 Cf. *T. Mos.* 1:14 in the context of that work’s emphasis on God’s foreseeing.

- 1 And from there I proceeded to the center of the earth, and I saw a blessed^a place where there were trees that had branches that abide and sprout.^b 2/ And there I saw a holy mountain. From beneath the mountain water (came) from the east, and it flowed^a toward the south. 3/ And I saw to the east another mountain higher than it,^a and beneath them^b a deep valley that had no breadth, and through it^c water was flowing beneath^d the mountain. 4/ And to the west of this, another mountain lower than it and not rising very high, and a deep and dry valley beneath it,^a between them, and another deep and dry^b valley,^c at the apex of the three mountains.^d 5/ And all the valleys were deep,^a of hard rock, and no^b tree was planted on them.
- 6 And I marveled at the^a mountain, and I marveled at the^a valley, I marveled exceedingly.
- 27:1 Then^a I said, "Why is this land blessed and all filled with trees, but this valley is cursed?^b"
- 2 Then answered <Sariel>, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said to me, "This^a cursed valley^b is for those who are cursed forever. Here will be gathered all the cursed,^c who utter with their mouth an improper word against the Lord and speak hard things against his glory. Here they will be gathered, and here will be (their) habitation^d 3/ at the last times, in the days of righteous judgment^a in the presence of the righteous for all time.^b Here the godless^c will bless the Lord of glory, the King of eternity. 4/ In the days of their judgment they will bless him in mercy in accordance with how he has apportioned to them."
- 5 Then I blessed the Lord of glory, and his glory^a I made known and praised^b (him) magnificently.

1a + "fertile" (*telula*) E-q. A gloss.

b + "of the felled tree" E^a E; see comm.

2a *wawehazatu* (= καὶ ῥύσιν αὐτοῦ, "and its flow") E | "and it had the setting" (καὶ τὴν δύσιν εἶχεν) E^a. See Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 65 n. 12.

3a E^a E; "than this one" (τούτου/temze q | "as this one" [*kamaze al.*]). Translation = 𐤒𐤓 4QEn^d 1 12:5 (Milik, *Enoch*, 220).

b E 4QEn^d 1 12:5 (Milik, *Enoch*, 220) | "between it" E^a.

c δι' αὐτῆς E^a | E *latuni*, corrupt, but perhaps supposing *botuni* ("in it"); see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 64 n. 38.

d "toward" (*mangala*) E.

4a "deep and dry" om. E | "beneath it" om. E^a | 4QEn^d 1 12:6-7 allows space for the full reading (Milik, *Enoch* 222, note on lines 6-7).

b Om. "deep and dry," evidently 4QEn^d 1 12:7; Milik, *Enoch*, 221, 222. See comm.

c "valleys" E t 2080,β.

d Om. "mountains" E by hmt. in *E^F.

5a + "and had no width" (*wa'albon rehba*) E.

b Om. E.

6a-a Om. E^a by hmt. The longer reading of E is indicated in 4QEn^d 1 12:8 (Milik, *Enoch*, 221). For "mountains" (Aram. ܡܬܪ) E reads "rock" (*kwakweh*).

27:1

a *wēta gizē* E and 4QEn^d 1 12:9 (Milik, *Enoch*, 221) to judge by the space | "and" E^a.

b + "between them" E, perhaps a gloss. But see Wacker, *Weldordnung*, 238.

2a Then ---- This] This sentence, required for the form,

is missing in E^a. On the emended name Sariel, see comm.

b *qwalā* E | γή (= 𐤒𐤓 "valley") E^a, Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 67 n. 7.

c the cursed] om. E.

d οἰκτήριον E^a | "their place of judgment" *mekwennāni-homu* = κριτήριο αὐτοῦ) E. This may reflect a corruption of E^a, or a corruption of E *makānomu* (= οἰκτήριον αὐτῶν; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 66 n. 39), or a corruption in the Aramaic (see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:116).

3a at ---- judgment] E^a: ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις αἰῶσιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς κρίσεως ἀληθίνης | E: "In the last days there will be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgment" (*badahāri mawā'el yekawwen lā'lēhomu 'ar'ayā kwennanē zaba sedq*). The words αἰῶσιν, ἐν ταῖς could have dropped out by hmt. "There will be upon them the spectacle" (= ἔσται ἐπ' ὅρασις) looks like a gloss based on Isa 66:24 E; see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 239.

b εἰς τὸν πάντα χρόνον E^a | "forever, all days" (*la'ālam kwello mawā'ela*) E.

c ἀσεβεῖς E^a | "the merciful" (*mahāryān*) E. See comm. his glory] om. E.

5a ὑμνησα E^a | "I remembered" (*zakarku*) E, which Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 67 n. 51) emends to *zamarku* (= E^a).

■ **26:1–27:5** These chapters are climactic and pivotal for the structure of chaps. 20–36: climactic in that they conclude the visions in this journey that are concerned with the final judgment; pivotal because they describe Enoch’s vision of Jerusalem, “the center of the earth,” from which he will journey to the easternmost reaches of the earth.

The vision is related to the previous one in two ways. Jerusalem, the blessed place with its holy mountain, is where the righteous will live the long life promised in the previous vision. The main purpose of the present vision, however, is to describe the cursed valley, where the wicked will be punished after the great judgment. The angelic poem in the previous vision drew on Isaiah 65 for some of its imagery; the present vision alludes to Isa 66:24. Taken together, this pair of visions refers to the twofold results of the great judgment and thus brings to a climax this book’s discussion of the subject. (On the relationship of this pair of visions to Dan 12:2, see comm. on 25:4-6.) Literary tensions within chap. 26 may indicate that an editor has superimposed a description of Jerusalem (vv 2-4) onto a description of paradise, “the blessed land” (vv 1, 5-6). Especially noteworthy are the differences between “the valley” and “the mountain” in v 6 and the plurality of valleys and mountains in vv 2-4.¹ In the present form of the text, however, these two chapters are a unit that describes Jerusalem.

■ **26:1** Jerusalem is described as the center of the earth already in Ezek 5:5 and 38:12 (there *טבור*, lit. “navel”), and the idea is explicit in *Jub.* 8:12, 19. The phrase expresses in geographical terms Israel’s self-understanding as God’s special, chosen people.² The navel imagery was popular in the ancient world, with Delphi and Rome coming in for honors.³ Here it denotes the point from which Enoch will pursue a journey, analogous to 17:1-7, to the far northeast (see comm. on chaps. 28–32).

Enoch’s reference to the many blossoming trees recalls 10:18-19, a section that has already been alluded

to in 25:4-6. More immediately, the blessed place functions as a foil to the cursed valley, which is the principal subject of this vision. The reference to the felled tree (see n. b) is most likely a later gloss, alluding to the idea of a remnant sprouting from Israel’s fallen tree.⁴

■ **2-5** That the author makes no reference to the temple reflects his fictional antediluvian setting rather than a value judgment on the situation in Jerusalem during his own time. On this problem, however, see Introduction to chaps. 12–16, § Provenance: Religious Concerns.

His description of Jerusalem has a number of difficulties and ambiguities, though certain items are clear.⁵ The holy mountain is Zion, the temple hill.⁶ From the east side of its southern extension, Mount Ophel, the spring of Gihon flows out into the Kidron Valley and then southward. To the east of Zion-Ophel is the towering Mount of Olives. Between them is the next-mentioned deep valley, the Kidron. In the text of *℣*, the western mountain (v 4) is er-Ras, the lower slope of *Ġebel Abû-Tôr*, “the Hill of Evil Counsel,” which lies west of the Mount of Offense, the southern lobe of the Mount of Olives. The barren, dry Valley of Hinnom runs easterly at the foot of them. The last of the valleys is the slopes of Silwan. If the text of *℣*^a is correct with its omission of “beneath it,” the western hill could be Ophel, which is lower than the Temple Mount, the valley in v 4b is the Tyropoeon Valley, which was situated between Zion-Ophel and the main western Hill of Jerusalem (Christian Zion). The last valley would then be the Valley of Hinnom, which issues at the foot of the Mount of Olives, Ophel, and the Hill of Evil Counsel. Verse 5 with its reference to barrenness contrasts with v 1.

■ **26:6–27:1** Enoch’s response in direct discourse is contained in 27:1, but the reference to his marveling in 26:6 corresponds to this element in 22:2; 24:5; 32:5. His question in 27:1 explicates what hitherto has been implicit; the contrast between the blessed place with its trees and the barren cursed valley. The contrast is reminiscent of Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, the loci for blessings and

1 Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 241–42.

2 Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 1:174–75 (at 5:5).

3 See Joseph E. Fontenrose, “Omphalos,” *OCD* 752; F. Schober, “Delphoi,” *PW Sup* 5 (1931) 123–24; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:311 (at 38:12); Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 252 n. 25.

4 Charles, *Enoch*, 54.

5 For details see Milik, *Enoch*, 36; Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 247.

6 For the expression cf. Isa 27:13; 56:7; 57:13; 65:11, 25; 66:20; Dan 9:16, 20; Joel 2:1; 4:17 (3:17); Obad 16; Zech 8:3, cited by Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 250 n. 19.

curses (cf. Deut 11:29), and it recalls passages such as Ps 1:3 and Jer 17:5-8.⁷ It prepares us for contrast between the cursed sinners and the blessed righteous, discussed in vv 2-4.

■ **27:2-3a** According to \mathfrak{C} of v 2 (\mathfrak{G}^a is missing), the angel here mentioned is Uriel. Three factors indicate, however, that we should read “Sariel.” Uriel has already been mentioned in chap. 21, in accordance with his place and function in 20:2. The sequence in chap. 20 leads us to Sariel in 20:6, whose function mentioned there fits the present chapter. Elsewhere in 1 Enoch, Sariel and Uriel are confused.⁸ Here as elsewhere, the original text probably referred to “one of the watchers and holy ones.”⁹

Strikingly, this verse refers to the judgment not of those who have committed wicked deeds, but of those who have spoken arrogantly against God and his glory. Perhaps the author intends the motif of cursing to extend from the valley to the state of the sinners to the nature of their sin, that is, cursing or blasphemy.¹⁰ Reference to this kind of sin appears in the introduction (1:9; 5:4, where it is associated with being cursed [5:5]) and in 101:3. An analogous expression describes Antiochus Epiphanes in Dan 7:8, 11, 25. Perhaps the author refers to persons who deliberately and explicitly defy God. Cf. comm. on 20:6. The name Sariel, “God is my prince,”¹¹ may imply an acclamation of God in answer to such blasphemy, analogous to that implied in the Danielic usage of the name Michael.¹²

In late preexilic times, the Valley of Hinnom was the site of an idolatrous cult, which involved the passing of children through fire.¹³ Without specifically naming the valley, Isa 66:24 alludes to it as a place of fiery punishment after the judgment, to be executed eternally in the sight of the righteous. It is also alluded to in Dan 12:2, which is linked to Isa 66:24 by the noun מִן־הַתֵּמֶת (“con-tempt”), otherwise unused in our literature.¹⁴ Both the

LXX and \mathfrak{D} of Dan 12:2 render this noun with a reference to sight ($\epsilon\lambda\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$; ut videant semper), suggesting a derivation from Heb. מֵרָאָה (“to see”), and indicating knowledge of this motif in Isa 66:24.¹⁵ The motif of the righteous seeing the punishment of their enemies becomes traditional in the literature.¹⁶ It is present in v 3, even if one does not accept the longer reading of \mathfrak{C} (see n. a on v 4). Later Jewish and early Christian writings develop the idea of “Gehenna” in many directions.¹⁷ In 1 Enoch 90:26 the apostates are cast into the Valley of Hinnom (see comm.) and not the abyss in which the rebel angels and the seventy shepherds are cast. On the possible relationship of the present vision to 22:10-11, see comm. on 22:10-11.

■ **3b-4** The text of this passage is uncertain. According to \mathfrak{C} , “the merciful” will bless God. In context “the merciful” is an odd expression. It does not translate what might be considered the necessary emendation of “godless” ($\delta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\lambda\varsigma\ \mathfrak{G}^a$) to “godly” ($\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\lambda\varsigma$), nor is the function of their “mercy” in v 4 clear. Nonetheless, a reference to the righteous would fit with the verb “to bless” in v 3 and with Enoch’s blessing of God in v 5. They would be blessing him for their happy lot. Conversely, the reading “godless” could also be original. The idea parallels 63:2, 4. Indeed, there would be particular irony in these erstwhile blasphemers having to praise as Lord of glory and eternal King him whose glory they had previously denied. If the godless are the subject of this passage, we should probably emend v 4 to contain a request for divine mercy, again in keeping with 63:1, 5-6. This might explain the origin of (the corrupt) “the merciful” in \mathfrak{C} .¹⁸

■ **5** The double reference to God’s glory in this doxology is a foil to its denial of that glory by the wicked (27:2). For this title see comm. on 25:7.

7 Ibid., 243-44.

8 See Excursus: The Four—or Seven—Archangels.

9 See comm. on 20:1.

10 On blasphemy and cursing God, cf. Exod 22:27 (28); Lev 24:11, 16; Isa 8:21; 37:6.

11 For the designation of God as “prince,” cf. Dan 8:25.

12 On Michael see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 15 n. 24.

13 2 Kgs 23:10; 2 Chr 28:3; 33:6; Jer 7:31; 32:35.

14 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 20.

15 Charles, *Daniel*, 329.

16 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 40. In 1 Enoch cf. 48:9.

17 See Theodore H. Gaster, “Gehenna,” *IDB* 2:361-62.

18 John Strugnell (private communication, June, 2000) suggests emending “in mercy” to “the merciful one,” indicating that God has apportioned mercy to them. But vv 2-3 indicate no such decision.

To the Paradise of Righteousness

- 1 And from there I went^a to the midst of the mountain range of^b the desert. And I saw it desolate,^c and it alone^d was full of trees <and plants>.^e 2/ Water^a was pouring forth^b from above. 3/ Flowing like a copious watercourse,^a approximately to the northwest, it brought water and also^b dew from all around.
- 29:1 From there I went to another place in the desert,^a and I departed to the east of this mountain range.^b 2/ I saw^a trees <of the field>^b breathing^c fragrances of frankincense and myrrh, and their trees were like nut trees.^d
- 30:1 Beyond these I departed far to the east. And I saw another vast^a place, valleys^b of water,^c 2/ in which^a were aromatic cane^b like reeds.^c 3/ On the banks of these valleys I saw the fragrant cinnamon.
- 31:1 Beyond these valleys,^a I departed to the east. And I saw other mountains, and also on them I saw trees, from which^b flowed the nectar called storax and galbanum.
- 2 Beyond these mountains I was shown^a another mountain, and on it were aloe trees.^b All^c the trees were full of^d and it was like the bark of the almond tree.^e 3/ When they grind^a this bark,^b it is sweeter than any perfume.
- 32:1 Beyond these mountains,^a approximately to the north of their east side^b I saw other^c mountains, filled with choice nard and spr^d and cardamom^e and pepper.
- 2 From there I proceeded to the east^a of all^b these mountains, far from them^c to the east of the earth.^d And I passed over the Red Sea and departed far from it.^e And I crossed over the darkness,^f far from it.^g
- 3 I passed by^a the paradise of righteousness, and I saw from afar^b trees more plentiful and larger than these trees,^c differing from those^d—very large <and> beautiful^e and glorious and magnificent^f—and the tree of wisdom, whose fruit the holy ones eat^g and learn great wisdom. 4/ That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves,^a like (those of) the carob, and its fruit like the clusters of the vine—very cheerful; and its fragrance penetrates far beyond the tree.^b
- 5 Then I said, “How^a beautiful is the^b tree and how^c pleasing in appearance.”^d
- 6 Then <Gabriel>,^a the holy angel who was with me, answered,^b “This is the tree of wisdom from which your father of old and your mother of old,^c who were before you,^d ate and learned wisdom. And their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they were driven from the garden.”

1a \mathfrak{E} : + “to the east” (*mangala sebah* = πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς, cf. 29:1; 30:1, 3; 32:2).

b \mathfrak{E} ^a: om. “the mountain range of” (*ladabra* = τοῦ ὄρους or ὄρους, “a mountainous part of,” Black, *Enoch*, 175). Cf. 29:1, where it appears to be presumed; so also Black, *ibid.*, but see n. b on 29:1.

c “And . . . desolate” Black (*Enoch*, 175) thinks this is a gloss on the transliteration Μανδαβαρα \mathfrak{E} ^a, *madbarā* \mathfrak{E} of מדרבאר.

d “and it alone” (καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον), which Black (*Enoch*, 175) emends to καὶ τόπον μόνον (“and a place by itself”).

e “and from the seeds” (καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων) \mathfrak{E} ^a | “from these seeds and” (*emmena zentu zar* wa) \mathfrak{E} . The formation probably reflects a partitive genitive (Milik, *Enoch*, 233, מִן זַרְעֵי; Black, *Enoch*, 175, מִן זַרְעֵי). See also Charles, *Enoch*, 57.

2a + “upon it” (*balālu*) \mathfrak{E} .

b *yefalaffed* \mathfrak{E} , which presumes ἀνομβροῦν for ἀνόμβρον (“without rain”) of \mathfrak{E} ^a, pace Milik, *Enoch*, 233.

3a φερόμενον (φαίρομενον ms.) ὡς ὑδράγωγος δαψιλῆς. \mathfrak{E} ^a, construing φέρω here in the same sense as in Isa 17:13; 32:2 (of water) and 28:15, 18; 29:6 (of wind); and 29:5 (of chaff). See LSJ, s.v. B.1. | “appeared” (*yastare'i* = φαίνόμενον) \mathfrak{E} | + “which flowed” (*zayesarreb*) \mathfrak{E} .

b Placing here the particle ἔτι, which stands at the end of the sentence in \mathfrak{E} ^a (Milik, *Enoch*, 233) | \mathfrak{E} has no counterpart except *wa* (“and”), which is taken with the following sentence.

29:1

a \mathfrak{E} ^a: ἐν τῷ βαβδηρά (corrupt for μαδβηρα) | \mathfrak{E} : *emmena madbarā* (reading ἐν as ἐκ, “from”).

b For “mountain range” (τοῦ ὄρους, *ladabr*), Milik (*Enoch*, 233) reads “place” (תַּהֲרָם), supporting his reading with τοῦ ὄρους.

2a + “here” (*baheyya*) \mathfrak{E} .

b Reading with Milik (*Enoch*, 233) בָּרָא, subsequently misread as בָּרָא (“of creation”), κρίσεως, again misread as κρίσεως.

c πνέοντα \mathfrak{E} ^a | *fadfada* (= πλέοντα, “more than”) \mathfrak{E} . Milik (*Enoch*, 233–34) argues that πνέοντα is a corruption of πλέοντα, which, in turn, is a corruption of κλαίοντα (“weeps”), which he finds attested in 4QEn^c 1 26:6 (וְיִבְרַח). While this reconstruction could be correct, and thus reflect knowledge of the physiology of the plants in question, it requires a double emendation of \mathfrak{E} on the basis of a restoration of a tiny piece of Aramaic text, when the extant \mathfrak{E} does provide an understandable text: the trees “exhale” the aroma of their spices.

- 4QEn^c 1 26:20-21 (Milik, *Enoch*, 232) | For “darkness” (𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤍) 𐤄^a reads 𐤗𐤓𐤕𐤍 and 𐤄^c *lamaʿak zuʿel* (“the angel *zuʿel*”). Milik (“Hénoch,” 76 n. 2) thinks that 𐤄^a 𐤄^c reflect a corruption of Gk. ζοφρος or ζοφώδης (τόπος) (“darkness”/“dark [place]”).
- g far from it] om. 𐤄^a 𐤄^c.
- 3a 𐤕𐤕 4QEn^c 1 26:21 (Milik, *Enoch*, 232, 235) | “toward” (𐤓𐤓𐤕) 𐤄^a (*westa*) 𐤄^c.
- b μακρόθεν 𐤄^a | “beyond” (*kaḥaktihomu*) 𐤄^c. On this Ethiopic word as the counterpart to μακρόθεν, see Dillmann (“Text,” 1054), pace Black (*Enoch*, 179), who includes both 𐤄^a and 𐤄^c in his translation.
- c τῶν δένδρων τούτων δένδρα πλείονα καὶ μεγάλα 𐤄^a | 𐤄^c construes the first three words with the previous word (“beyond the trees”).
- d δύο μὲν ἐκεῖ (“and two there”) 𐤄^a | “were growing there” (*yebaqwelu baheyya*) 𐤄^c, evidently reading δύο μὲν as φνόμενα; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 72 n. 7 | Milik (*Enoch*, 235–36) reads at 4QEn^c 1 27:2 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓 (“differing the one from the other”). The restoration is uncertain, and I construe ἐκεῖ as a possible corruption of ἐκέκινον (μὲν may be a transliteration of Aram. 𐤓, “from”). The reading δύο may have arisen through a misreading of 𐤓 as a Hebraism (“two”). Black (*Enoch*, 179) accepts 𐤄^c as original and δύο μὲν as an inner-Greek corruption | 𐤄^c + “and their fragrance was beautiful.”
- e μεγάλα σφόδρα <καὶ> καλὰ 𐤄^a | καὶ seems to be presumed by 𐤄^c: ‘*abiyān wašennomu bezuh*’ (“great and very beautiful”).
- f Om. “and magnificent” 𐤄^c.
- g from ---- eat] οὐ ἐσθίουσιν ἄγιοι τοῦ κάρπου αὐτοῦ 𐤄^a. Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 73) reads ἁγίου (i.e., “from whose holy fruit”). Argall (*1 Enoch and Sirach*, 33 n. 80) emends to ἄγιοι, which seems to be the reading of the ms. See Uhlig, *Enoch*, 568 n. h | “of which” (*za ʿemmenēhu*) 𐤄^c.
- 4a That ---- leaves] om. 𐤄^c by hma.; see Charles, *Enoch*, 61.
- b “And the fragrance of that tree penetrates afar” 𐤄^c.
- 5a Om. 𐤄^c.
- b “this” 𐤄^c.
- c + “beautiful and” 𐤄^c.
- d ἐπίχαρι τῇ ὁράσει 𐤄^a | “pleasing is its appearance” (*feṣuh reʿyatu*) 𐤄^c.
- 6a “Raphael” 𐤄^a 𐤄^c. See comm. on 20:7.
- b + “and said to me” 𐤄^c. Cf. 22:3, 7, 9; 23:4; 24:6–25:1; 27:2. Perhaps parablepsis in 𐤄^a due to a confusion of ἐμοῦ and ἐμοῖ.
- c ʾaragāwi . . . ʾeberāwīt 𐤄^c | ms. of 𐤄^a ends: ἐξ οὗ ἔφαγεν ὁ πατήρ σου (“from which your father ate”) | On the usage of 𐤁𐤓𐤕, which modifies “mother” in the fragment of 4QEn^c 1 27:10, see Milik, *Enoch*, 236.
- d Perhaps this clause is a gloss. It appears to be missing in 4QEn^c 1 27:10 (Milik, *Enoch*, 235, 236), where “and they knew” follows immediately after “your mother of old.”

■ **28:1–32:6** In this segment of Enoch’s journey, the patriarch travels east from Jerusalem to the garden that was the home of the first parents. The literary unity of these chapters is indicated by two factors. The descriptions of the various aromatic trees and plants in 28:1–32:1 find their climax in 32:3-6 and its description of the fragrant tree of wisdom, which exceeds them in all respects. The account of Enoch’s viewing paradise, his comment, and the angelic interpretation—contained in 32:3-6—provides the typical feature of all the segments of chaps. 21–27 that is missing in 28:1–32:2. Thus, from a literary point of view, 28:1–32:2 is a long introduction to 32:3-6. The *raison d’être* for this section of the journey narrative is more difficult to determine.

Milik’s explanation of the section appeals to what he

considers to be the author’s real-life situation, theological interests, and speculation about mythic geography. He believes that the author of these chapters was a Jerusalemite whose “information about the aromatics and their botanical habitats—obviously gained from hearsay—suggests fairly clearly . . . that he was engaged, in his role as a modest official, in the perfume and spice trade.”¹ Chapter 28 indicates firsthand knowledge of Petra, the capital of the Nabateans, whose spice trade was well established when this text was written. Chapter 30 indicates familiarity with the sweet reed and calamus in the lake and marshlands of ‘Ain el-Garr in Lebanon.² The eastward and then northeastward journey of Enoch in chaps. 28–32 is necessitated by its destination at the eastern paradise, but the account is based on actual

1 Milik, *Enoch*, 26–28.

2 Ibid.

“independent expeditions from Mediterranean ports”: one from Gaza to Timna in the Yemen, the other from a Phoenician port toward Beqa and beyond.³ The named spices are significant because their number (eleven) recalls the lists of eleven (or thirteen) ingredients of the liturgical incense found in various early Jewish texts, as well as other lists of: twelve precious stones, twelve types of wood for the altar, and fourteen kinds of trees with perennial foliage. The six spice-bearing mountainous regions plus paradise correspond to the seven mountains in the west, at whose apex is the throne of God (18:6-8; 24:3).⁴

Gil espouses a theological interpretation. The spices, whose origin Milik locates in various distant countries, were actually common to Palestine and its vicinity. They were important for their connection with funereal matters, and the purpose of this section is to trace Enoch’s journey to the land of eternal life.⁵

Gil’s interpretation is based on a false assumption and it contradicts the clear indications of the text. He wrongly assumes that the Aramaic texts represent a translation of an original Greek (see Introduction §2.0). On the basis of this assumption, he builds his argument on secondary textual readings. For example, the name Zotiel (32:2), found in **𐤆𐤌𐤀** but not in **𐤆𐤌𐤀**, contains the Greek root for “life” and denotes the angelic correspondent of the tree of life.⁶ This particular example and the thesis as a whole are contradicted by the literary data of the text. Paradise, the goal of Enoch’s journey in this section, contains the tree of wisdom and not the tree of life, which he has already seen in the west, on the mountain paradise of God. Eternal life will be enjoyed in Jerusalem, where the tree of life will be transplanted.

Milik’s interpretation has both strong and weak points. Some of the spices mentioned in chaps. 29–30 are listed in the Bible and in extrabiblical sources as components of the holy incense and anointing oil (see below, ad loc.). But the lists cited by Milik do not correspond exactly in number or in content to the spices enu-

merated here (although this could reflect halakic differences).⁷ That the author of this text had firsthand familiarity with spice routes from Gaza and some Phoenician port is impossible to prove, even if chap. 28 describes Petra (see comm.). As it stands the text describes a single journey east from Jerusalem. Its geography is characterized, by and large, by generalities and mythic elements, the latter by Milik’s own admission. The nature and source of the author’s knowledge of the habitats of the various flora is also debatable (see comm. ad loc.). The descriptions prove that the author was a spice and perfume merchant no more than the Gospel of Luke proves that its author was a physician. They may reflect written accounts such as those of Theophrastus. (One parallel is the use of analogy: a certain plant is like a certain other one—though the device is natural enough.) Alternatively, the text could reflect common knowledge based on written or oral reports about the east as the renowned source of spices.

How, then, do we explain the contents, origin, and purpose of this section? Its focal point, as in the other segments of the journey, is in the vision and interpretation that constitute its climax (32:3-6). It recounts Enoch’s journey to the paradise of the east. The primary function of 28:1–32:2 is to document the journey by reference to landmarks along the way, just as the journey to the west in chaps. 17–19 cites certain landmarks of mythic geography as documentation of the seer’s journey to the places of punishment, which are then described in a climax that is recounted in vision form (see comm. on chaps. 17–19). In the present context the author assumes that his audience identifies the east as the renowned provenance of spices and perfumes, and so he cites Enoch’s visitation of these places as evidence that he traveled that path. He lists principally (though not exclusively) spices brought to Jerusalem for the cult because they would be known to his audience.

Milik recognizes a certain symmetry between the Enochic descriptions of the mythic geography of the

3 Ibid., 36–37.

4 Milik, “Hénoch,” 75.

5 M. Gil, “חֲנוֹךְ בְּאֶרֶץ חַיִּים,” *Tarbiz* 38 (1968/69) 322–37, Eng. summary, I–III.

6 Ibid., 335–36.

7 The lists cited by Milik (“Hénoch,” 75) include: y. *Yoma* 4.41d, 27:36; b. *Ker.* 6a; *Jub.* 16:24; Sir 24:15;

LAB 12.9; Josephus *J.W.* 5.5.5 §218, which gives only the number thirteen. On the lists of the components of the incense, see Immanuel Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* (4 vols.; Vienna and Leipzig: R. Löwit, 1924–34) 4:97–102. The relevance of the other lists is unclear.

east and the west. The correspondence, however, is not simply between seven mountainous regions in the east and the seven mountains in the west, but also and especially in the technique of mentioning landmarks, that one sees, in order to document the journey in each direction. Another symmetry in the cosmic geography of this journey account is in the two paradises, with their respective trees, located west and east of Jerusalem, the center of the earth, and mentioned immediately before and after the description of the Holy City.

This section of 1 Enoch provides an important example of the interest that the authors of these texts show in the material creation. As other sections emphasize terrain—mountains, valleys, and bodies of water—or the celestial bodies, this author also focuses on trees and plants and the watercourses that vivify them. In addition, he appeals to the senses of sight, smell, and taste.

■ **28:1-3** The direction of Enoch's journey from Jerusalem is indicated only in ע ("toward the east"), which could be an addition by analogy with 29:1; 30:1, 3; 32:1, 2 (see n. a). Also questionable, though perhaps more certain, is "the mountain range" (see n. b). Milik argues that the author is here describing Petra.⁸ The northwest orientation of the watercourse indicates, in his view, familiarity with the aquaduct in es-Sîq, the narrow gorge that leads into the city. Milik may be correct, although his identification of the place involves translating ὡς ὑδραγωγός ("as a watercourse") as "by a watercourse."⁹

Enoch arrives at an oasis in the wilderness, whose trees and plants set it off from its geographic environs. Mention of this vegetation picks up a motif that first appeared in chap. 24 and that is central for the remainder of the present section of Enoch's journey.

■ **29:1-2** Here, for the first time in this section, the tex-

tual evidence of ⚡ indicates the continued eastward direction of Enoch's journey.

Frankincense (λίβανος, Aram. לבונה) is an aromatic resin exuded from the leaves and twigs of shrubs of the genus *Boswellia*.¹⁰ It was native to East Africa and primarily Arabia, whence it was imported north along a well-established route.¹¹ It was one component of the sacred incense mandated in Exod 30:34-38 and was used in the sanctuary for other cultic purposes.¹²

Myrrh (ζύμωνα, Aram. מורא), which is frequently mentioned in connection with frankincense (cf., e.g., Cant 3:6; Matt 2:11; Theophrastus *Hist.* 9.4; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 30-36; Strabo 16.4.14), is an aromatic resin exuded from the stems and branches of the small trees of the species *Commiphora* (or *Balsamodendron*) *abyssinica* and *C. myrrha*.¹³ These species were native to Africa and Arabia.¹⁴ Myrrh was one component of the sacred anointing oil (Exod 30:23) and was also used in perfumes, in medicines, and for embalming.¹⁵

It is debatable whether these verses indicate that the author of this text had correct information of these species of flora. His grouping them together could indicate knowledge of the two genus's common mode of exuding the resin, although Milik's reconstruction of the texts to reflect this knowledge is tenuous (see n. c). His reconstruction "wild trees" (lit. "trees of the field") has more plausibility since it is an alternative to an unintelligible text. This reading, as he notes, would coincide with the distinction that Theophrastus and Pliny make between cultivated incense and myrrh trees and wild

8 Milik, *Enoch*, 26.

9 Ibid., 233, but note the translation "like" on p. 232. Black (*Enoch*, 175) also suggests "by," positing a corruption in א from כמריבא to במריבא.

10 Michael Zohary, *Plants of the Bible* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 197; Löw, *Flora*, 1:312-14.

11 Ibid.; J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) 102-4, and map 5, opposite p. 144.

12 Gus W. Van Beek ("Frankincense and Myrrh," *BA* 23 [1960] 82-83), who also mentions its cultic use

among Greeks and Romans; H. F. Beck, "Frankincense," *IDB* 2:324-25.

13 Zohary, *Plants*, 200; idem, "Flora," *IDB* 2:291; see also Van Beek, "Frankincense," 71; and Harold N. Moldenke and Alma L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (Waltham, Mass.: Chronica Botanica, 1952) 82 n. 48, for the alternative names. See also Löw, *Flora*, 1:305-11.

14 Zohary, *Plants*, 200; Miller, *Spice Trade*, 4.

15 John C. Trever, "Myrrh," *IDB* 3:478; Van Beek, "Frankincense," 84-86; Zohary, *Plants*, 200.

ones.¹⁶ The author's final statement is ambiguous. Does he claim that both the frankincense and myrrh trees (which are very different from one another), or only the myrrh trees, bear a resemblance to nut trees? And to which nut trees does he refer?¹⁷

■ **30:1-3a** Verses 1-2 refer to a sweet or aromatic grass whose precise botanical identification is uncertain. The fragmentary A text (ד' בשמא ד' קניא פביא 4QEn^c 1 12:23-24) is paralleled by Heb. קנה הסוב (Jer 6:20, mentioned with frankincense as an imported spice) and קנה־בשם (Exod 30:23, one of the aromatic components of the sacred anointing oil).¹⁸ Zohary suggests that in using these terms, the biblical authors may not have had in mind any particular species of the genus *Cymbopogon*.¹⁹ To judge from G^a and E, the text likened these grasses to another species, translated in Greek as *σχόινος*, which was probably *Cymbopogon schoenanthus*.²⁰ Milik notes that these species grew in Lebanon and that the author may have known them from a personal visit to the region, presumably in his capacity as a spice merchant.²¹ It is widely supposed, however, that the aromatic grasses were imported from India and its environs,²² and this would fit with the text, which tracks Enoch's journey to the east (29:1) and then far to the east (30:1).

The "fragrant cinnamon" (v 3, *κιννάμωμον ἀραμᾶτων* G^a, קנים בשמא 4QEn^c 1 12:25) is the species *Cinnamomum zeylanicum* Nees, which was native to Ceylon and the coast of India.²³ It was used as both a food spice and a perfume.²⁴ Like the aforementioned aromatic cane, "fragrant cinnamon" (קנמן־בשם) is mentioned in Exod

30:23 as a component of the holy anointing oil.

Theophrastus cites one account, according to which the plant grew in "valleys" (ἐν φάραγξιν, *Hist.* 9.5.2).²⁵

■ **30:3b–31:1** The first-mentioned spice here appears in G^a as *σαρράν* and in E as *sararā*. Milik restores G as *σαρραύ* and sees a transliteration of צרר,²⁶ usually translated in the Bible as "balm" (Gen 37:25; 43:11; Jer 8:22; 46:11; 51:8; Ezek 27:17). Zohary translates "storax" and identifies it as *Liquidambar orientalis* Miller.²⁷ This tree exudes a resin of medicinal value, which could be accurately referred to in this text as "nectar" (νέκταρ; cf. ῥητίνη ["resin"], the uniform LXX translation of Heb. צרר). Galbanum (χαλβάνη G^a) was a resin exuded from the lower stem and rootstock of the species *Ferula gummosa* Boiss. (fennel), a tall herbaceous plant of the carrot family. It was native to Persia²⁸ and was a component of the sacred incense (Exod 30:34; הלכנה; Sir 24:14-15).

■ **2-3** Aloe (Gk. ἄλoη) designates two complete different plants. So-called bitter aloes is the juice or oil derived from the fleshy leaves of the stemless, rosette-shaped plant, *Aloe vera*. It was used for medicinal purposes and as a substitute for embalming matter.²⁹ The second type of *Aloe*, the so-called lignaloës, was the dark, fragrant heartwood taken from the decaying eaglewood tree (*Aquillaria agallocha* Roxb.), which was native to India and Ceylon.³⁰ It too was designated in Greek by ἄλoη (and ἀγγάλοχον) and in Hebrew by לחל (see Num 24:6). It is doubtless this species to which the present

16 Milik, *Enoch*, 233–34; see also Miller, *Spice Trade*, 104.

17 The photographs and descriptions in Zohary (*Plants*, 64–69, 200) indicate no clear similarity between the frankincense and myrrh plants and the walnut, pistachio, almond, and sycamore trees.

18 See Zohary, "Flora," 290; idem, *Plants*, 196; John C. Trever, "Sweet Cane," *IDB* 4:68–69.

19 Zohary, *Plants*, 196; on the genus see Löw, *Flora*, 1:92–94.

20 See Miller, *Spice Trade*, 94–96; on the species see Löw, *Flora*, 1:94–96.

21 Milik, *Enoch*, 28, 202. But see Miller, *Spice Trade*, 95–96.

22 Miller, *Spice Trade*, 94–96; Trever, "Sweet Cane"; Zohary, *Plants*, 196.

23 Zohary, *Plants*, 202; Löw, *Flora*, 2:107–13; Miller, *Spice Trade*, 74–77.

24 Zohary, "Flora," 291.

25 See Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants*, 76.

26 Milik, *Enoch*, 202; see also Löw, *Flora*, 3:388–95.

27 Zohary, *Plants*, 201; Löw, *Flora*, 3:455–57.

28 Miller, *Spice Trade*, 99.

29 Zohary, *Plants*, 204; Löw, *Flora*, 3:411–14; "Aloe," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1964) 1:661; Miller, *Spice Trade*, 36.

30 Moldenke and Moldenke, *Plants*, 47; Zohary, *Plants*, 204; Löw, *Flora*, 3:411–14; Miller, *Spice Trade*, 34–36, 65–67.

text refers, although the author's reference to the grinding of the bark reflects misinformation about the source of the perfume extracted from the tree. (See, however, n. d on v 2.)

■ 32:1 Enoch breaks the pattern of his eastward journey to move toward the north. The first spice mentioned is nard (נִרְדָּ 4QEn^c; *νάρδος χρηστός* 6^a), often called spikenard, an oil derived from the roots of *Nardostachys jatamansi* (Wall.) D.C., a plant native to the Himalayas and used for perfumes and medicinal ointments.³¹ The identity of the second spice is uncertain. Milik emends 6^a *σχυνος* to *σχοίος*, which he wrongly translates as “mastic” (this last translates *σχίνος*, which emendation Milik rejects).³² He sees *σχοίος* | mastic as a correct translation of א צפר, although he can document no other occurrence of this root with this meaning.³³ A better possibility is to identify צפר with Heb. צפורן (Aram. ܦܦܪܢܐ), which occurs in *y. Yoma* 4.41d, 27-36 (with צרי; see above, 31:1) as a component of the sacred incense and in *b. Ker.* 6ab for Heb. שחלת (*onycha*) in a quotation of Exod 30:34. The Hebrew word and its Aramaic equivalent mean “nail,” and the substance is thought to have derived from a marine animal.³⁴ Cardamom (ܐ ܦܪܕܡܢ 4QEn^c) is probably identical with the cardamom of modern commerce, *Elattaria cardamomum* Maton, Zingiberaceae, and was a condiment native to Malabar in southwest India.³⁵ Pepper, which was native to India and its environs, was known in the ancient world as both a condiment and a medicine.³⁶

■ 2 Having moved some indeterminate distance to the north, Enoch now moves again to the east. The triple repetition of “far from them/it” (רחוקת מנה, ורחוקת מנה, ורחוקת מנה 4QEn^c 1 26:19-21) emphasizes that the author is telescoping a journey of great length into a few words.

The “Red Sea” (אֹמַר שְׁמוֹ 4QEn^c 1 26:20; ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα 6^a) referred in antiquity variously (depending on the authors) not only to the Arabian Gulf but also to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.³⁷ The term occurs twice in 77:6-7, where it includes at least the Persian Gulf. For the present author, it extends far to the east and must include at least part of the Indian Ocean. Beyond it lies the darkness. In 17:6 Enoch's journey to the west brings him to “the great river” (Oceanus) and “the great darkness.” Does the present author perhaps think of the Red Sea and the darkness beyond it as a circular extension of the former?

■ 3-6 Enoch now arrives at the goal of the segment of his journey that began at 28:1. The form of |vision|comment|angelic interpretation, which is typical in this journey account (see Introduction to chaps. 20-36), provides the conclusion that other segments of the journey account have led us to expect. The description of the fragrant tree of wisdom, which is almost exclusively the subject matter of these verses, serves as a fitting climax to the descriptions of the spice plants, which mark Enoch's journey in 28:1-32:1.

The description of the paradise of righteousness and its tree is also a counterpart to the description of God's mountain paradise and its tree in 24:2-7. Both describe a garden of trees dominated by a single tree that is one of the two trees central to the narrative in Genesis 2-3. In both 1 Enoch 24:2-25:6 and 32:3-6, the respective tree and its significance is of prime importance, and the details of the two descriptions closely parallel one another: one tree is singled out among many; its various elements are mentioned and compared to those of other trees.

Jewish ideas about paradise vary widely in the literature of the Greco-Roman period.³⁸ The Hebrew Bible

31 Zohary, *Plants*, 205; Löw, *Flora*, 3:482-88; Miller, *Spice Trade*, 88-92.

32 Milik, *Enoch*, 233-34.

33 Milik, “Hénoch,” 74, n. 6. For the respective meanings of *σχίνος* and *σχοίος*, see LSJ, 1746, 1747, s.v.

34 The philological difficulty is reflected by Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington (*A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* [BibOr 84; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978] 66-67), who reproduce 6^a but leave the word untranslated. However, see the discussion by James G. Février, “Le vocabulaire sacrifi-

cel punique,” *JA* 243 (1955) 51-52, cited by Black, *Enoch*, 178.

35 Miller, *Spice Trade*, 71-73; Löw, *Flora*, 3:499-500.

36 Miller, *Spice Trade*, 80-83; Löw, *Flora*, 3:49-61.

37 See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 153-54.

38 For a good summary of the evidence, though presented in harmonistic fashion, see Joachim Jeremias, “Παράδεισος,” *TDNT* 5 (1967) 765-68.

itself provides two descriptions of the Garden of Eden. According to Gen 2:4–3:24, God plants a garden of trees in Eden in the east, with the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the middle. Human sin consists of eating the forbidden fruit from the latter tree and leads to expulsion from the garden, with the way to the tree of life guarded by the cherubim. Ezekiel 28:12-16 and 31:2-18 preserve remnants of a parallel version of this story.³⁹ Here the garden of trees (chap. 31) is equated with the mountain of God (perhaps hinted at in Gen 2:10, which could reflect the idea of the waters that flow from the base of the cosmic mountain).⁴⁰ The primal man is given a covering of precious stones (cf. Gen 2:11) and is protected by the guardian cherubim, who later drive him away. The precise nature of his sin is not described, although when attributed to the king of Tyre (vv 17-18), it and its punishment are likened to the arrogance and punishment of *hêlêl ben-šāḥar* in Isaiah 14. Whether the motif of wisdom, attributed to the king of Tyre in 28:2-7, 17, was part of the Eden story here preserved is uncertain. The expression “full of wisdom” in 28:12 is textually uncertain.⁴¹ Perhaps supporting its originality is the presence of the motif in Gen 3:6. If indeed it is original, the two versions of the story use the motif in different ways. In Genesis sin is associated with eating the fruit of the tree that would give wisdom. In Ezekiel the primal man has wisdom as a divine gift but corrupts that wisdom.

1 Enoch 20–36 reflects both biblical versions of the Eden story. In 24:2–25:7 the mountain of God, which stands at the apex of a range of bejeweled mountains, is a garden of trees, in whose midst stands the tree of life. In 32:3-6, at the easternmost edges of the earth, Enoch visits the garden of trees mentioned in Genesis 2–3, which is dominated by the tree of wisdom, whose fruit

was eaten by the first parents. As we shall see, the nature of the wisdom imparted by this tree is ambiguous. This may reflect the idea that the first man possessed a wisdom that was good.

In both Genesis 2–3 and Ezekiel 28 and 31, where the Hebrew text reads גן (“garden”), the Greek Bible translates the term with the Persian loanword *παράδεισος*, which means an enclosed area or a park.⁴² The Aramaic of the present text is noteworthy because it avoids גן, the normal equivalent of Heb. גן, and employs the loanword, transcribed פִּרְדֵּס, as if it were a technical term. The name “garden of righteousness” (here קִשְׁטָנָא, 4QEn^c 1 26:21) is attested also in 77:3 and 60:23 and may be implied in 60:8 and 70:3. Here it presumably means the garden that was the dwelling place of the first human beings, then righteous. In 60:8 and 70:3 the garden is the dwelling place of the righteous dead—often placed in the third heaven (cf. 2 Enoch 9:1).⁴³ In *Adam and Eve* 25:3 *paradisum iustitiae* designates the heavenly dwelling of God, which is a counterpart of the earthly garden.⁴⁴

In the present passage, the eastern location of paradise corresponds to the description in Gen 2:8. Different from many Jewish texts, including 1 Enoch 60:8; 61:12; and 70:3, it is described here not as the dwelling place of the righteous dead (they are in the mountain in the west; cf. chap. 22), but as the location of the tree with which the first parents’ sin is associated. According to A, Enoch himself does not enter the garden, but draws up alongside it (לִיד 4QEn^c 1 26:21) and views it from the outside.⁴⁵ Also different from other Jewish writers, this author does not anticipate that the righteous will ever again have access to this paradise.⁴⁶ They will eat the fruit of the tree of life in Jerusalem (25:3-6).

39 On possible early elements in this version, see Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:90–92.

40 Ibid., 93.

41 Ibid., 81–82 n. d.

42 Jeremias, “*Παράδεισος*,” 765.

43 For the texts see ibid., 767–68.

44 A comparison of this section and *Apoc. Mos.* 15–29 indicates that the authors of these recensions saw a relationship between this description of the paradise of righteousness and the earthly paradise, the dwelling of the first parents. On the relationship between the recensions and the relevant sections,

see Nickelsburg, “Some Related Traditions,” 516–25, esp. 522.

45 See Milik, *Enoch*, 235.

46 On the idea that the righteous will return to paradise at the eschaton, see Jeremias, “*Παράδεισος*,” 767, 768.

The descriptions of the tree of wisdom in vv 3-6 and the tree of life in 24:4–25:6 parallel one another sufficiently to indicate that they were composed by the same author, or that one was composed with the other in mind. The similarities highlight an important difference, however. The tree of life, which is located on the mountain paradise of God, has great eschatological significance; it will be transplanted to the new Jerusalem, the locus of eternal life in the future. The significance of the tree of wisdom is limited to its past history in relation to the first parents. In the future it will evidently remain in the paradise of the east and have no eschatological function.

Verses 5-6 echo the wording of Gen 3:6-7, 24, and in light of this dependence, one set of differences from Genesis 3 is significant:

32:3	32:6
the tree of wisdom . . .	the tree of wisdom . . .
the holy ones eat	your father . . . your mother ate
and learn great wisdom	and learned wisdom

In both verses the tree is designated not as the tree of the knowledge of good and evil but as the tree of wisdom, τὸ δένδρον τῆς φρονήσεως. While the Gk. noun φρόνησις could translate a noun form of Aram. ידע ("to know"),⁴⁷ the expected equivalent is חכמה.⁴⁸ Although the idea of wisdom is present in Gen 3:6 in the word שכל (cf. also Josephus *Ant.* 1.1.3–4 §§37–43, τὸ φυτόν τῆς φρονήσεως), two factors make the usage here noteworthy. First, according to v 3, the tree is presently the source of wisdom attributed to the holy ones, perhaps the wisdom they transmit to Enoch.⁴⁹ Second, according

to v 6, the tree was the source of wisdom for the first parents. This occurrence of the motif interrupts the flow of the "quotation" of Gen 3:6-7, thus indicating that the author has an investment in identifying this tree as the source of "(great) wisdom." As was suggested above, the version of the Eden story reflected in Ezekiel 28 may have attributed to the first man a beneficial rather than forbidden wisdom. What kind of beneficial wisdom the present author may have had in mind is unclear. A later tradition in *Adam and Eve* 29:2-10 connects the revelation of eschatological secrets to the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge; and gnostic literature, with its inverted exegesis, will make a great deal of the beneficial results of the first parents' eating of the forbidden fruit. In the present context the motif is noteworthy because it stands in a document one of whose central foci is the revelation of esoteric wisdom. Is it here being suggested that Adam and Eve were given access to a kind of wisdom that Enoch learned by other means?

As in 24:4, the author here describes aspects of the tree by analogy. Its leaves are like those of the carob.⁵⁰ Its fruit is likened to clusters of grapes. Later tradition transforms this latter analogy into an identification: the forbidden tree was the grape vine.⁵¹ In *Apocalypse of Moses* 20 it is identified as the fig tree.

47 See the reconstruction in Milik, *Enoch*, 235.

48 See HRCS, s.v.

49 See Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 132–35.

50 On the carob see Zohary, *Plants*, 63.

51 Cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 23:4-12; and esp. *3 Baruch* 4, which belabors the point. On the Jewish and Christian versions of this chapter, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 300–301; and the two versions of the text translated by H. E. Gaylord Jr., "3 (Greek Apoca-

lypse of) Baruch," in *OTP* 2:666–67. For a detailed discussion see Daniel C. Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (SVTP 12; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 117–31, 184–86.

To the Ends of the Earth

- 1 And from there I proceeded to the ends of the earth, and I ~~see~~ there great beasts, and they ~~were~~ different each from the other; and birds also, differing (in) their appearance and their beauty and their voices, each differed from the other.
- 2 To the east of these beasts I saw the ends of the earth, on which the heaven rests, and the gates of heaven open. 3/ I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the gates from which they come forth, and I wrote down all their outlets, one by one, according to their number and their names, according to their conjunction and their position and their time and their months, as Uriel, the holy angel who ~~was~~ with me,^a showed me. 4/ He showed ~~me~~ and wrote down for me everything, and also he wrote down their ~~names~~ and their appointed times and their functions.^a

- 3a the ---- me] \mathfrak{C} | "one of the watchers" (חַד בִּין עִירִין) 4QEn^c 1 27:19 (Milik, *Enoch*, 235).
- 4a and their appointed times and their functions] *watezāzomu wamegbārihomu* \mathfrak{C} β | For *wamegbārihomu*,

gmqtu read *mehbārihomu* ("companies") and t² conflates the two readings.

■ 1-4 From paradise Enoch continues his journey eastward (v 2) to the ends of the earth (vv 1, 2), where he sees great beasts and birds (v 1), as well as the gates through which the stars begin their westward path across the night sky (vv 2-4). At this point he has reached the end of a journey that began beyond the western ends of the earth (chap. 21). The introductory formulas in vv 1 and 2 parallel those in chaps. 28-32. Although this segment differs in detail from other parts of Enoch's journey, it implies somewhat the same idea presented elsewhere. Enoch travels to a place, where he sees certain things that are interpreted by an angel. The form differs here because the author is alluding to the lengthy tradition now partly preserved in the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72-82), where Uriel explains the astronomical and cosmological phenomena. The reference to Uriel here as the revealer of astral phenomena provides a kind of *inclusio* that recalls Uriel's function as interpreting angel at the first station of Enoch's journey, where the seer is shown the place of punishment for the disobedient stars (chap. 21).

■ 1 Hoffmann and Dillmann suggest that this reference

to great beasts and birds is a counterpart to earlier references to the costly treasures of the mineral and plant worlds.¹ The topic does parallel this author's broad interest in other aspects of nature. Perhaps, like the account in chaps. 28-32, the passage reflects second-hand knowledge of travelers' reports.² Be that as it may, the verse is much more cryptic than chaps. 24 and 28-32. No species are mentioned. We are told only that the animals are large and that they and the birds are of many different kinds. Moreover, the setting is the inaccessible "ends of the earth."

This suggests that whatever the origin of the author's knowledge of these animals, they are envisioned primarily in mythic terms. Evidence for such a mythic tradition appears at a number of points in the cartology of the ancient world. In the Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* of the fifth century B.C.E.,³ the sixth island that lies east of the Bitter River is said to be the place where "a horned bull dwells and attacks the newcomer." Much later maps from the Common Era depict sea monsters and other beasts lurking in the farthest recesses of land and sea.⁴

1 Hoffmann, *Enoch*, 1:295; Dillmann, *Enoch*, 135.
 2 On these see briefly Wilma George, *Animals and Maps* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) 27.
 3 See Eckhard Unger, "From the Cosmos Picture to the World Map," *Imago Mundi* 2 (1937) 1-7; and see the bibliography in Milik, *Enoch*, 15 n. 2.

4 For a twelfth-century example see Leo Bagrow, *A History of Cartography* (rev. and enlarged by R. A. Skelton; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964) plate XVIII.

Doubtless these reflect a tradition much older than the charts on which they are found. This evidence is geographically and chronologically much too disparate to serve as specific evidence for the interpretation of the present text, but it does indicate a widespread tendency to associate mythical beasts with the ends of the earth. Whether the present text refers to demonic beings banished to the outer reaches of the world is uncertain.⁵ The animals and birds are not identified. In any case, the traditions cited above suggest that an interpretation of the present text in light of mythic parallels would probably be the most fruitful.

■ **2-4** At the eastern edge of the earth's disk, where the heavenly canopy rests like an inverted cup on a saucer of the same diameter, Enoch views the gates from which the stars begin their celestial journey. A comparison of vv 3-4 with 72:1 indicates that the author of the present chapter is alluding to the Book of the Luminaries by paraphrasing its superscription (parallel wording in this text indicated by italics): "Book on the Motion of the

Luminaries of the Heaven, how each of them stands in relation to *their number*, to their powers and *their times*, to *their names* and their origins and *their months*, as the holy angel *Uriel*, who is their leader, showed to me when he was with me. And he showed to me their whole description as they are, and for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever."⁶ The author of chap. 33 appears to be saying that Enoch's astronomical instruction, recorded in detail in chaps. 72-82, took place at this point in his journey (see also the summary of chap. 76 in chaps. 34-36). Although this may be the case, the present chapter makes no reference to Uriel's instruction about the chief luminaries—the sun and the moon—but only about the stars, which are discussed briefly in chap. 75. That Enoch (and Uriel) should count the stars is noteworthy (cf. 93:14 and contrast Gen 15:5). Different from chaps. 72-82, here the author asserts that Uriel, as well as Enoch, is the author of the astronomical treatise.

5 See the comment on antique maps by Jonathan Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," *ANRW* 2.16.1:427.

6 Translation by Neugebauer, "'Astronomical' Chapters," 389.

- 1 And from there I proceeded to the north, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw^a great and glorious wonders^b at the ends of the whole earth. 2/ There I saw three gates of heaven open in heaven. From them^a come forth the winds in the north. When they blow, (there is) cold and^b hail and^c hoarfrost and snow and dew and rain. 3/ Through one gate they blow for good, and when they blow through two of the gates,^a they blow with violence, and there is affliction upon the earth.^a
- 35:1 From there I proceeded toward the west,^a ¶¶ the ends of the earth, and I saw there three gates of heaven^b open, ¶¶ I ¶¶¶ in the east, the same number of gates and the ¶¶¶ number of outlets.^c
- 36:1 From there I proceeded toward the south, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw three gates of heaven open, ^aand from there come forth the south wind and dew and rain.^a
- 2 From there I proceeded toward the east, ¶¶ the ends of the earth, and there I saw three gates of heaven open toward the east and above them, small gates. 3/ Through each of these small gates pass the stars of heaven, and they proceed westward on the path that is shown them.
- 4 And when I saw, I blessed {and every time^a I was blessing} the Lord of glory, who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show his great deeds to his angels and to the spirits of men,^b ¶¶ that they might glorify his work and^c all his deeds {so that they might see the work of his might and glorify the deeds of his hands} and bless him forever.

1a	<i>re'iku</i> ¶ "I was shown" (רחוית) 4QEn ^c 1 27:21 (Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , 235).	35:1	a	"south" (ʿazēb) ¶,df.
b	[. . . רבדן רבדן] 4QEn ^c 1 27:21 (Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , 235) "a great and glorious wonder" (<i>mankera ʿabiya wasebuḥa</i>) ¶ mt ² ,β <i>mekra</i> , "device," α-m. See comm. on 36:4.		b	of heaven] om. t ² ,β-n.
			c	"their number[" (חשבוניהן) 4QEn ^c 1 13:24 (Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , 203–4).
2a	<i>ʿemmenēhomu</i> ¶,β "through each of them" (<i>baba-I-ʿemmenēhomu</i>) ¶ α.	36:1	a-a	¶: "and there comes forth from there the south and dew and rain and wind" 4QEn ^c 1 13:26 (Milik, <i>Enoch</i> , 203): "for (or the sign of the acc.) the south wind, for (or acc. sign) dew and rai[n]" (לרוח דרומא לשל ומטנר).
b	Om. some ¶ MSS.		4a	and every time] t ² ,β-k "every time and" α,dkya.
c	Om. some ¶ MSS.		b	"spirits and men" gu ¹ q.
3a-a	Reading with Charles, <i>Eth. Enoch</i> , 75 n. 14 ¶: "with violence and with affliction there is upon the earth, and with violence they blow" (<i>baḥāyl wabaṣāʿr yekawwen diba medr wabahayl yenaḥḥu</i>).		c	Om. qt ¹ u.

■ **34:1–36:4** This section concludes the Book of the Watchers in its present form (see comm. on chaps. 81–82) and, more immediately, the journey narrative that began in chap. 21. From his station at the eastern "ends of the earth" (cf. 33:1, 2), Enoch proceeds counter-clockwise along the ends of the earth, to the north, west, and south, and then back to the east. The stages in this segment of journey narrative are described in stereotyped language: "And from there I proceeded to the north|west|south|east, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw three gates of heaven open. . . ." Unlike the major segments in chaps. 21–33, this segment has no angelic interpreter here.

Taken as a whole, this section looks like a summary of

what is now chap. 76, which describes the twelve gates of the winds.¹ Cf. especially the descriptions of the north and south in 34:2–3 and 36:1 with 76:7–11. Also, as in the Book of the Luminaries, this section follows reference to the stars (cf. chap. 75). In significant ways, however, this section differs from chap. 76, mainly to tie it to its context in the Book of the Watchers. Whereas chap. 76 mentions only seeing the gates and not traveling from one quarter to the other, here these sights are part of a journey narrative whose stages are introduced by the formula "And from there I went," which parallels the introductions in 22:1, 23:1, 24:2, 26:1, and various stages in chaps. 28–32. The direction of the journey has also been changed. The order of stations in chap. 76 is east, south,

1 Neugebauer, "Astronomical' Chapters," 405.

north, west. The present section follows a simpler, continuous route, which begins in and returns to the east, Enoch's station in chap. 33. The contents of this section also reflect chap. 33. The author replaces the gates of the east and west winds described in chap. 76 with the gates of the stars, which are a primary topic in chap. 33 (see comm. on 36:2-3).

What is the literary function of this section? By juxtaposing it to chaps. 21-33, the author provides a broader scope to an account of a journey that has moved progressively from the western to the eastern ends of the earth. The technique has an analogy in 18:1-5, where a topical synopsis interrupts the account of Enoch's journey westward. Whether these chapters or chap. 33 + 36:4 formed the original ending of the Book of the Watchers is debatable (see Introduction to chaps. 20-36, § Literary Form and Structure; and Introduction to chaps. 81-82).

As I have noted, the Book of the Watchers concludes with an allusion to the Book of the Luminaries and a summary of one of its chapters. It is likely that, in an earlier stage of the literary history of 1 Enoch, as a result of these allusions, the Book of the Luminaries itself (chaps. 72-82) was juxtaposed with the Book of the Watchers. This juxtaposition was then interrupted by the subsequent interpolation of the Book of Parables (chaps. 37-71). See Introduction §3.1.3.1-2.

■ **34:1-3** Although this chapter describes Enoch's vision at one of the four quarters of the earth, after the initial formula ("And from there I proceeded to the north, at the ends of the earth"), the text slips into a summary statement about the whole of the section, which will be repeated at the end of the section (cf. 36:4).

Verses 2-3 are a summary of 76:10-11, applying to the three northern gates the principle that 76:4 enunciates about all twelve gates of the winds: the wind blowing through the center gate is for good; those blowing through the two gates flanking it are for evil. (For "violence" and "affliction" [*hāyl, šā'er*] 76:4 has "calamities" and "destroy" [*maqšaft* and *damsasa*].) Of the elements in 34:2, hoarfrost, snow, dew, and rain are mentioned in 76:10-11. Cold occurs in 76:6 in connection with the gate in the east-northeast. Hail is not mentioned in chap. 76.

■ **35:1** Enoch continues along "the ends of the earth" to the west. The term "outlet" (*muḏā'*) occurs in 33:3 in connection with the stars. This and the omission of any reference here to the winds suggest that the author is thinking here of outlets for the stars, thus paralleling the description of the east in 36:2-3, which alludes to these outlets ("they proceed westward," v 3b).

■ **36:1** Enoch moves on to the south. Compared to its counterpart in 34:1-3, this summary of 76:7-9 is very brief. According to the latter passage, dew and rain are brought by the winds blowing through the south and south-southwest gates.

■ **2-3** Enoch returns to his point of departure in the east (cf. chap. 33). Different from the descriptions of the north and south (34:1-3; 36:1), here no mention is made of the winds, but only of the stars, which were the subject matter of 33:3-4. The westward path of the stars implies the outlets mentioned above in 35:1. The last clause in v 3 may suggest the idea of orderliness explicit in 2:1.²

■ **4** Like the visions in chaps. 22, 24-25, and 26-27, this section ends with a doxology, which typically picks up an element of the vision, here the "great and glorious wonders" mentioned in 34:1. The title "Lord of glory," which occurs in each of the aforementioned doxologies ("God of glory" in 25:7), as well as in the Book of the Luminaries (75:3), is appropriate to the "glorious wonders" and is alluded to again in the verb "glorify," which follows. On the title "Lord of glory" see comm. on 25:7. The text enclosed in braces involves duplications that may well be double readings, although it is uncertain which is secondary. The concluding reference to angels and human beings adds a cosmic scope to the concluding doxology in the Book of the Watchers. The term "spirits of men" provides a parallel to the angelic spirits. It is reminiscent of chap. 22, where, however, there is no mention of the human spirits praising God. This motif appears, however, in 27:3. Perhaps more important, the cluster, "I praised the Lord of glory . . . his deeds" parallels 81:3, "I blessed the great Lord, the King of glory because he made all the deeds of eternity." The similarity supports the notion that 81:1-4 was originally located near or at the end of the Book of the Watchers (see comm. on chaps. 81-82).

A FINAL REVELATION: THE HEAVENLY BOOKS

- 1 And he said to me,
 "Look, Enoch, **all** these heavenly tablets,^a
 and read what is written on them,
 and learn every individual (fact)."
- 2 And I looked at everything^a on the heavenly tablets,
 and I read everything that was written,
 and I learned everything.
 And I read^b the book and everything that was written in it—
 all^b the deeds of men and all the sons of flesh
 that will be upon the earth until the generations of eternity.
- 3 And then I blessed the great^a Lord, the eternal King of glory because he made all the
 deeds of eternity,
 and I glorified the Lord because of his patience,
 but I wept^b for all the sons of Adam.^c
- 4 And then^a I said,
 "Blessed is the man who dies righteous and pious,
 concerning whom no book of iniquity has been written,
 and against whom no guilt will be found."^b

ENOCH IS RETURNED TO EARTH AND INSTRUCTED TO MAKE HIS TESTAMENT

- 5 And those seven^a holy ones brought me and set me on the earth
 in front of the door of my house and said to me,
 "Make known everything to Methuselah your son,
 and show all your sons that no flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord,
 for he has created them.
- 6 One year we leave you with your children,^a
 until you give your commands twice,
 so that you may teach your sons,
 and write for them,
 and testify to all your sons.
 And in the second year they will take you from their midst.
- 7 Let your heart be strong;
 for the pious will make known righteousness to the pious,
 and the righteous will rejoice with the righteous,
 and they will trust in one another.
- 8 But the sinners will die with the sinners,
 and the apostate will sink down with the apostate.
- 9 And those who do righteousness will die because of the deeds of men,
 and they will be gathered in because of the words of the wicked."
- 10 And in those days, they ceased speaking with me, and I came to my people,
 blessing the Lord of eternity.^a

ENOCH TAKES UP HIS CONVERSATION WITH METHUSELAH

- 82:1 And now, my son Methuselah,
 All these things I recount and write for you,
 and all of them I have revealed to you,^a
 and I have given you books about all these things.
- Keep, my **sons** Methuselah, the books of the hand of your father,
 that you may give them to the generations of eternity.
- 2 Wisdom I have also given to you and to your sons, and to those who will be your sons,
 that they may give to all the generations until eternity
 this wisdom that surpasses their thought.
- 3 They who understand it will not sleep,^a
 and they will incline their ears to learn this wisdom,
 and it will be better for those who eat (it) than good food.

Blessed are all the righteous, <who listen to the words of the wise>, who walk in the path of righteousness and do not sin π s the sinners, <For they will be saved.>^a

81:1

- a *našer* (+ ʾo m) *hēnok zaḏafḏafa* (+ *waza* m) *saṁāy* ("Look [+ O m] Enoch at these tables of [+ and this m] heaven") *gmqtuT⁹* | "O [om. dyp¹] Enoch, look at the book of these tablets of heaven" β.
- 2a Om. *kwello* *mqtuT⁹*.
- b-b *lamašḥaf wakwello zaṣḥuf westētā kwello* β. Variations on a vertical omission from *wakwello* to *kwello* are indicated in *gmtT⁹T^{9a}*. See comm.
- 3a Om. β.
- b *bakayku* T⁹, following Uhlig, *Henoch*, 666 n. c | "I blessed" (*bāraku*) E *al*.
- c ʾadām | "of eternity" (ʾālam) β-filoya'b'.
- 4a *wa* (om. T⁹) ʾemennēhu *gmqtuT^{9a}* | "And at that time" (*wayeʾeta* [*waweʾeta*] *gizē*) β.
- b There are two distinct sets of readings for this line: *waʾitarakeba* (*waʾiyetrakkab* q) *gēgāy* (*gēgāya* q) *lāʾlēhu* ("and there has not been found [will not be found] guilt against him") q,β | *waʾitarakeba* (*waʾiyetrakkab* *guT^{9a}t¹*) ʾelata (*baʾelata* t¹, | *bayeʾeti* ʾelat T⁹) *kwennanē* ("and there has not been found [ʾwill not be found] the day of [ʾon the day ofʾ t¹ | ʾon that dayʾ T⁹] judgment") *gmqtuT⁹T^{9a}*. A combined text occurs in t²: *waʾitarakeba*

gēgāy lāʾlēhu baʾelata kwennanē ("and against whom no guilt has been found on the day of judgment"). My text recognizes a close parallelism between lines c and d, and I posit a corruption from *laʾlēhu* ("against him") to *baʾelata kwennanē* ("on the day of judgment"). Less likely, the fuller reading of t² is original and the others are abbreviated derivatives from it.

5a "three" β.

6a *weludeka* | "your son" (*waldeka*) *gmqtuT⁹*.

10a ʾālam *gmqtuT⁹T^{9a}* | "of the ages" (ʾālamat) q,β; cf. 12:3 E^a .

82:1

a A few mss. of β omit this line.

3a and they will not sleep, but they will understand (*waʾiye-nawwem ʾallā yelēbbewu*) t.

4a For the textual problem relating to this verse, see comm. on 82:1-4.

Introduction

In this narrative section, Enoch views the heavenly tablets that contain the record of human deeds, and then he is escorted back to earth, where, at the behest of his angelic companions, he transmits to Methuselah and the rest of his sons the contents of the revelations he received during his journeys through the cosmos. The passage is potentially of great significance because it deals explicitly with the origin, authority, and function of the Enochic writings—a fact that did not escape the church father Tertullian, who paraphrases 82:1-2 in order to defend the authenticity and authority of material in 1 Enoch 6–8: "Since Enoch gave his son Methuselah no other command than that he should transmit knowledge of them to his posterity" (*Cum Enoch filio suo*

Matusalae nihil aliud mandaverit quam ut notitiam eorum posteris suis traderit; De cultu fem. 1.3).¹

Literary Problem: A Foreign Body in Its Context?

Tertullian's citation is significant because, although he is discussing Enochic material about the sin of the watchers, in our extant form of the Enochic corpus (the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch), 81:1–82:4a-c is embedded in the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82).² But even apart from Tertullian's citation, modern commentators have generally conceded that this passage has been imported from another context.³

1 Cited by Charles, *Enoch*, 174–75.

2 For a detailed discussion of the relationship of this text to its context in chaps. 72–82, see Rau, "Kosmologie," 184–353, 419–45.

3 Charles, *Enoch*, 148; Neugebauer, "'Astronomical' Chapters," 411; VanderKam, *Enoch*, 133. Rau ("Kosmologie," 310) dissents from this viewpoint.

Two major considerations support such a conclusion. First, in the context of a major section that is itself a compressed composite of earlier materials (chaps. 72–82),⁴ chaps. 79–82 give the impression of being a patchwork. Chapter 79, part of whose contents are preserved in a Qumran Aramaic ms.,⁵ appears to be the end of a section, to judge from the summary statement in v 6. Chapter 80 begins abruptly with Uriel speaking, also in summary fashion, and this is followed by a poem about the calendrical errors of sinners—an issue hitherto only touched on in the scientific calculations and observations of chaps. 72–79 (75:2). The section presently under discussion, 81:1–82:4a-c, is a piece of narrative, which concludes with another reference to calendrical error (82:4d-6). After another summary calendaric statement at 82:7-9, the book concludes with a fragment of a section on the seasons (82:10-20), which is partly paralleled in a Qumran ms.⁶

The second reason for identifying 81:1–82:4a-c as an import into the Book of the Luminaries is the content of the section itself. Major elements in the passage that are foreign to the Book of the Luminaries fit with elements and themes in chaps. 1–36 and 92–105. (1) The heavenly tablets that Enoch views (81:1) do not contain astronomical laws, as one might expect from 80:1, but the records of all deeds of humanity, which records will serve as testimony at the coming judgment (81:2-4). This judgment and, to some extent, the heavenly records of deeds are central themes in the Book of the Watchers, the Dream Visions, and the Epistle. (2) Although Enoch's interpreter throughout chaps. 72–80 has been the angel Uriel, 81:5 unexpectedly mentions a plurality of holy ones who return him to earth. A cosmic journey in the presence of seven angels is the continuous narrative thread in chaps. 20–34. (3) The divine names in 81:3 and 10 and the doxologies in which they occur appear nowhere else in chaps. 72–82, but are typical of chaps. 1–36. (4) The concern with the unjust death of the pious and righteous (81:4, 9) has no counterpart in the Book of the Luminaries, but the theme and various expressions in 81:7-9 and 82:1-4 are paralleled in the Epistle (see the details in the next section).

Excursus: The Literary Unity of 1–36 + 81:1 – 82:4c + 91:1-10, 18-19 + 93:1-10; 91:11-17 + 93:11 – 94:5 + 104:10 – 105:2

Just how closely 81:1–82:4a-c is tied to the material that precedes and follows it in the Book of the Watchers and the last chapters of the corpus will be indicated in the following analysis, which argues that it is part of a running text that includes the Book of the Watchers, chap. 91, and the beginning and conclusion of the Epistle.

Connection with the Book of the Watchers

The narrative that begins in 81:1 is set in heaven, where Enoch is about to be shown the heavenly tablets. The first word is a verb with no explicit subject, "And he said to me" (*wayebēlani*). In its present context in the Book of the Luminaries, "he" is Uriel (80:1). If this piece of narrative existed originally in a document that contained neither the Book of Parables nor the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 37–71 + most of 72–82; see Introduction §3.1.3.1), we are led back to the end of the Book of the Watchers, with which this text has important affinities, as briefly suggested above.

Where, precisely, did this piece of narrative fit? In chap. 33 Enoch is at the eastern edge of the earth, where Uriel is showing him the outlets of the stars, and in chaps. 34–36 Enoch is circling the earth (with no mention of an accompanying angel), inspecting the portals of the winds in a counterclockwise direction that brings him back to the east. The heavenly tablets, however, are kept in the divine throne room in God's presence (see comm. on 81:1-2). Moreover, in the Animal Vision, it is precisely from the heavenly sanctuary that the three angels return Enoch to earth (87:1-4; 90:31). Somewhere in connection with the narrative now preserved in chaps. 33–36, Enoch was transported back to the divine throne room, which he had left at 17:1. This return occurred either after his tour with Uriel (in which case chaps. 34–36 are a secondary addition) or after inspecting the portals of the wind. There, in the heavenly throne room, one of the seven holy ones who accompanied him showed him the heavenly tablets and urged him to read them. This holy one could have been Uriel (hence the connection with 80:1). More likely, it was Remiel (see comm. on 81:1-2), the last in the list of the seven in chap. 20. At this point in the narrative, 81:1-10 picks

4 See briefly Introduction §1.3.

5 4QEnastr^b 26; Milik, *Enoch*, 294.

6 4QEnastr^b 28; Milik, *Enoch*, 295; 4QEnastr^d 1 1–3, Milik, *Enoch*, 296–97.

up. The doxologies in 81:3 and 10 are the last in a series that began in 12:3 and served as responses to various of Enoch's visions in chaps. 20–36.

Connection with Chapters 91–105

The seer's inspection of the heavenly record of human deeds is the presupposition for the historical summaries in 91:5–10 and 93:3–10; 91:11–17, as well as for references in 103:1–4 and the Noah story in 106:13–107:1.

81:5 prepares for the narrative that follows. Enoch has been brought back to earth to transmit the record of his cosmic journeys and visions. A testamentary setting is explicit in what follows. Enoch has one year to instruct his children before he is permanently removed from their presence (81:6). The function of his instruction as “testimony” (v 6) will be referred to again in 91:3 and 104:11 (cf. 105:1). Both in its contrast of the pious and righteous with the sinners and in its terminology (“rejoice,” “trust” or “believe” [*amana*]) 81:7–8 parallels 104:10–13. Reference to the sinners' responsibility for the death of the righteous (v 9; cf. v 4) expresses a central motif in the Epistle. 81:10 (the angels “ceased speaking with me”) concludes the narrative begun in 12:3. The importance of angelic discourse in the Book of the Watchers is underscored in the introduction to the opening oracle (1:2d) in a sentence that will be imitated in the retrospective introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks in 93:2.

82:1 is a literary puzzle. Although 81:5 anticipated that Enoch would summon Methuselah, one misses here the smooth literary join provided in the analogous situation in 91:2–3a. In any case 82:1 presumes the passage of some time from 81:6, when Enoch was told to write his commands. In 82:1, *in medio rerum*, he is speaking to Methuselah about how he has written and given these books to him. Perhaps the present narrative presumes the existence of a large Enochic corpus, some of it real and some of it fictitious.

82:1c–3 is a crucial transition to much that follows. It provides for the transmission of Enoch's books (here characterized as revealed wisdom written by the fathers) from Methuselah and his brothers to those who will live after them in “the generations of eternity” (cf. 81:2, of those whose deeds were recorded, and 92:1, in the incipit of the Epistle). Of this transmission we shall hear more in 104:12–105:2. The language of 82:3a is paralleled in the introduction to the Epistle (92:3). Although 82:4 in its present form is a transition to the astronomical material that follows, its form as a beatitude parallels 81:4, and its form and wording closely parallel 99:10 in the Epistle.

The narrative in 81:1–82:4a is continued not in chaps. 83–90 but in 91:1–10, 18–19 + 93:1–10; 91:11–17 + 93:11–94:5 + 104:10–105:2. In 81:5–6 the angels command Enoch to instruct Methuselah and all his sons. The latter become characters in the narrative in 91:1–3 and are explicitly addressed in vv 4–10, 18–19.

In the reconstruction of the corpus posited in the Introduction §3.1.2.2, I considered the epistolary introduction in chap. 92 as part of a later redaction. If that hypothesis be accepted, the literary symmetry in 91:1–10, 18–19, and 93:1–94:5 is striking.

91:1	91:18
And now, my son	And now . . . , my children
I . . . show you	I will show you that
everything that will	you may know what is
happen	coming
91:3–4	91:19
Hear, O sons . . .	hear, my children
two-ways commands	two-ways command
91:5–9	93:3–10; 91:11–17
historical summary	historical summary

This doubly structured narrative has been anticipated in 81:6 (Enoch will give his commands twice) and is indicated in 91:18 (a link between the two sections of eschatological instruction).

As the commentary indicates, the Apocalypse of Weeks parallels the historical summary in 91:5–10 at many points. In one particular way it repeats themes in both chaps. 82 and 91. The sevenfold wisdom that will be given to the chosen in the seventh week (93:10) parallels the transmission of Enoch's books to the generations of eternity. The theme will recur in 104:12–13.

The Apocalypse of Weeks is framed by references to the revelatory sources of Enoch's authority. In the introduction (93:2), he refers to his viewing of the heavenly tablets, a link with 81:1–4. At the end, in a section that 4QEn⁸ shows to be fragmentary (93:11–14), he refers to the other revelations described in the Book of the Watchers.

There is yet another aspect to the literary symmetry that the author has created by introducing each of the apocalypses (91:5–11 and 93:3–10; 91:10–17) with a piece of two-ways instruction (91:3–4; 91:18–19). Just as these two sections frame the first historical summary, so the Apocalypse of Weeks is framed by two sections of two-ways instruction:

91:3–4 91:5–10 91:18–19	91:18–19 93:3–10; 91:11–17 94:1–5
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This last instruction, in two parts (94:1–2, 3–5), is addressed to the two groups of concern in chaps. 81–82: Enoch's children and the righteous of the latter generation. In the first of these two parts, the

two-ways commandment is followed by a prediction about a future generation to whom the paths of violence will be revealed (94:1-2). Thus the latter generation of the seventh week, to whom wisdom will be revealed (93:10; 91:11), is addressed in the second part of the instruction (94:3-5). The prediction attached to this instruction (94:5cde) describes how sinners will tempt people to harm wisdom.

There is a counterpart to this prediction at the end of the Epistle:

94:5: *I know that sinners will tempt men to do harm to wisdom . . .*

104:10: *I know this mystery that sinners will alter and copy the words of truth . . .*

This last section begins the final reprise of themes that first occurred in chap. 81. Parallel to the words of truth are the books of Enoch, through which Enoch testifies. These books, which contain Enoch's wisdom, will be given to all the righteous and pious, who will believe in them and rejoice in them, to learn all the paths of truth (allusion to the two-ways instruction; 104:10-13). The last verses of the book describe the completion of the process. The latter-day recipients of the wisdom of these books will testify to the sons of the whole earth (105:1-2). Thus the "story" that began with Enoch's writing of his books and his transmission of them to his sons (82:1-4) is completed in the latter days when these books are made available to all humanity, in keeping with Enoch's command in chap. 82. This process in turn completes the vision of the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:14).

The section beginning with 81:1 and ending with 105:2—minus the body of the Epistle—can be seen then as a literary unity. It begins with Enoch's viewing of the heavenly tablets; continues through his return to earth, his transmission of his writings, and his instruction to his children; and is completed with reference to their final transmission to the last generations, who then testify to the whole earth. This block of text in turn is testamentary instruction built on the whole of Enoch's heavenly visions and cosmic journeys, which were recorded in the Book of the Watchers.

An Earlier Context and Function for 81:1–82:4a-c: A Narrative Bridge between Chapters 1–36 and 91–105

If 81:1–82:4a has been imported into the Book of the Luminaries, and if its contents indicate significant the-

matic parallels to chaps. 1–36 and, to some degree, to chaps. 91–105, can we determine its earlier context and literary function? With a few qualifications that will be explained below, this seems to be possible. Briefly stated, the passage provides a logical narrative bridge between the sections that precede and follow it. Chapters 1–36 begin with an oracle in which Enoch recalls his heavenly visions. These visions and his subsequent cosmic journeys are the subject matter of the account in chaps. 12–36, which concludes while Enoch is still on his journeys. As chap. 91 (and, indeed, chap. 83) begins, however, Enoch is back on earth, speaking to Methuselah his son. The narrative in 81:1–82:4a-c provides a description of how he got back to earth and why he is instructing his son. 81:1-4 recounts the final station in his journey. Then in vv 5-10 he returns to earth with the angels who had escorted him on the journey recounted in chaps. 20–36, and they command him to transmit the instruction contained in chaps. 83–90 and 91–105. In 82:1-4 the process of transmission is underway.

Literary Form: Interpreted Vision and Testamentary Narrative

From a formal point of view, 81:1–82:4a-c can be divided into two sections. 81:1-4 is a counterpart to some of the visions in chaps. 20–36, where Enoch is shown a certain phenomenon, has it interpreted for him by an angel, and then utters a doxology (cf. chaps. 22; 24:2–25:7; 26-27):⁷

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| a. Enoch's journey: to heavenly throne room | [lost] |
| b. Vision: he sees the tablets | [lost] |
| c. Dialog | |
| 1. Angel interprets what he sees | 81:1 |
| 2. Enoch responds | 81:2 |
| d. Blessing | 81:3, 4 (cf. v 10) |

The remainder of the narrative, 81:5–82:4a-c, has many features characteristic of patriarchal testaments.⁸ Although Enoch will not die, the angels inform him that he will soon be removed permanently from his family (v 6). In that context, he is to instruct his sons. As will become evident in chap. 91, that instruction includes ethical commands in the form of two-ways instruction (see here v 6b) and forecasts of the future (see here

⁷ See Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 258–59.

⁸ On the form of these testaments, see Eckhard von

Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1980, 1985). See also John J. Collins, "Testaments,"

vv 7-9). Within this general framework, one should note typical testamentary clichés: “And now, my son,” and in chap. 91, “Call . . . gather.” Especially interesting here are the references to the fact that Enoch will “testify” (81:6; cf. 91:3) and to his discussion on the transmission of his written work (82:1-2). These elements, together with the expression “and now my son” and the reference to “commanding,” appear in one brief context in the Testament of Qahat (4QTQahat frg. 1 9-12). In other specific details, the terminology in chap. 91 and its structure parallel Moses’s testament at the end of Deuteronomy (see esp. comm. on 91:1-4).

Function

Apart from its literary function as a narrative bridge between the first and last parts of 1 Enoch (chap. 1-36 and 91-105), this text and the related sections mentioned in the excursus above indicate that the text in which they are embedded is to serve as a “testimony” for future generations. Different from the Testament of Qahat and other testaments that are directed to the family of the patriarch, the present context and other parts of 1 Enoch indicate a broader audience: all the righteous of the end time, indeed “all the sons of the whole earth” (see Introduction §3.2). Thus this relatively brief piece of narrative is a key for understanding the function of the whole corpus.

Date

The date of this section is difficult to determine because it is displaced from its context. A terminus ad quem may be found, however, in *Jub.* 4:18-19, which alludes to these verses and others related to them. According to *Jubilees*, Enoch “was the first to write a testimony, and to testify to the sons of men, among the generations of the earth . . . and he saw and understood everything, and wrote

his testimony and placed the testimony on earth for the children of men and for their generations.” This repeated reference to Enoch’s “testimony” and “testifying” has counterparts only in 81:6; 91:3; 104:11; and 105:1, texts that are all related (see excursus above). The audience of this text among “the generations of the sons of men on earth” parallels 81:2; 82:1, 2. While Enoch’s seeing and understanding is tied in *Jub.* 4:19 to an evident reference to the dream vision in chaps. 85-90, the combination of verbs appears in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks, which appears to belong to this same stratum; and, with a slight variation, it occurs in 81:1-2, where Enoch reads the tablets presupposed in the Apocalypse of Weeks. This evidence suggests that the author of *Jubilees*, writing in the first half of the second century B.C.E., knew this section of text and understood the whole Enochic corpus to be a “testimony.”⁹

■ **81:1-4** Enoch receives his final revelation in the heavenly throne room, where he reads, learns, and digests the record of all the deeds of humanity, which will serve as evidence at the judgment. Then he praises the God who is sovereign over history and utters a beatitude for the righteous, because on the day of judgment there will be no record of evil deeds to testify against them.

■ **1-2** The narrative commences here *in mediis rerum*. An angel whose identity is unknown (because the previous piece of narrative has been lost) is speaking to Enoch. This angel is almost certainly Remiel. First, Remiel is the only one of the seven mentioned in chap. 20 who does not subsequently appear in the journey accounts in chaps. 21-36.¹⁰ Second, motifs traditionally associated with this angel are present here (cf. 4 *Ezra* 4:35-36a; 2 *Baruch* 75; *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 6-7). Reference is made to the heavenly books and to God’s compassion and patience. An interest in the souls of the righteous and their resurrection is evident in 81:4, 9, when these verses are read in light of 103:1-4, a parallel to this text cited above and below.

in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 325-55; and Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, “The Literary Genre ‘Testament,’” in Kraft and Nickelsburg, eds., *Early Judaism*, 259-67.

9 On the date of *Jubilees* see Nickelsburg, “Bible Rewritten,” 101-3.

In the first of a set of three parallel tristichs (81:1), Enoch is commanded to “look . . . , read . . . , and learn” what is in the tablets, and in the second (81:2a-c) he states that he did so. The third tristich (81:2d-f) elaborates on the second by identifying the book as the record of all the deeds of humanity from creation to eternity.

The three verbs in vv 1-2a recur in parallelism in 103:2, where Enoch appeals to his reading of the tablets in order to assure the righteous of their resurrection and eternal reward. See comm. on 103:1-4. The oath used in that context (“I swear . . . by the glory of the Great One”) and the title given to God in 81:3 (“the Great Lord, the eternal King of glory”) indicate what is not explicitly stated here in this fragmentary account: the tablets, and hence Enoch, stand in God’s glorious presence. Cf. also in 104:1 the reference to the book of life that is located “before the glory of the Great One,” and in 89:71, 77, the description of the recording angel who reads the record of the shepherds’ deeds in God’s presence and sets the book down there.

In stating that Enoch has read the heavenly tablets, the author makes three important claims. First, the existence of the tablets guarantees that God has the complete foreknowledge of human actions that is the necessary basis for a just judgment. This claim of divine omniscience is axiomatic in the Enochic corpus, although it is conceptualized in different ways. According to 9:5-6, 11, God knows all things because God sees all things. In the Epistle (chaps. 92-105) and in the second dream vision (chaps. 85-90) the heavenly record of human deeds is constantly in the process of being compiled by angelic scribes.

Second, Enoch’s claim to have read a complete heavenly record of human deeds expresses a belief in God’s foreknowledge, as well as a kind of determinism. Such foreknowledge is also asserted in 9:11 and is implicit in the Animal Vision, where the course of future events is revealed in a vision. Divine foreknowledge implies a deterministic view of human history. Events and actions

must happen because the omniscient God knows that they will happen and has revealed them to Enoch already in primordial times.¹¹

Finally, this scene lays a foundation for later claims about the revelatory character of the corpus. The outline of history in the Apocalypse of Weeks is based on the revelation here described (93:1-2), and the promise in 103:1-4 can be believed because it is based on this revelation. The situation in chaps. 85-90 is different. There Enoch also claims that “all the deeds of men were shown to me in their order” (90:41), but the source of this revelation was a dream vision that he saw as a young man. On this overlap with the present passage, see the comm. on chaps. 85-90.

Although they are “theological” in their content, these three claims have a practical function. On the basis of knowledge that is guaranteed to be revelation, the author comforts the reader with the assurance that the sovereign God controls history and will execute righteous judgment in spite of present inequities. This intent to comfort and assure is evident in the concluding beatitudes in 81:4 and 82:4, as well as in the references to the heavenly books in 103:1 and 104:1.

■ 3-4 Enoch responds to his reading of the heavenly tablets by praising God and uttering a beatitude about the righteous. The doxology in v 3 is similar to those in 12:3, chaps. 20-36 (see comm. on 22:14), 81:10, 83:11, and 90:40. Its function as a response to vv 1-2 is evident from the parallels to v 2d-f:

- v 3a “all the deeds of . . . eternity”
- v 2ef “all the deeds of humanity . . . until . . . eternity”
- v 3c “all the sons of Adam”
- v 2e “all the sons of flesh”

Enoch’s doxology is triggered by God’s relationship and response to humanity and human deeds. But how, precisely, did the author understand these? As v 3aβ stands, it asserts a kind of determinism not evident elsewhere in 1 Enoch: God has “made” (*gabra* = ποιέω = עבר) all the deeds of humanity. This notion of foreordination goes beyond the idea of divine foreknowledge expressed in 9:11 and is most closely paralleled in the prologue to

11 Such determinism is implied in Daniel both in chap. 2 and in the visions in chaps. 8-12. It becomes explicit in the Greek versions of 2:28, 29, 45, where the simple future is translated by δεῖ, which expres-

sion is taken over, e.g., into Mark 13:7; Rev 1:1; 22:6.

the two-ways instruction in 1QS 3:13-18. That text, in turn, is paralleled in greatly expanded form in one of the Qumran Hymns, which also refers to the heavenly tablets. The extant part of 1QH 9(1) begins with the creation of heaven and earth (9[1]:7-15) and then focuses on humanity's place in the world and, evidently, on the dominion of the two spirits and the "visitations" that follow upon human deeds (9[1]:15-20). The last line is noteworthy, "and apart from you is nothing made (or 'done') (*עשה*)" (*ומבלעדך לא עשה*), but because the ms. is fragmentary, it is uncertain whether the text refers to the initial creation or to human deeds. Perhaps favoring the former interpretation is the parallel in John 1:2, "without him was nothing made that was made" (*χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν*). Lines 23-27 of 1QH 9(1) then tie God's foreknowledge of all things to the written record of the deeds of eternity, which stands in God's presence:

What shall I say that is not known, and utter that is not recounted;

All is graven before you on a written reminder, for everlasting ages and the numbered cycles of the eternal years in all their seasons; they are not hidden or absent before you.

מה אדבר בלא נודע ואשמיעה בלא סופר
 חכול חקוק לפניכה בחרת זכרון
 לכול קצי נצח ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכול מועדיהם
 ולוא נסתרו ולוא נעדרו מלפניכה

It is tempting in light of this text and its context to read the present passage as a statement of divine foreordination. The difficulty with such an interpretation is its relationship to the next line. How does God's patience, presumably with sinful humanity, fit with the assertion that God has ordained all human deeds? The final line is also problematic, since for the verb "I blessed" (*barakewo*), one ms. (T⁹) reads "I wept" (*bakayku*). In the majority reading the repetition of "blessed" balances line one (thus giving the section an a-b-a structure) and maintains the parallel usage of synonymous verbs in the three parallel lines. But why should Enoch praise God for all of humanity, since, according to v 5, "no flesh is righteous" before God? Moreover, Enoch weeping after seeing the record of human deeds has a parallel in 90:41, at the end of the Animal Vision, where it is also mentioned after Enoch's doxology. According to this

line of interpretation, the sense of the passage is: By and large humanity is sinful and their deeds are to be lamented. Yet God is to be praised for the patience that is ready to forgive.

From the mass of the sinful "sons of Adam," Enoch turns to the exception, "the man" who is "righteous and pious" (v 4). The text recalls the contrast between "all flesh," which is corrupt, and Noah, who was "righteous and blameless" in his time. The theme is familiar to the reader of 1 Enoch (see comm. on 106:16-18). Again taking up the theme in vv 1-2, the author refers to the heavenly records. No indictment will have been written down. On the use of the verb "to find" in connection with such books, cf. Dan 12:1. The wording of this verse parallels 102:4-5 and 103:3-4. The concern is with the righteous and pious who die unjustly, as will become evident in the parallel section in 81:7-9 (cf. also 102:5). The use of a beatitude to conclude this passage will be paralleled at the conclusion of the entire section (82:4). Cf. also Dan 12:12.

■ 5-9 Enoch's long journeys in the company of the angels have concluded. From heaven and the presence of God the holy ones return him to earth and to his home and family, to whom, before he leaves them permanently, he is to transmit as testamentary instruction the things that have been revealed to him during his time with the angels. The order of this section roughly parallels vv 1-4. An indictment of the whole of humanity (v 5) is followed by reference to the righteous and the pious (v 7) and to the unjust death of the righteous (v 9).

■ 5 That Enoch was in the company of the holy ones is stated already in 12:1. Thereafter, in chaps. 17-19, 20-33 (or 36), and 81:1-4, he travels through the cosmos with the angels as his interpreters. The texts of 81:5 differ as to whether it is seven or three holy ones who returned Enoch to earth (see n. a). The seven are named in the onomasticon in chap. 20 and are Enoch's interpreters during the journey described in chaps. 21-33. The number three seems to refer to those angels in chap. 20 whose names have been added to the four mentioned in chaps. 9 and 10. This distinction between the four and the three appears also in the Animal Vision, where the three take Enoch to heaven and bring him back to earth (87:3-4; 90:31). The ms. tradition of β here relates to the tradition reflected in chaps. 85-90.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the present section, it is impossible to know whether “three” is original and the Animal Vision reflects the present text or whether “three” is secondary and derivative from the Animal Vision.

The separate references to Methuselah and to all of Enoch’s children reflect a similar distinction in 82:1-3 and 91:1-3. In all cases Methuselah is the primary link in the tradition, and the rest of the children (and their children) represent the larger constituency of Enoch’s spiritual descendants (see comm. on 82:1-4).

The message that Enoch is commissioned to pass on to his children is summarized in two lines: in the eyes of the creator, no human being is righteous. This pithy statement appears to reflect the viewpoint of Genesis 6: God is sorry that he made/created humanity (vv 6-7) and determines to exterminate “all flesh” (vv 12-13). As phrased here, the sentiment parallels Ps 143:2, “For no living thing is righteous in your sight” (כִּי לֹא־יִצְדֵּק לְפָנֶיךָ כָּל־חַי; ὅτι οὐ δικαιοῦθήσεται ἐνώπιον σου πᾶς ζῶν LXX). But both in its use of “no flesh” instead of “no living thing,” and in its word order (*kama ’iyeṣaddeq kwellu zašeg baqedma ’egzi’a*), the present passage differs from Psalm 143. This is noteworthy because in both respects the present reading is paralleled by Rom 3:30, Paul’s indictment of the whole human race.¹² Whether Paul reflects an apocalyptic tradition related to the present text is uncertain, although other parallels between 81:3 and Rom 3:25-26 and between Rom 4:7-8 and 1 Enoch 81:4 should be noted and studied more carefully.

■ 5 On the relationship of Enoch’s one-year period of instruction and the chronology of his life in *Jub.* 4:16, 20-21, see Introduction §6.2.3.3.2.

Enoch’s instruction is described by several terms. That he is to “command” his sons reflects the ethical character of the two-ways instruction in chap. 91 and 94:1-4 and perhaps alludes to the Enochic astronomical material. It gives the Enochic tradition the characteristic of authoritative instruction. The idea that he gives his commands twice appears to be reflected in the repetition of the two-ways material in 91:3-4, 18-19, and perhaps in the suggestion in 91:18 that the predictions in 91:5-9 will be repeated in the Apocalypse of Weeks. That

Enoch is to “write” his instruction is an internal self-reference to the corpus; this writing takes place in the time gap between the end of this chapter and the beginning of the next, as 82:1-2 indicates. The character of Enoch’s instruction as “testimony” is mentioned again in 91:3, 104:11, and 105:1. See comm. on 105:1-2. The occurrence of the term here is one of several indicators that this section may have been known by the author of *Jub.* 4:18-20 (see comm. on 82:1-3). That Enoch will “be taken” reflects the language of Gen 5:24. The combination of the verb *naš’a* with the expression “from among them” (*ʿemāʾekalomu*) has no precedent in Genesis, but the word occurs in 70:2-3 of Enoch’s ascent, and the whole expression appears in Wis 4:10 in an allusion to Enoch, based on Gen 5:24:

there was one who pleased God and was loved by him;
and while he was alive, he was taken from among sinners.
εὐάρεστος θεῷ γενόμενος ἡγαπήθη
καὶ ζῶν μεταξύ ἀμαρτωλῶν μετετέθη.

In the broader context of Wis 4:7-17, Enoch’s premature departure from this world serves as a paradigm for the premature death of the righteous one, and both that context and the wording “he was taken from the midst” reflect the wording of Isa 57:1-2 and its description of the death of the righteous. The paradigmatic character of Enoch’s departure may also be suggested in Wis 3:1-9, which describes the unjust death of the righteous. These various texts evidently attest a common tradition about Enoch.

■ 7-9 These verses look to the future, to the situation before the end. The two units in vv 7 and 8 contrast the situation and fate of the righteous and the sinners, while v 9 focuses on the death of the righteous.

The initial exhortation to Enoch in v 7a is reminiscent of God’s word to Joshua when Moses is about to leave the scene (Deut 31:23). For other similarities to the testamentary situation in Deuteronomy, see comm. on 91:1-3.

The reference to the righteous and pious in v 7 recalls the word pair in v 4, though this passage refers not to their death but to the situation before the end described in 104:13, when Enoch’s writings (v 6) will be published among the righteous and pious, and they will rejoice and

12 Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980) 88.

believe. The connection between these books and their use in the eschaton will be made explicit in 82:1-3. By contrast, the sinners and apostates will be destroyed. The verb “sink” (*saṭama*) suggests the imagery of the flood and the common Enochic typology of flood and final judgment (65:1; 83:4). The “apostates” are those who “change” (*meyut*), and one may justifiably see here another parallel to chap. 104, where sinners are accused of perverting and altering the truth (see comm. on 104:10-11).

That the righteous will die at the hands of sinners is a common Enochic theme, repeated in the Epistle, especially in chaps. 102–104. The reference here takes up the theme in v 4, and the mention of “the deeds of men” and “the deeds of the wicked” corresponds to vv 2-3. The verb “be gathered” (*tagabeʿu*) reflects the idiomatic use of כָּסַף and כָּנַשׁ (Aramaic) for death. These terms occur in Isa 57:1, in the MT and Targum, respectively (see comm. on v 6).

■ **10** The introductory expression “in those days” punctuates a time frame that designates the beginning of the one year of instruction, but it is unclear how it functioned in the broader, original context of this section. In any case the present verse brings closure to what is conceived to have been an extended period of association between Enoch and the angels. In the corpus as it is now assembled, that time period is already in place in 12:1 (“his days were with the holy ones”). The doxology here is also a pithy counterpart to 12:3 (“I . . . was blessing the Lord of majesty, the King of the ages”).

■ **82:1-4a** In this third and concluding part of 81:1–82:4a-c, the text shifts from a past tense narrative about Enoch’s anticipated instruction of his sons to direct discourse in which Enoch speaks directly to Methuselah and commissions him to be the custodian and transmitter of the books that contain the saving wisdom he has brought from his journeys. These verses explicitly connect the entire corpus of Enoch’s writings with the source of their revelation and identify their function as a means to salvation.

This carefully structured, thematically unified passage comprises a series of poetic subunits, mainly

tristichs, bound together by an interlocking set of catchwords. The key verb is “give.” Its first object is Enoch’s “books,” which are then identified as “wisdom.” A set of successive subjects and indirect objects traces the process of transmitting the tradition, as v 1ef is explicated in v 2ab:

I have given you books . . .
Keep . . . the books
that you may give them to the generations . . .
Wisdom I have given to you and your sons . . .
that they may give them to the generations. . .

The section concludes in vv 3-4, which describe the salvific function of wisdom for those who listen to it, learn it, and live by it.

The direct address to Methuselah in v 1 is the first in the corpus, if we exclude 79:1 as originally belonging to a separate, astronomical text.¹³ Its occurrence here is abrupt. In the previous verse (81:10) Enoch was returning to his family. Now he is in the middle of a conversation with his son, and some considerable time has elapsed, because he has already written the books that the angels commanded him to write in 81:6.

“My son” is a common and natural form of address in testamentary contexts, often as an introduction to wisdom instruction.¹⁴ Thus it is appropriate here, both as a transition from 81:6 and as an introduction to the subject matter that follows. The verbs in v 1b are in the imperfect tense, indicating continuing action still in progress. Although it has not been described, Enoch has been “recounting everything” (on the formula see comm. on 83:1-2d) and writing it down. In v 1c the process is seen as past and complete and is described as revelation (*kašatku* = ἀποκαλύπτω = כָּסַף; cf. 91:14).

This verb is followed by two others in the perfect tense: Enoch “has given” his sons books and wisdom (vv 1d, 2a). For the idiom “to give wisdom” as a technical term for the transmission of eschatological revelation, see comm. on 5:8-9. An extended process of transmission is indicated: to you, Methuselah → to your sons → to those who will be your sons → to their sons for the generations of eternity. This last expression, repeated twice, alludes to the eschatological context of this passage and

¹³ See Milik, *Enoch*, 294.

¹⁴ For the expression in wisdom literature, see, e.g., Prov 1:8; 2:1; 3:1; Sir 2:1; 3:17; 4:1. In testamentary

contexts see Tob 4:3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 19; *Jub.* 21:15, 17, 21, 25; 22:11, 16, 19, 20, 23; 4QTTQahat frg. 1 9.

identifies Enoch's wisdom as a permanently relevant authoritative instruction. A similar process of extended transmission is envisioned in the Testament of Qahat (4QTQahat frg. 1 9-12).

The final line of v 2 indicates that Enoch's wisdom is divine wisdom, for it exceeds the human capacity to understand it. A similar notion appears in Isa 55:8-9 (on which context, see below), of God's design to forgive Israel. Related language occurs in Phil 4:7 and Eph 3:19 with reference to the peace of God that surpasses all understanding and the love of Christ that surpasses knowledge.

The function of Enoch's divinely given wisdom is indicated in v 3 in language that is traditional to wisdom contexts. When one understands wisdom, one awakens from ignorance and the folly of sin. For the eschatological use of this image, see comm. on 92:3-4. The idiom "incline your ears" (v 3b) occurs quite frequently in wisdom contexts (Ps 49:5 [4]; Prov 4:20; 5:13; Sir 6:33; 51:16). In prophetic texts especially it denotes obedience to God, that is, listening to God's word and commandments (Isa 55:3; Jer 7:24, 26; 11:8; cf. Ps 119:36). In the final image, wisdom is favorably compared to good food. Again Isaiah 55 comes to mind (vv 1-3), as does the comparison in Ps 19:8-11 (7-10). Particularly striking is Sir 24:19-24, where the fruit of Wisdom/Torah is part of an extended simile in which Wisdom compares herself with a whole series of trees, plants, and vines. Behind this imagery is probably the myth of the tree of wisdom (cf. 1 Enoch 32).¹⁵ The point, in any case, is that wisdom gives life—a point made in the literature in many different ways. It will recur in the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus speaks as the incarnation of wisdom.¹⁶

A comparison of this text with Sirach 24 indicates that both posit functionally identical views of wisdom. According to ben Sira, wisdom is a heavenly entity, which has been embodied in a book, viz., the Mosaic Torah (v 23), and whose function is to give life to those who listen and obey. The sage develops the idea by describing his exposition of the Torah as a natural and necessary extension of the life-giving function of the Torah (vv 23-34). Moreover, in v 33 he characterizes his book as a deposit left for the benefit of "the generations

of eternity" (εἰς γενεὰς αἰώνων). Enoch refers to his books in a similar way. They are authoritative instruction that is the deposit of heavenly wisdom, which gives life like food, and they are the product of a "scribe" (12:4), who has left his books for "the generations of eternity."

But if Enoch's wisdom is functionally like ben Sira's it also differs from ben Sira's in significant ways. First, this author traces the origin of his wisdom to primordial, that is, pre-Mosaic, time. This wisdom was obtained, moreover, when Enoch ascended to the divine throne room and toured the cosmos. This radical claim of authority undergirds an exclusivistic interpretation of what constitutes valid and life-giving divine instruction. The content of Enoch's wisdom, on the other hand, is broader than what is contained in the Pentateuch. It includes a detailed picture of the cosmos (the substance of which is often ascribed to intellectual circles, dubbed "wisdom circles"; see Introduction §§5.1.1.3, 5.2.4.1). It also has a substantial component that is concerned with God's future activity as judge, which is best compared with the future-oriented oracles of the prophets (but cf. Deuteronomy 32). This intensive interest in the future is, conversely, bound up with the author's understanding of law and human conduct with respect to it. In the judgment, people will be saved or damned on account of their obedience or disobedience of what Enoch considers torah and because of their support or oppression of those whom he considers to be "the righteous and the pious."

If 81:1–82:4a-c stand out from their context in the Book of the Luminaries, the situation is more dubious in the case of 82:4. As it stands, the verse functions as a transition to the astronomical material that concludes chaps. 72–82. In full it reads: "Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all who walk in way of righteousness, and do not sin like the sinners, in the numbering of all their days in which the sun journeys in heaven, coming in and out through the gates for thirty days with the heads over thousands of this order of stars, (and) with the four which are added and divide between the four parts of the year, which lead them and appear with them on four days" (translation of Knibb, 2:188).

This technical astronomical content notwithstanding,

15 See Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 91–94.

16 See Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*

(i–xii) (AB 29; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966) cxxii–cxxv.

several internal and external considerations suggest that the present form of the verse has developed from a nucleus that originally served as a conclusion to 81:1–82:3. First, the wording of the initial clauses of the verse indicates that it is a variant of the beatitude in 99:10:

- a And then blessed will be all who listen to the words of the wise,
- b and learn to do the commandments of the Most High,
- c and walk in the paths of his righteousness,
- d and do not err with the erring;
- e for they will be saved.

The introductory formula in line a, the whole of line c, and the adversative formulation in line d all have counterparts in the first part of 82:4, while the long second part of 82:4 explicates the content of the astronomical lore that constitutes the torah referred to in 99:10bc. In light of this similarity between 82:4a-c and 99:10, it is striking that three elements in 99:10 that are missing in 82:4 do occur in 82:3: the primary subject matter of v 3 (as well as v 2) is wisdom (99:10a), which is to be “listened to” (82:3b; 99:10a) and learned (82:3b; 99:10b). In short, read in the light of the analogous 99:10, the first part of 82:4 is a natural complement to 82:3.

Second, in its form as a beatitude and its location at the end of a major subsection, 82:4a-c provides a balanced literary counterpart to 81:4.

Third, the section of 2 *Enoch* that corresponds to the present context contains all the major components present in 82:1-4, including a beatitude:¹⁷

Thus I am making it known to you, my children, |And| you must hand over the books to your children, and throughout all your generations. . . . And they will be more enjoyable than any delightful food on earth. . . . Happy is |the person| who puts their yoke on and carries it around; for he will plow on the day of the great judgment.

(48:6-9, translation of Andersen, ad loc.)

Especially interesting in this beatitude is the final clause, which promises salvation at the judgment. Formally, this clause is a normal element in a beatitude, and thus it appears in 99:10e. The specific reference to the judgment, moreover, corresponds to 81:4, which refers to the consulting of the heavenly record at the time of the judgment. For these reasons, the first part of the beatitude in 82:4 has been included in the translation above and supplied with a tentative final clause that uses the language of 99:10. The reference to the path of righteousness will be picked up in the two-ways instruction in 91:3-4, which is addressed to Methuselah and the rest of Enoch’s children and appeals to them to “listen” to his words (cf. 82:3).

17 For other material in 2 *Enoch* related to this section, cf. chaps. 33–48; see also comm. on 93:11-14.

- 1 And now, my son, Methuselah, I will show you all the visions^a that I saw;
before you I will recount (them).^b
- 2 Two visions I saw before I took a wife,
and the one was unlike the other.
The first (was) when I was learning to write,
and the second, before I took your mother.
I saw a terrible vision,
and concerning it^a I besought the Lord.
- 3 I was lying down in the house of Mahalalel, my grandfather, (when) I saw in a vision,
heaven was thrown down and taken away,
and it fell down upon the earth.
- 4 And when it fell upon the earth,
I saw how the earth was swallowed up in the great abyss.
Mountains were suspended upon mountains,
and hills sank down upon hills;
Tall trees were cut from their roots,
and were thrown away and sank into the abyss.
- 5 And then speech fell into my mouth, and I lifted up (my voice) to cry out and said,
"The earth has been destroyed."
- 6 And Mahalalel my grandfather aroused me, since I was lying near him, and said to me
"Why do you cry out so, my son,
and why do you lament so?"
- 7 And I recounted to him the whole vision that I had seen, and he said to me,
"A terrible thing you have seen, my son,
and mighty is the vision of your dream (in) the secrets of all the sin of the earth.
It must sink into the abyss,
and it will be utterly destroyed.
- 8 And now, my son, arise and make supplication to the Lord of glory, since you are faithful,
that a remnant may remain upon the earth,
and that he may not obliterate the whole earth.^a
- 9 My son, from heaven all this will come to pass upon the earth,
and upon the earth there will be great destruction."
- 10 Then I arose and prayed and made supplication and request,
and my prayer I wrote down for the generations of eternity,
and everything I shall show you, my son, Methuselah.
- 11 And when I went out below,
and saw the heaven and the sun rising in the east,
and the moon setting in the west and a few stars,
and all the earth and everything as he made it^a from the beginning.
Then I blessed the Lord of judgment, and to him I ascribed majesty,
for he made the sun go forth from the windows of the east,
so that it ascended and rose on the face of the heaven,
and he made it rise, and it traverses the path that it was shown.
- 84:1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Great Holy One,
and I spoke with the breath of my mouth and with a tongue of flesh,
which God has made for the sons of the flesh of man, that they might speak with it.
{And he has given them breath and tongue and mouth that they might speak with it.}^a
- 2 "Blessed are you, O Lord, King,
great and mighty in your majesty,
Lord of all the creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of all eternity.
Your power and your reign and your majesty abide forever and forever and ever,
and to all generations, your dominion.
All the heavens are your throne forever,
and all the earth is your footstool forever and forever and ever.
- 3 For you have made and you rule^a all things,
and nothing is too difficult for you;
Wisdom does not escape you,
and it does not turn away from your throne,^b nor from your presence.

You know and see and hear all things,
 and there is nothing that is hidden from you.^c
 4 And now the angels of your heavens are doing wrong,
 and upon human flesh is your wrath until the great day of judgment.
 5 And now, O God and Lord and great King,
 I make supplication and request that you fulfill my prayer,
 to leave me a remnant on the earth,
 and not obliterate all human flesh,
 and devastate the earth,
 that there be eternal destruction.
 6 And now, my Lord, remove from the earth the flesh that has aroused your wrath,
 but the righteous and true flesh raise up as a seed-bearing plant forever.
 And hide not your face from the prayer of your servant, O Lord."

83:1

a "my visions" α-t.

b ^{ʿenger} = subjunctive, read as subordinate to the previous verb by all commentators, who treat this chapter as prose. I read the text in poetic parallelism, and take the subjunctive to be a mistranslation of an original Aramaic imperfect.

2a T⁹ | "them" *rel*.

8a Om. line gmqu; however, it appears to be supported in 84:5de, where the idea is included in Enoch's prayer.

11a "as he knew it" Ɔ. For the translation above see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 161 n. 12.

84:1

a This line, attested in all mss., is bracketed as a probable double reading of the previous one.

3a "you fill" (*temalle*) 6 mss., rather than *temallek*, txt., which is supported by the parallel in 9:5.

b "from her life, your throne" (*ʿemmanbartā* [*ʿem*] *men-barika/manbarika*) almost all mss. with variants. Charles (*Enoch*, 184), followed by Uhlig (*Enoch*, 677), emends the first word to *ʿemmenbārāta* ("from the place of your throne"; cf. Ps 89:15 [14]). While this is certainly possible, the juxtaposition of the two similar words is suspicious, suggesting either that the first is a gloss (Dillmann, *Enoch*, 254; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:194), or that the text is dittographic.

c + "for you see all things" all mss., almost certainly a gloss, repeating the previous line.

Introduction

Enoch recounts the contents and circumstances of his first dream vision. While as a youth he was staying in the house of his grandfather Mahalalel, he dreamed that the cosmos had collapsed into the great abyss (83:3-4). Mahalalel interpreted the dream as a valid prediction of the deluge, through which God would punish the earth and its inhabitants for their sin, and he appealed to Enoch to pray that a human remnant would remain (83:7-9). After his prayer (83:10), Enoch saw in the order of heaven and earth a sign and promise that his prayer would be heard (83:11). Chapter 84 is a record of the contents of his prayer, which, like other of his writings, was preserved for the benefit of future generations (83:10).

The relevance of this narrative lies in its typology between the flood and the final judgment. Future gener-

ations of the righteous, who, like Enoch and Mahalalel, fear that the divine Judge will turn the cosmos back to chaos, can take comfort in the promise, once given to Enoch, that a righteous remnant will survive as a seed-bearing plant in God's re-created world. In this respect, the narrative functions like the Noachic stories in chaps. 106-107 and chaps. 65-67, which resemble this text both in their plot line and contents (see Introduction to chaps. 106-107, § Relationship to Parallel Stories).

Origin, Function, and Date

Most of the content in this text can be accounted for as a development of earlier materials in the corpus, modified and reshaped to fit the present context. The typology of flood and final judgment is an essential element in chaps. 6-11, as is the notion of the remnant, applied both to Noah (10:1-2) and to the righteous of the end

time (10:16–17). Both in its form and its language, Enoch's prayer in chap. 84 closely parallels chap. 9, where the four holy ones plead on behalf of the earth and its inhabitants, which are being desolated by the deeds of the watchers and the giants. The imagery in Enoch's dream (83:3–4) recalls the description of the judgment in Enoch's oracle in 1:6–7. Enoch's report of what he saw in heaven and on earth (83:11) parallels the language in 2:1–2 and the cosmological and astronomical traditions to which that passages alludes. To these parallels must be added the similarities to chaps. 106–107 and 65–67, mentioned above, but nothing in either of those texts can be certainly identified as a primitive element not present in chaps. 83–84. The strange fact that the otherwise unimportant Mahalalel serves in the present story as an interpreter for Enoch can be explained by the specific circumstances of the narrative. Enoch is a youth; this is his first revelation.

The major tendency evident in this author's reuse of earlier materials is an emphasis on elements that are appropriate to a fictive setting in Noachic times. Central are the flood and the concern about a remnant that would survive its universal destruction. The symbolic assurance that Enoch receives after his prayer is reminiscent of Noah's receipt of the sign of the bow after his sacrifice, according to the biblical account (Gen 8:20–9:17). Through this emphasis on motifs that are essential to the Noachic context of Gen 6:1–4, the author has played down the peculiar nuances that characterize the interpretation of the biblical materials in 1 Enoch 6–11. Thus, although the flood continues to be a paradigm for the final judgment, as it was in chaps. 6–11, the present text, like Genesis, identifies all flesh as the perpetrators and not the victims of the sin that will bring on the flood's destruction. Therefore, different from the main narrative line in chaps. 6–11 (which has been shaped by the Shemihazah myth), here the remnant will be saved not from the sin of the angels and the violence of the giants, but from the wrath of God's otherwise universal judgment.

This tendency—to see the mass of humanity as sinners liable to judgment rather than as victims who await vindication for the watchers' sin against them—is consonant nonetheless with a tendency that was already introduced into chaps. 6–11 in those elements that described the angelic rebellion as the revelation of forbidden secrets.

As Asael came increasingly to be the chief angelic culprit (see Introduction to chaps. 6–11), the texts began to focus on humanity's responsibility for actions that were based on the knowledge gained from the forbidden revelations. A clue to this process appears in 10:7: humans are perishing because of the mystery that the watchers taught other humans. This linkage between angelic sin and human responsibility reappears in the present text in 84:4, and it recurs in the Noachic stories in 106:13–18 and 65:6, which also continue the tendency to emphasize the flood as judgment on humanity and focus on Noah as the righteous remnant of a wicked humanity.

Although the present text reshapes older material in keeping with a tendency that is already operative in the tradition, the modified material has its own function in the present context, as a complement to the second dream vision. Together they emphasize, each in its own way, the typology between the flood and the final judgment. In addition, they state what has not been said hitherto in the corpus with respect to the texts' fictive setting. Already "in the days of Jared," at the time of the angelic rebellion, the divine Judge was prepared to deal with sin. The flood was waiting in the wings more than a millennium before it happened, and Enoch knew this. Moreover, in God's purview, revealed in the second dream vision, this primordial judgment long anticipated its antitype in the eschaton.

These considerations, along with the smooth transition from the introduction of the section to the beginning of this subsection (see comm. on 83:1–2d), suggest that the first dream vision was shaped from traditional material (the Book of the Watchers [esp. chaps. 1–11], an archetype of chaps. 106–7, and chap. 65) for the purpose of providing a companion piece to what is now the second dream vision. If that is the case, the terminus post quem for its present form would be the date of the composition of chaps. 85–90, or the first draft of that vision (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Date).

The Balaam Inscription: A Reflection of ■ Possible Prototype

One piece of evidence may complicate a reconstruction of the history of tradition in chaps. 83–84. The introductions to the Balaam oracles in Numbers 23–24 provided a model for the introduction to Enoch's oracle in chaps.

1–5 (see comm. on 1:2–3). The eighth-century Aramaic Balaam inscription from Deir ‘Alla in the Jordan Valley raises some interesting questions with respect to the present text. Unfortunately, the badly preserved state of the inscription and the resultant controversies over its reconstruction make it impossible to draw any firm conclusions.¹ Nonetheless, the following considerations are mentioned for the record.

The inscription preserves fragments of a first person singular narrative in which Balaam receives a night vision, arises in the morning, weeping, and recounts the vision to his people. In the vision, Balaam has learned from the gods about a coming cosmic disaster, and the inscription has been made at the command of the gods in order to preserve the content of the vision.²

The possible connections between this text and Enoch’s first dream vision are far from clear or even certain. That the Enoch tradition made use of non-Israelite material is clear enough, and an association with Balaam traditions is not out of the question, given the diction in 1:2–3. The Deir ‘Alla inscription may provide some fragmentary evidence of a narrative prophetic tradition that was known by the author of 1 Enoch 83–84.

Literary Style

Modern editions regularly present at least chap. 83, if not the prayer in chap. 84, in prose form.³ On the poetic form of 83:1–2d, see comm. below. As for the rest of chap. 83, only in vv 3a, 5, 6a, 7a, and 8a do we have lines that do not indicate relatively neat poetic parallelism. It is of course possible that the whole chapter was written in a kind of repetitious prose that gives the impression that it is poetry. It seems more likely that, in the main, we have a genuine poetic parallelism, as in chap. 84. I

present it here as such, with the longer anomalous lines indicated. For broader considerations see the Introduction §3.3.2.1.

■ **83:1–2d** These lines are clearly an introduction to the whole of chaps. 83–90, which they identify as two component parts of a single section. Enoch speaks first of “all the visions” he is going to transmit to Methuselah and then twice defines “all” to mean “two.” They are the “terrible vision” that he describes in chaps. 83–84 (83:2e, 3a) and the allegorical dream vision in chaps. 85–90, which he saw before his marriage (cf. 85:3).

The translation above presents these verses as poetry. If one grants one minor emendation (n. b on v 1), they can be structured into a clearly defined group of three short distichs set in parallelism. For other considerations see Introduction above, § Literary Style.

Verse 1 defines the section as a continuation of Enoch’s instruction to Methuselah, which has begun in 82:1–3 and will continue in chap. 91. The assertion that Enoch is now recounting “all” of his visions is odd in the context of the corpus. It limits Enoch’s visions to two and thus ignores the explicit visionary character of chaps. 12–16 (cf. 13:8–10; 14:1–4; as well as 1:2) and the literary form of vision–question–angelic interpretation throughout chaps. 17–33. This difficulty may be a function of the formulaic character of v 1a, which is paralleled in 81:5; 82:1; 91:1–2. Alternatively one could translate:

And now, my son, Methuselah, I am showing you
everything;
the visions that I saw I will recount before you.

1 For the editio princeps see J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ‘Alla* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 19; Leiden: Brill, 1976). For critical literature see A. Caquot and A. Lemaire, “Les textes araméens de Deir ‘Alla,” *Syria* 54 (1977) 189–208; Baruch A. Levine, “The Deir ‘Alla Plaster Inscriptions,” *JAOS* 101 (1981) 195–205; P. Kyle McCarter, “The Balaam Texts from Deir ‘Alla: The First Combination,” *BASOR* 239 (1980) 49–60; Victor Sasson, “The Book of Oracular Visions of Balaam from Deir ‘Alla,” *UF* 17 (1986) 283–309.

2 For the interpretation on which this summary is based, see McCarter, “Balaam Texts,” 51–59.

3 For a prose format in chap. 83 and poetry in chap. 84, see Black, *Enoch*, 71–72, who follows Charles, *Enoch*, 182–85. Both chapters in their entirety are set in prose by Beer, “Henoch,” 288–89; Uhlig, *Henoch*, 674–78; and Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:192–95.

This would explain the presence of the sg. *kwello* (lit. “all of it” or “everything”) before the pl. “visions.” While it is possible in Ethiopic to modify a pl. noun with a sg. adjective, the formula “I have shown you everything” does occur in 79:1 and 80:1 (cf. 81:5).

Although in the sequence of the corpus these two visions are recounted to Methuselah near the end of Enoch’s time on earth, as part of his testamentary instruction, this introduction implies that they were the first pieces of revelation that Enoch received. The second vision, which is dated prior to his marriage, was preceded by a vision that he saw when he was learning to write and during a stay in his grandfather’s house (83:3). This suggests that he was a young man, if not a child. The reference to writing will be picked up in 83:10. It is perhaps alluded to in *Jub.* 4:17 (“He was the first to learn writing and knowledge and wisdom”).

■ **2e-f** Enoch introduces his first vision with a distich that briefly summarizes the narrative that follows. Both these two lines and v 3a would have been an abrupt beginning to the narrative had they existed separately as a unit. Read in the context of vv 1-2d, however, they form a seamless transition from the introduction of the whole section to its first subsection. This may be one indication that the first dream vision was composed at the same time as the introduction to provide a companion piece to chaps. 85–90, which dominate the section.

This brief summary characterizes the vision (vv 3-4) as Mahalalel will describe it later (v 7b). Omitting mention of Mahalalel’s interpretation, Enoch simply refers to his own prayer (v 10).

■ **3-4** Enoch’s narrative begins with a brief summary of the contents of the vision. Verse 3a sets the scene in a long line of six words that will not divide into the 3 + 3 structure of the previous distich. The vision takes place at night (cf. v 11) and is called a dream in v 7c (“your dream vision”; cf. 85:2) and in 90:42, at the end of its companion vision. The setting in Mahalalel’s house prepares us for the grandfather’s role as interpreter (vv 6-9).

Enoch’s vision symbolizes the flood, but the description conveys a picture of cosmic collapse and annihila-

tion. Different from its narrative counterparts in Genesis 7, or even 1 Enoch 89:2-6, the vision does not describe the opening of the windows of heaven and the fountains of the deep. Instead, the cosmos reverts to primordial chaos. Heaven’s canopy—stretched out at creation to separate the waters above from the deep—is torn off and hurled onto the earth, which collapses and sinks back into the abyss. The terrifying effect of the vision is enhanced by the brevity of the account, the bare-bones use of nouns depicting parts of the cosmos, governed by verbs of violence and destruction, all tightly bound in a repetitious synthetic parallelism. The short poems divide into two distichs, about heaven and earth and about earth’s components, each part ending with the descent into the abyss. Although the vision refers to the flood, the imagery recalls Enoch’s description of the fearful cosmic upheaval that will attend God’s appearance for the final judgment (1:6-7), and the typical Enochic typology of flood and final judgment is suggested here. A model for both the typology and the picture of cosmic disintegration appears in Isaiah 24, especially vv 1, 17-23. Universal sin (vv 2-6) will bring on a new flood (v 18), when God will rock the earth from its foundations and punish the hosts of heaven and the kings of the earth. The references to the sin of heavenly beings and to a temporary incarceration until a final punishment (vv 21-22) provide other significant parallels to 1 Enoch (chaps. 6–11) that may be fragments of a common mythic tradition.⁴

■ **5-6** In this brief, lifelike scene, the young Enoch cries out in terror, shaken by the vivid reality of his nightmare, and his grandfather rushes to his side. The clause “a word fell into my mouth” may define Enoch’s cry as an expression of revelation (cf. Dan 4:28 [31]: “a voice fell from heaven,” קל מן שמיא נפל).⁵ In any case the youth’s cry expresses the truth that Mahalalel will reveal in vv 7-9. The pregnant use of “lift up” (נשא) to mean “lift up one’s voice” is documented in Hebrew (Isa 3:7; 42:2),

4 See David Winston Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch* (SBLDS 47; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 39–72.

5 Black, *Enoch*, 255.

though not in Aramaic.⁶ The expression “took up . . . and said” occurs in 1 Enoch also in 37:2 and 85:2, both at the beginning of Enoch’s speeches. Its meaning is complicated by a similar use of “he took up his discourse and said” (see comm. on 1:2-3). The present scene, both in its context and its wording, closely parallels 65:5 (“my [great]-grandfather . . . stood by me and said, ‘why do you cry out and . . . weep?’”). See Introduction to chaps. 106–107, § Relationship to Parallel Texts.

■ 7-9 In this text Mahalalel functions as the interpreter of a vision, a role that 1 Enoch normally ascribes to angels. But cf. Daniel 2 and 4, where Daniel is the inspired interpreter of Nebuchadnezzar’s dreams. Mahalalel’s interpretation is introduced by a narrative formula that echoes v 1; Enoch recounted to Mahalalel the whole vision that he had seen, just as he is now recounting it to Methuselah. The interpretation divides into two parallel units (vv 7b-e, 8-9). Each begins with an address to “my son,” continues with reference to “the earth,” and concludes with the words “great destruction.” The first unit is the interpretation itself. In the second unit Mahalalel issues instructions to Enoch (v 8) and concludes by asserting that his prediction will come to pass (v 9).

The initial distich in the interpretation employs synthetic parallelism to characterize Enoch’s vision:

a terrible thing you have seen

mighty is the vision of your dream in the secrets

The roots *šmʿ* and *hyl* (“strong” and “mighty”) and their equivalents in Hebrew and Aramaic are common as a word pair,⁷ but their precise meaning here is uncertain. The first line refers either to the dream’s effect on Enoch or to the terrible implications of its meaning. An almost identical expression occurs in 106:9, there with reference to Noah’s appearance. The verb in the second line here (*hayyala*, lit. “to be strong, heavy, burdensome”) has been translated with two tendencies. First, the vision “is heavy with the secrets . . .,” that is, concerns them (Knibb, following Dillmann).⁸ Second, “It is of grave moment as to the secrets . . .” (Charles),⁹ or “for

the secrets . . .” (Uhlig).¹⁰ Given the parallelism, it is likely that one of the interpretations suggested by Charles and Uhlig is correct. The dream is serious (or “horrible,” Black) because its subject is the sins of the world, or it has grave consequences for sin. The “secrets of sin” is also an ambiguous term. The expression could denote God’s secret intention to deal with sin (the dream has dire consequences, because it reveals God’s intent to punish sin). Alternatively, it could be a subjective genitive (“sinful secrets”) and refer to the revelations of Asael and the other watchers (chap. 8). This would fit the first interpretation (the dream is horrible because it has to do with the angelic revelations).

The second distich in this unit (v 7d-e) is a pithy interpretation of the dream. What Enoch saw in a vision will become fact. Mahalalel repeats what Enoch has already said in v 5: literally, “the earth will be destroyed with a great destruction” (cf. 106:15). These two lines underscore the cosmic dimensions of Enoch’s dream.

In view of this terrible prospect, Mahalalel counsels Enoch, in the second unit (v 8), to pray that a remnant may survive the catastrophe. The motif is drawn from the biblical story of Noah (Gen 7:23) and is central in Enochic materials about Noah (see comm. on 84:5-6). Mahalalel believes that Enoch’s prayer will be effective because he is “faithful.” Although Enoch is perceived to be righteous (see comm. on 14:24–15:1), this particular term is nowhere else applied to him in 1 Enoch and is rare in the corpus (see comm. on 108:11-13).

■ 10 Echoing in line a the language of v 8a, Enoch tells Methuselah that he did as his grandfather instructed him. On standing as the posture for prayer, see comm. on 12:3. The text of his prayer is contained in chap. 84 (cf. the echo of 83:10a in 84:5b). He was able to write it down because he was learning to write at the time of this incident (83:2). In stating that he wrote it down “for the generations of eternity,” Enoch gives his prayer a status parallel to his other writings (see 82:2-3). Thus the author implies that the prayer for survival from the

6 Ibid., 194, 255; Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 133.

7 Black, *Enoch*, 255.

8 Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:192.

9 Charles, *Enoch*, 183.

10 Uhlig, *Enoch*, 675.

flood will be significant for those who live in the latter days and wish to survive the final judgment (cf. 84:4). Verse 10c is formulaic (see comm. on 83:1-2d) and anticipates the text of the prayer, which will be given after the next section.

■ **11** Before appending the text of the prayer, Enoch completes his narrative. When he had prayed, he saw in heaven a sign that his prayer had been heard, and so he praised God. This section consists of two complementary units of four lines. Each begins with a line that has a first person singular verb, followed by a line that describes the sun in the east. Both units are typically Enochic in their vocabulary and interests.

When Enoch has completed his prayer, he leaves the house and looks out into the world. In heaven he sees the luminaries moving as is their custom, and on the earth he sees things as God had made them in the beginning (Gen 1:1). The rising of the sun, which will be elaborated on in the second unit, engenders hope because it is symbolic that God's world will go on, in spite of the catastrophe predicted in his dream. The reference to the earth recalls the previous frequent references to its destruction in vv 4 and 7-8, and this unit as a whole is a foil to vv 3-4. In his vision he saw heaven thrown down and earth and its components swallowed up. Now he sees heaven in place, its luminaries in their accustomed motion, and the earth and everything on it as God had first made them.

As the second unit of this poem indicates, that the cosmos is intact does not cancel the threat of the judgment. Enoch addresses God with the unique title, "Lord of judgment" (but cf. 22:14). The Judge is to be praised, however, because as creator he has given a sign in the movement of the sun (twice a causative verb is used, when none occurs in v 11a-d) that the cosmos will survive the destructive judgment. Thus this unit binds together God's functions as creator and judge, and in context the hymn of praise mentioned here presumes that God has answered Enoch's earlier supplication, and it signals God's faithfulness to "faithful" Enoch (83:8). Enoch's doxology closely parallels the doxology at the end of the second dream vision (90:40), as well as similar passages in 12:3, chaps. 20-36 (see comm. on 22:14), and 81:3-4, 10.

The creation imagery that saturates this poem is evocative of Enochic themes. First, when Enoch the

youth sees the heaven and the movement of the luminaries and the earth and its works, he anticipates the extended visions and journeys that are the subject of much of the corpus. Second, the emphasis on the sun and its movements is typical of Enochic astronomy, and there is scarcely a word, expression, or idea in v 11e-g that does not occur in chap. 72 (see 72:4-5, 8, 15, and for the last idea, cf. 41:6). Finally, of greatest significance is a striking parallel to 2:1-2, where also in one passage we read of heaven, the luminaries, their rising and setting, the earth and its works from the beginning, and their obedience to God's commands. The context of chap. 2 is noteworthy. In the midst of an oracle of judgment, Enoch tells his audience to look at the regularity and obedience of creation, which are a foil to the human transgression that is under indictment. Here the theme is similar but the nuance is different: the regularity of creation is a sign of hope beyond the judgment.

If this passage has many Enochic resonances, it also serves a narrative function that parallels the biblical Noah story. After the flood, when Noah had offered sacrifice, God promised him that the regularity of earth's seasons would never cease (Gen 8:20-22), and then God promised in the bow a visible heavenly sign of the covenant (Gen 9:11-17). In the present story, after Enoch is told of the flood and when he has prayed, he sees in the regularity of the heavens a promise that a remnant would arise after the destruction (see also 84:5-6).

■ **84:1-6** This chapter provides a transcript of Enoch's prayer of supplication for deliverance from the flood. Although v 1 suggests a point of continuity with 83:11e ("I blessed"), the content of the prayer, especially 84:5-6, identifies this as the prayer mentioned in vv 8-10. Its place at the end of the narrative parallels the literary technique in chaps. 12-16. There a detailed account of Enoch's vision, which is mentioned in the narrative at 13:8, is given at the end of the narrative in chaps. 14-16 (cf. also 84:1 with 14:2 for parallel introductions to the appended sections).

In its structure, content, and wording, Enoch's prayer closely parallels the prayer of the angels in chap. 9:

	chap. 9	chap. 84
A. Address		
blessing	[4c]	2a
titles	4a	2a-d
B. Description of God's		
works, power		
creation	5a	3a
sovereignty	5a	[2e-f], 3a
knowledge	5bc, 11	3e-f
C. Petition		
And now . . .	9a, 10a	4aα
present situation	6-10	4aβ-b
petition itself	–	5-6

Both of these prayers presume the situation of prediluvian sin and use much of the same language to address God with respect to it, although 84:2e-h and 3b-d have some additional lines appropriate to their context. Two major differences between the two prayers are noteworthy. (a) The description of angelic sin in chap. 9 is fifteen lines long, while its counterpart here devotes one line to the angels' sin and one line to human sin. (b) The prayer in chap. 9 is apocopated and lacks an explicit petition, although it has been triggered by a concern that a few humans survive the giants' devastation. Enoch's prayer contains an eight-line petition that a remnant of humanity survive God's wrath when the flood destroys the earth. These differences reflect the two authors' differing portraits of the fictive situation. Chapter 9 is humanity's anguished indictment of God. Here Enoch foresees the possibility of salvation beyond the flood.

■ **1** Enoch's prayer is given a narrative introduction. For the gesture of raising or extending one's hands for prayer, cf. 1 Kgs 8:22; Ezra 9:5; *T. Mos.* 4:1; 3 Macc 2:1; 1 Tim 2:8. Enoch's righteousness recalls Mahalalel's statement that he was "faithful" (83:8). The verb "blessed" prepares for the opening formula in v 2a. On the typical title "the Great Holy One," see comm. on 1:3c-4. See also the combination of these words in the angelic prayer "your name is holy and great and blessed" (9:4d).

According to v 1b-d (if the last line is original; see n. b), prayer is an appropriate function for human beings because God the Creator has made and given them the

gift of speech. Although the idea is at home here among many references to God's creative activity, the wording closely parallels the introduction to Enoch's report of his vision in 14:1-2. There, a human being prefaces a speech with reference to the divine origin of the gift of speech (see comm. 14:2-3). For a passage reminiscent of the present one and the angelic parallel to this prayer, cf. 1 Cor 13:1, which suggests that when humans praise God, they can also speak with the tongues of angels. Cf. also Sir 51:22; 1QH 9(1):28-31.

■ **2a-d** The address of Enoch's prayer begins with a traditional formula still used in modern-day Jewish prayers. For parallels, cf. 1QH 13(5):20; 18(10):14; Tob 3:11; 1 Enoch 9:4d. The emphasis, as in 9:4, is on God's greatness (or "majesty"; cf. 83:11, and his name in 84:1; cf. also 9:2), sovereignty, power, and eternity. Added here in line c is an additional reference to the creation of heaven—perhaps an allusion to God's authority over the rebel angels.

■ **2e-h** Different from its counterpart in chap. 9, this chapter expands on God's eternal sovereignty in two chiasmic lines, v 2e-f. For similar rhetoric, cf. Dan 3:33 (4:3), 7:27, and 1 Esdr 4:40 in a quasi-prayer setting. Verse 2g-h is another couplet with no counterpart in chap. 9, except that the earlier scene takes place in God's heavenly temple. The "paraphrase" of Isa 66:2 fits with earlier references to heaven and earth (vv 3-4, 11) and the general theme of God as creator (cf. also Isa 66:4, "all these things my hand has made," with the next line in this prayer). The two references to the eternity of heaven and earth, especially the triple formula with reference to the earth (cf. above line e), may be traditional, but in context they contrast with Enoch's vision of the destruction of heaven and earth. In their sequence here, they affirm what Enoch saw according to 83:11. Placed in their proper chronological setting, as a preparation for v 5, they are a challenge that God not destroy what should be eternal.

■ **3** In line a Enoch appeals to God's creative activity and continuing reign in the same order as 9:5a, and adds a complementary line on God's omnipotence. The wording closely parallels Jer 32:17, as well as Gen 18:14 (cf. Luke 1:37).¹¹ Favoring some connection with the

11 Charles, *Enoch*, 184, though he does not note the parallels in content.

former is that text's form as a prayer and its juxtaposition of creation and judgment on sin (32:16-19; cf. 1 Enoch 84:4). Alternatively both Genesis and Luke provide a foil to 1 Enoch 84:4. God intervenes to conceive a special child; the angels mingle with mortal woman and conceive giants.¹² Lines e-f close the section with reference to God's omniscience, expressed in words closely parallel to 9:5. The lines are preceded by a distich that reflects traditional ideas about Wisdom's presence by God's throne. Particularly close to this text is Solomon's prayer in Wisdom 9 (esp. vv 2, 4, 9, 10), where Wisdom is associated with creation, understands God's will, and is sent to inspire kings and to help and save the creation. Explicit in Wis 1:6-10, 6:8-11, and 21-22 is Wisdom's function as the divine witness that provides the divine Judge with a report on human activity. This function is emphasized here, though the next two lines do not explicitly tie it to Wisdom. Herein lies a remarkable difference between this prayer and chap. 9. In the earlier prayer the four archangels, functioning as God's eyes on the world, call God's attention to what is already known, because as witnesses they are also advocates for the oppressed and devastated innocent of the world. They indict the rebel watchers and call for judgment and vindication of the murdered inhabitants of the earth. Here, with no mention of angelic witnesses, Enoch acknowledges God's omniscience, facilitated by the presence and activity of Wisdom, and pleads that God's judgment on the watchers and a sinful humanity—already determined, as he learned in his dream—not lead to total devastation of the earth and its inhabitants.

■ 4 This brief reference to the situation on earth mentions the sin of the angels and God's wrath on humanity. Again, the emphasis differs from chap. 9 and chaps. 6-11 as a whole, where humanity is the victim of angelic transgression. The emphasis there has some exceptions in passages that deal with the sin of Asael in particular, and with the angelic revelations in general. In those texts the earth's devastation is partly the result of human

sin that has been catalyzed by the forbidden revelations (9:6; 10:7-8). This increasing emphasis on the figure of Asael, the element of revelation, and the importance of human responsibility moves the tradition back toward the biblical idea that "all flesh" is guilty and away from the notion that humans are simply the innocent victims of the giants' bloody deeds. Here the association of angelic sin and human guilt is taken for granted (contrast 9:6), as it is in the parallel stories in chaps. 106-107 and 65-67 (see esp. 106:13-15). This view of the situation is further emphasized in the Noachic allusions in vv 5-6.

■ 5-6 After his extended address to God and his description of God's activity and the world's predicament, Enoch again takes up the divine address as he presents his petition, introducing it with the formulaic "And now . . ." (v 5a).

The language of the rest of vv 5-6 parallels 83:8-9 and identifies this as the prayer that Enoch had spoken at that time at Mahalalel's behest. The specific concern and the language that expresses it are paralleled in Noachic passages in Gen 6:11-13; 7:23; 1 Enoch 106:16-18; 65:12; 67:2-3. The prospect is God's judgment on all humanity and the genuine possibility that no one will survive. In contrast to this, Enoch prays in v 6 that, as a true judge, God distinguish between sinful humanity, which has rightly aroused the divine wrath (v 4), and the righteous and true humanity, which should remain as a remnant that will bear seed for a new planting. This last motif is associated with Noah in 10:3 (cf. 65:12; 67:3) and with all the righteous in 10:16-19 (on the remnant as a stump, cf. Isa 6:13). The prayer ends with a psalmic cliché (Pss 13:2 [1]; 27:9; 69:18 [17]; 102:3 [2]; 143:7).

12 On the interrelationship of the story of the watchers and stories about divine, or divinely induced, conceptions, see Introduction to chaps. 106-107, § Literary Genre.

Introduction

Contents

As part of his testamentary instruction, Enoch recounts to Methuselah a dream vision in which he saw “all the deeds of humanity . . . in their order” (90:41).¹ The narrative is a summary of events from the creation of Adam to some point in the Hellenistic period, which is expected to trigger the final judgment and a newly created order. These events are presented in a complex allegory that depicts human beings as animals, the disobedient watchers as descending stars, and the seven archangels as white men.

The Vision divides human history into three major eras:

1. Creation to the flood (85:3–89:8)
2. Renewal of creation to the great judgment (89:9–90:27)
3. Second renewal into an open future (90:28–38)

Events in the first and second eras move through parallel cycles: creative beginning, disintegration due to sin, termination by divine judgment. The beginning of the final era is a return to the primordial beginning.

The First Era (85:3–89:8)

The importance of the prediluvian era is indicated by the inordinate length of its description. One-sixth of the Vision corresponds to Gen 1:1–8:7, while the rest of Genesis is summarized in five verses (85:3–89:8 | 89:9–14). A second modification of Genesis is the narrative's emphasis on God's judgment rather than on the origins and deeds of humanity. The description of that judgment fills 54 percent of Enoch's narrative, compared to 29 percent of Genesis 1–8.

The portrayal of human beings as bulls and cows (in comparison to the short-lived animals that follow them) symbolizes the long lives of the prediluvian patriarchs and prepares for the second era, where the bovine species disappears. The portrayal of humanity as only one animal species also permits a literally black-and-white contrast between the evil Cainite and good Sethite

lines. Different from Genesis, here the first sin is Cain's murder of Abel rather than an act of disobedience by the first parents. The Vision will continue to highlight human acts of violence. In a major departure from Genesis, the author identifies the descent of the watchers as a chief source of evil. Only after the first star falls from heaven do the Cainites mingle with the Sethites, corrupting the line of white bulls and causing their near extinction in the flood. Similarly, the inappropriate intermingling of stars and cows—the watchers and the women—leads to the massive violence that is punished in the primordial judgment. To explicate this point, the author utilizes Enochic and Genesis material in a ratio of almost two to one.

The Second Era (89:9–90:27)

The beginning of the postdiluvian era recalls the creation, with Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth functioning as new counterparts to Adam, Seth, Cain, and Abel (89:9; cf. 85:3, 8). The proliferation of new species parallels the beginning of the first era, when the stars and cows brought forth the hybrid elephants, camels, and asses (89:10–11; cf. 86:4–6), and this leads quickly to the violence that will continue until the second era concludes with a judgment of human and angelic sin.

Although the pattern of the first era is repeated, a major change in the symbolism focuses attention on a new arena of activity. The new species that are produced (89:10–12) divide into two groups that are essential for the development of the allegory. Unclean predatory and scavenging animals and birds represent the Gentiles. A ram (Jacob) born to the white bull (Isaac) becomes the progenitor of the Israelite sheep that will be the victims of the beasts and birds. This dichotomous imagery of predators and sheep will focus the account of this era on the history of Israel as a time when the Gentile beasts devour the sheep. Equally important is the repeated image of the sheep's blindness and straying. Israel's eyes

1 In preparing the final form of the commentary on chaps. 85–90, I have made extensive use of Tiller, *Commentary*, which, in turn, made use of an earlier draft of my own commentary on this section. I have also profited from his comments on my manuscript sent by private communication before the publication of his book. Each of us has cited the other

except in those not infrequent instances when we drew similar conclusions independently of one another. Our translations occasionally employ one another's turn of phrase. Overall our commentaries agree with one another on major issues; our principal disagreement relates to the dates of the Vision and its redaction. See below, § Date.

are opened to receive revelation, but the sheep are blinded and stray from the right path.

Although the second era continues until the great judgment, a significant dividing point within the era is indicated by a qualitative change in human and divine actions. The idyllic time when God attended the sacrifices at Solomon's Temple is followed by the northern kingdom's secession from Jerusalem and Manasseh's cultic apostasy. This prompts the Lord of the sheep to abandon the flock to angelic shepherds whose dereliction of duty catalyzes the intensification of the Gentiles' victimization of Israel. As is typical in historical apocalypses, the Vision focuses in increasing detail on more recent events. The account of events from Manasseh to the second century is three times as long as the description of the period from the conquest to the time of Manasseh.

Although the commissioning of the shepherds and the demarcation of their respective periods of activity are clear chronological dividers within the era, parallels with the flood indicate that the final judgment constitutes the author's major division in postdiluvian history.

The Third Era (90:28-38)

The concluding section of the Vision and the era that it describes bear a complicated relationship to their earlier counterparts. Problems that were unresolved in the first two eras are now resolved. Elements previously repeated reappear in superlative form; then the story of humanity reverts to its first beginnings, but with the promise that there will not be another disastrous end.

In a new beginning God constructs a new Jerusalem "larger and higher than the first one" (90:28-29)—a superlative divine work that permanently replaces the buildings of Moses, Solomon, and Zerubbabel. Next Israel's perennial antagonists, the Gentile beasts and birds, offer submission to their erstwhile victims (v 30). Then God restores to their home in Jerusalem the Israelites whose victimization has been central since Joseph's descent to Egypt.

A final set of events constitutes a definitive and superlative repetition of primordial events. A white bull appears, and all the species are transformed into white bulls. The situation has returned to the time of Adam and Seth, and this recapitulation of the primal state brackets out and eradicates the problems that have

plagued the history of humanity in general and Israel in particular. Israel's Gentile predators have been transformed to humanity's pristine state, and the Israelite sheep return to primordial vigor and longevity. But different from the first progeny, there are no red bulls to be slain and no black bulls to kill them. And because things cannot go amiss as they did after creation and the flood, the Lord rejoices over the newly re-created and pure humanity.

Central Theme: The Story of How God Deals with the Human Predicament

In order to distill the central theme of this extensive dream vision, we must account for repeated elements, the patterns in which they occur, and the plot of the whole story.

The Human Predicament: The Presence of Sin

Most noticeable in the story is the ongoing presence of sin. Members of the human race are depicted as either the victims or the perpetrators of sin. Two types of sin recur. Violence appears at the beginning; it continues in the actions of the giants and is the cause of the first judgment. A new creation does not help; violence reappears at the beginning of the second era (89:11), is the essential element in the wild animal/sheep symbolism, and increases until it triggers the second judgment.

Sins of violence, however, are not attributed to Israel. The Israelites are victims of Gentile violence, which is usually punishment for another kind of sin committed by Israel. In the symbolism of the Vision, this sin is caused by blindness and involves the flock's straying from the path that God had shown them. The portrayal of God's law in general as the path of righteousness is commonplace in 1 Enoch and elsewhere (see comm. on 94:1-5). But in this vision the author focuses on instances in which Israel apostasizes from the divinely revealed and sanctioned cult. The importance of that cult is evident in the repeated references to the major cultic structures: the tabernacle (89:36), Solomon's Temple (89:50, 54, 66), the Second Temple (89:73). All specific instances of Israelite sin involve cultic perversion or the abandonment of the Jerusalem sanctuary: worship of the golden calf (89:32-35); the blindness of the period of the golden calf (89:41), which the biblical book usually

specifies as idolatry; Saul's sin (89:44); the northern kingdom's abandoning of Jerusalem (89:51); Manasseh's total abandoning of the temple (89:54); the polluted cult of the Second Temple (89:73). The last two instances of sin are crucial, because they bring on the exile and the crisis of the author's own time.

The Source of Sin and Evil

The human predicament is exacerbated because evil and sin are mainly functions of a dualistic cosmos. Two instances are explicit. In primordial times rebellious heavenly beings spawned the giants whose violent deeds victimized the human race. In the latter times the Gentiles' violent oppression of Israel results from the heavenly shepherds' violation of their divine mandate. The cause of human sin in general is more difficult to assess. Why was Cain born as a black bull that would spawn a line of black bulls? Is this element in the story an early instance of the legend that Cain was fathered by a demonic figure? In such a case this interference in the divine plan would have been further aided by the descent of the first star, whose appearance on earth catalyzed the mingling that contaminated the Sethite line. In the second era, equally intriguing is the blinding that causes the Israelites' sin. Here too the author symbolizes sin by an image that connotes darkness. The use of the passive verb may indicate an implied subject, one who makes blind, the equivalent of the angel Sammael.

Sin and Judgment

The story in this vision recounts not only the human predicament but its divine resolution. Sin is paired with judgment or punishment. This judgment of sin structures the author's division of history into three eras. In addition, at various points in its history, the Israelite flock is punished for its sins when the Gentiles prey on the flock. Judgment has two sides. Both at the time of the flood and at the end of the second era, divine judgment results both in the destruction of heavenly and human sinners and in the deliverance of the righteous few.

Focus and Plot in the Vision

An analysis of the Vision must place repeated elements and cycles in the context of the whole, duly accounting for the author's allotment of space and the plot that structures the Vision from start to finish.

Even a casual study of the Vision reveals a major emphasis on the history of Israel. That part of the story fills two-thirds of the narrative.² In keeping with this, God is defined as "the Lord of the sheep" and is never mentioned until the time of the exodus (89:15). The author works out the theme of sin, judgment, and deliverance primarily in the account of Israel's history. The emphasis and direction of the story are clear. The oppressive violence that appeared early upon the earth and victimized the innocent is a prototype for Israel's experience both in Egypt and in the promised land.

In the development of the Vision's plot, this violence peaks toward the end of Israel's history, as punishment for the nation's ongoing sin. Manasseh's apostasy leads God to turn the flock over to the shepherds whose dereliction God foresees. The punishment that begins with the exile continues after it, because, far from repenting of its earlier sins in the temple, the nation continues in the blindness that centers in a polluted cult. The cry for deliverance is unheeded, and oppression increases in the Hellenistic period. Here we see the reason for the persistent motif of victimization and violence; the violence of prediluvian times foreshadows the present intensification of the violence that has typified Israel's existence since the sixth century.

Although the author's lengthy narration of Israel's history dominates the Vision, that history must be placed in the context of the whole Vision. Israel's story stands in the broader context of humanity's story, and the nation's deliverance from its enemies is a first step toward the re-creation and reuniting of the whole human race. That ultimate reconciliation emanates from within Israel, with the appearance of the great white bull that is described in language at home in Davidic messianic speculation. But the symbol of the bull and the transformation that ensues take the human story back to

2 This focus is noted by Günther Reese, "Die Geschichte Israels in der Auffassung des frühen Judentums. Eine Untersuchung der Tiervision und der Zehnwochenapokalypse des äthiopischen

Henochbuches, der Geschichtsdarstellung der Assumptio Mosis und der des 4. Esrabuches" (diss., Heidelberg, 1967) 58–62.

its pre-Israelite beginnings. Through the re-creation of the whole human race God will accomplish what failed with the first family and with their counterparts who came out of the ark.

Interpreted in this manner, the Vision is a major work of theodicy, but not simply because it declares God's dealings with human beings to be just. Through its panoramic scope, Enoch's vision admits God's false starts but then asserts God's final triumph in the new creation. In spite of angelic rebellions and human sin, the divine purpose will be accomplished. The coming deliverance of a decimated Israel portends the salvation of all humanity.

Genre

With respect to form and content, the generic and peculiar features of this text are evident from a comparison with the visions in Daniel 2, 7, 8, and 10-12. In common with the Danielic texts, 1 Enoch 85-90 is a pseudonymous dream vision (cf. Dan 2:1; 7:1-2, 7, 13; 8:1-2, 17-18), which recounts a sequence of historical events up to the eschaton (cf. Dan 2:31-45; 7:1-27; 8:3-26; 11:2-12:4), using animals to symbolize human beings or nations (cf. Daniel 7, 8) and viewing these events in the context of related events in heaven (Dan 7:9-10, 13-14; 8:10-12; 10:20-21). For the Danielic and Enochic authors, the revelations that were channeled to ancient seers through symbolic dreams and pertained to the eschaton, which was imminent in the real authors' own time. Those authors used the genre of the pseudonymous dream vision as authority for their claim to understand the eschatological character of current events and to have insight into the hidden divine activity in the heavenly realm that was about to resolve injustice and eradicate evil on earth.

In the context of these similarities, three peculiar characteristics of the Animal Vision stand out in contrast. The first is the Vision's lack of an interpretation. In Daniel 2 Daniel the sage interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Daniel's visions in chaps. 7 and 8 are interpreted by angels. In Daniel 10-12 the angel in whose presence

Daniel has fallen asleep awakens him and recites the course of coming events, which are inscribed in the book of truth. By contrast, Enoch needs no interpreter to explain his allegorical vision; he understands it all too well (90:39-42), as indeed the reader can also.

A second unique element is the Vision's broad historical scope. The Danielic visions limit their view to the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Macedonians (chaps. 2 and 7) and to the conflict between Alexander and Darius and battles between the Ptolemies and Seleucids (chaps. 8 and 11). Although the four major segments of angelic activity in the latter part of the Animal Vision parallel the four kingdoms in Daniel 2 and 7, their context is the whole sweep of human history, which is essential to the Enochic author's point of view.

Related to this is the Vision's different use of animal symbolism. In Daniel 7 the four great beasts are the mythic personifications of the primordial evil that struggles with God until the final triumph.³ In Daniel 8 the ram and he-goat are symbols for warring military powers. In the Animal Vision the central conflict between the beasts and the sheep has mythic overtones as a metaphor for Israel's oppression in a Gentile environment, and its use of the oracle in Ezekiel 34 is analogous to the use of ancient mythic symbols in Daniel 7. Within that metaphor the lions, tigers, wolves, and some birds of prey have a certain evocative quality, although they do not match the symbolic power of Daniel's four beasts. Nonetheless, they are part of the author's expansion of animal symbolism into a full-blown allegory in which the individual species represent particular nations. The one-for-one nature of the representation often leads the reader to think not of the symbol but of what it symbolizes.

The thoroughgoing allegorical character of the text is an integral part of the text's genre.⁴ Because animal symbolism is at home in dream visions, a vision about the whole sweep of history easily lends itself to a full-blown animal allegory. The referents of almost all the symbols are identifiable and are used consistently throughout the allegory. Some symbols have explicable connotations;

3 John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977) 95-118.

4 For a discussion of the allegory and the nature of its symbolism, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 20-28.

others appear to have been drawn from some minor biblical use of the metaphor.⁵

Table 5

Symbol	Referent, Meaning	Biblical Source	Discussion in Commentary
85:3–89:9: bulls white	longevity, strength Adam, Sethites (purity)	Ps 22:12	85:3-10 89:9
black	Shem the Sethite Cain (evil)		
red	Japeth Abel (martyr) Ham the cursed		
stars	fallen watchers		86:1–87:1
white men	holy ones		
89:10–90:19: sheep and beasts	Israel and its Gentile oppressors	passim Ezekiel 34	
89:10: lions	Chaldeans		89:54-58
leopards	Syrians		ibid.
wolves	Egyptians (enemies of sheep)	Isa 11:6	89:13-14
dogs	Philistines	1 Sam 17:43	89:42-50
hyenas	Moabites		89:54-58
wild boars	Edomites, Amalekites		89:72–90:1
foxes	Ammonites	Neh 4:3	
conies, pigs	uncertain referents		
falcons	(unclean animals, birds)	Lev 11:5, 7, 14	89:10-12
vultures, kites, eagles	Macedonians (unclean birds of prey)		90:2-5
89:13: wild ass	Ishmael	Gen 16:12	89:10-12
89:59–90:25: shepherds	negligent leaders	Ezek 34 Zech 11:15-17	89:61-64

Use of Sources

The author of the Vision has constructed his allegory through the creative and tendentious use of traditional materials.

The Biblical Histories

The outline of Enoch’s account of human history and most of its details have been drawn from the narrative biblical books: Genesis–2 Kings, and perhaps Ezra–Nehemiah.⁶ Table 6 indicates the major points of correspondence.

Table 6

	1 Enoch	lines	Source
creation and fall	85:3-10	15	Genesis 2–5
watchers’ descent and its consequences	86–88	29	Gen 6:1-4 1 Enoch 6–11
the flood	89:1-8	21	Gen 6:5–9:29
table of nations	89:9-10a	3.5	Gen 10:1–11:25
Abraham	89:10b	.5	Gen 11:16–23:20
Ishmael, Isaac	89:11	2.5	Genesis 16, 21–24
Esau, Jacob	89:12	2	Genesis 25–36
Joseph	89:13-14	4	Genesis 37–50
the exodus to Sinai	89:15-28	31	Exodus 1–18
Sinai	89:29-35	14	Exodus 19–40
the wilderness	89:36-38	6	Numbers– Deuteronomy
the conquest	89:39-40	4	Joshua
the judges	89:41a	2	Judges
Samuel and David	89:41b-44	6	1 Samuel 1–15
Saul and David	89:45-49	10	1 Samuel 16– 2 Samuel
Solomon	89:48c, 50	8	1 Kings 1–11
divided kingdom	89:51-53	6	1 Kings 12– 2 Kings 20
Manasseh	89:54	3	2 Kings 21
to the destruction	89:55-58	8	2 Kings 22–25
the seventy shepherds	89:59-64	14	—
period 1	89:65-71	16	2 Kings 22–25
period 2	89:72–90:1	16	Ezra-Nehemiah?
period 3	90:2-5	8	—
period 4	90:6-19	31	—
the eschaton	90:20-38	42	—

Within these broad parallels one can identify numerous specific points in the Vision up to 89:58 that depend on particular biblical passages; these are indicated in the respective sections of the commentary. In addition to these narrative details, many of the author’s symbols seem to have been suggested by biblical metaphors (see table 5).

5 For a discussion of the identification of the animals, see *ibid.*, 32–36.
6 That the author is dependent on the biblical texts rather than traditions behind them is demonstrated by Reese, “Geschichte,” 21–47.

Although the Vision's order of events down into the Persian period largely follows the order of the narrative books of the Bible, the author has selected and structured the material according to a scheme of sin, punishment, repentance, and restoration that has much in common with Deuteronomic theology.⁷ Nonetheless, the differences from the Deuteronomic history are substantial. The sequence of sin and judgment is not repeated many times throughout the narrative but recurs in a major way twice, dividing human history into three separate eras. In the case of the postdiluvian period—the history of Israel that is important to the Deuteronomic tradition in the Hebrew Bible—the repentance that effects a final restoration of blessing is not located in the sixth century in connection with the return from exile, but is delayed until the Hellenistic period. Moreover, it is interpreted as a reversion to creation and a restoration of the integrity of the whole human race. Thus the linear historical view in Deuteronomy is replaced by an eschatological dichotomy between the end of one era and the beginning of a new and final one. In all of these respects, the Vision parallels important elements in the other texts in the Enochic and Qumran corpora (see Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening).

Traditional Interpretation of Biblical Texts

Although the author used the written form of Genesis–Kings, certain details in the Vision parallel later haggadah and may reflect contemporary exposition of the stories and histories. Among these details (discussed in the comm.) are the following: Cain's possible demonic conception (85:3), his pursuit of Abel and Eve's grief over Abel's death (85:4, 6), the mingling of the Cainites and Sethites (86:2), the major "Enochic" additions to the flood story (86:1–89:1), and the Egyptians' inability to see the Israelites at the time of the exodus (89:21, 25). The presence of these details in a document from around 200 B.C.E. (see below, § Date) is evidence of the lively haggadic activity that is also attested in *Jubilees* and the Genesis Apocryphon.⁸

The Prophetic Corpus

Although the sequence of events in the Vision is drawn from the narrative books of the Bible, other elements derive from the prophetic texts. Most obvious is the central metaphor of the Israelite flock's victimization by wild beasts and derelict shepherds, a reflection of Ezekiel 34 and Zechariah 11 (see Excursus: The Biblical Sources of the Idea of the Negligent Shepherds). Ezekiel 37 is also alluded to in 90:4. In addition, elements in 90:28–38 reflect traditional exposition of Third Isaiah's scenarios about the New Jerusalem (Isaiah 60, 65–66; cf. 1 Enoch 10, *Jubilees* 23, and Dan 12:1–3).⁹ This use of prophetic material to interpret the narrative texts is an early example of the principle that Scripture interprets Scripture. It will appear later, in a variety of different forms, in the Apocrypha, the Qumran Scrolls, the NT, and the rabbinic corpus.

Enochic Tradition

1 Enoch 1–36

A second major narrative source of the Vision is found in various of the earlier traditions now preserved in 1 Enoch.¹⁰ Most notably, the Genesis flood narrative has been supplemented by the story of the watchers now found in 1 Enoch 6–11 (86:1–89:1), and the eschatological scenario predicted in 1 Enoch 10–11 has been placed in its proper chronological setting (90:21–24). From a historical-critical point of view, 1 Enoch 6–11 is an elaboration on a biblical text, and surely the author of the Vision saw it as the definitive way to read Genesis 6–8. At the same time, it is likely that the author accepted chaps. 6–11 and the rest of the received Enochic tradition as parts of a larger sacred tradition that also included the Law and some of the Prophets. Other elements in the Vision that reflect earlier parts of 1 Enoch include: the seer's removal from earth to the heavenly temple (87:3–4; cf. chaps. 12–16) and his accompaniment

7 Ibid., 65.

8 On the use of tradition in *Jubilees* and the Genesis Apocryphon, see Nickelsburg, "Bible Rewritten," 98–99, 104–6.

9 See comm. on 25:4–6 and 27:2–3a.

10 For detailed discussions of the relationship between

the Animal Vision and the Book of the Watchers, see the comm. on the various sections of 86:1–89:1; and Tiller, *Commentary*, 83–96.

by several archangels (cf. chaps. 17–36 and 81); the watchers’ destruction as burning pillars (90:24; cf. 18:11 and 21:7); the final punishment of the apostates in the Valley of Hinnom (90:26–27; cf. chaps. 26–27). In two details the Vision reflects common Enochic tradition also attested in a different form in 1 Enoch 6–11. The initial descent of the one star in 86:1 attests a version of the myth of the watchers that has been secondarily worked into the Shemihazah story in chaps. 6–11 (see comm. on 8:1–2). The Vision also appears to reflect a tradition about Enoch the heavenly scribe (see below, The Legend of Enoch the Heavenly Scribe).

The Apocalypse of Weeks

The closest Enochic parallel to the Vision is the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17; for a detailed comparison see the Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening). According to a fragment of tradition preserved in chap. 81 (see comm.), while Enoch was in heaven, he read the heavenly tablets that contain the records of all human deeds. His inspection of those tablets, along with heavenly visions and their angelic interpretation, are cited as the source of the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:2). Like the Animal Vision, the Apocalypse recounts human history from primordial times to the new creation.

Although the precise relationship between these two documents is difficult to determine, one set of details in the Animal Vision may indicate that it is a massive elaboration of the Apocalypse of Weeks. Both texts envision a time of apostasy from Manasseh into the Hellenistic period, which apostasy is overcome when the enlightenment of the few catalyzes the judgment and a new and final era in human history. In the Animal Vision this period of apostasy is divided into four segments that may well indicate that the scheme in the Apocalypse has been further elaborated on the basis of the four-kingdom division found in Daniel 2 and 7. See Excursus: The Chronology of the Vision.

The Legend of Enoch the Heavenly Scribe

One final Enochic tradition may have been a source for the Animal Vision. According to *Jub.* 4:23–24 and *T. Abr.* 10–11B, Enoch’s final assumption led to his installation as the heavenly scribe who writes down all the deeds of humanity as a record for the final judgment. This scenario is curiously paralleled in the Animal Vision’s story within a story. In his vision Enoch sees himself taken to

heaven, where he is told to watch everything that will happen on earth (87:3–4). That is, in the vision he sees himself watching, in effect, everything that he, the seer, sees happening in the Vision. This scenario of a story within a story, together with Enoch’s return to earth “before the judgment took place” (90:31; if, indeed, the phrase is original; see comm. on 90:28–36), suggests that the author of the Animal Vision knew both the legend of Enoch the heavenly scribe and the form of the tradition in 1 Enoch 81; 93:1–10 + 91:11–17, where Enoch ascends to heaven, sees the record of human deeds already written on tablets, and returns to testify about it.

Purpose

If the author of the Animal Vision had the Apocalypse of Weeks at his disposal, why did he rewrite it in the form of an extensive and detailed allegory? At least three reasons suggest themselves. (1) Revision of contents. The author both elaborates the sketch in the Apocalypse and condenses the biblical record in order to tell the story of Israel’s ongoing oppression by its enemies and the alleviation of that oppression. (2) Clarification of timetable. The story in the Apocalypse is retold to make clear that the end will come in the near future, at the end of four major periods of history, in accord with the four-kingdom scheme documented in Daniel 2 and 7, and 490 years after Manasseh’s sins in accord with the tradition that is attested later in Daniel 9. (3) Generic diversity. The Animal Vision reflects the growing popularity of the genre of the dream vision, which will also appear in the Book of Daniel. If the content of this section effectively underscores the point in the Apocalypse of Weeks, the use of a different genre enriches the corpus. As is frequently the case in apocalyptic works, tensions and differences between various parallel components did not seem to trouble either the later duplicating authors or the editors who included various forms of the same tradition.

Date

A determination of the date of the Vision’s composition is complicated by three factors: literary considerations, an unclear chronology, and the obscurity inherent in the allegory.

One can bypass all of these factors by reading the last part of the text just as it stands. It is widely recognized that 90:9b-16 describes events in the Maccabean wars; it is even argued that vv 13-15 refer to the battle of Beth-zur and that v 16 describes subsequent military threats against Israel and Judas's campaigns against the Gentiles.¹¹ In such a case, with imminent divine intervention being anticipated in v 17, one can fix the date of composition in the year 163 B.C.E. or shortly thereafter.

The literary complication in this conclusion lies in the series of duplications in vv 9-18. These have led many commentators to posit a process of updating the Vision, such as is attested, for example, in Daniel, by means of interpolation or the construction of an alternative ending to the historical section of the Vision. The analysis in the comm. on 90:6-19 argues that an interpolator has updated an earlier form of the Vision. Thus ca. 163 B.C.E. provides a likely time for the updating of the Vision and a terminus ante quem for its original composition.

An initial terminus post quem around 300 B.C.E. is indicated by the Vision's references to the plurality of Alexander's successors and to the prominence of the Ptolemies (see comm. on 90:2-5). A date considerably later in the third century is suggested by the Vision's use of earlier and developing Enochic traditions that are preserved at various points in 1 Enoch 1-36 (see above, § Sources: Enochic Tradition: Enoch 1-36). This process of development from an early core tradition (chaps. 6-11) that is to be dated ca 300 B.C.E. can easily bring us to the last third of the third century (see Introduction §3.1.3.1).

Here the obscurities of the Vision's chronology and symbolism create problems for precise dating. In the commentary below I attempt to solve these problems as follows. (1) In Excursus: The Chronology of the Vision, the last angelic period is set at 265/255-181/171 B.C.E. A midpoint in this period would be 223/213 B.C.E. (2) The proliferation of Macedonian enemies of Israel in v 11 may well point to the hostilities between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids in 219-200 B.C.E. (see comm. on 89:72b-90:1). These considerations suggest a

date late in the third century, perhaps in the last decade. If one finds in 90:8 a reference to the murder of Onias III (see comm. on 90:6-9a), the date of composition must be moved down to 169 B.C.E. or a little later. If one believes that references to Judas are original to the Vision, the date will be set between 165 and 163 B.C.E.¹²

Provenance

Although the provenance of the Animal Vision is obscured by symbolic language, we can reconstruct some aspects of the context of its origin.

Internal Evidence

The primary point of reference for defining the provenance is 90:6-7. At the crucial point in the narrative, the author focuses on the birth of some Israelite lambs. They begin to open their eyes and see, but their appeals to the sheep fall on deaf ears. Three aspects of this event are noteworthy. First, the lambs are recipients of revelation. The opening of their eyes symbolizes a divinely prompted religious awakening from the apostate blindness that has characterized Israel since the time of Manasseh (89:54, 74). Second, they unsuccessfully attempt to convince their compatriots of the validity of this revelation. This element has counterparts elsewhere in the Vision, where prophetic activity is rejected (89:17-19, 30-34, 41, 51-53). Third, the lambs' revelation and their prophetic activity constitute an eschatological event. The opening of the lambs' eyes is the first revelatory event since God abandoned the people at the time of Manasseh. It parallels the revelation given in the wilderness when the nation was born (cf. 89:28). It is, moreover, the first in a chain of events that concludes with the final judgment. We may conclude that the author of the Vision belonged to a circle that constituted itself around an eschatological revelation that it attempted to promulgate in Israel.

This revelation had two components. First, the latter-day group claimed to have received a new torah or right insight about the old torah. The content of that torah was related, at least in part, to sanctuary and cult. The

¹¹ See Milik, *Enoch*, 45.

¹² See comm. on 90:6-19, but esp. Tiller, *Commentary*, 70-79.

Vision has repeatedly focused on sanctuaries and Israel's cultic sins, and the latter-day opening of the eyes reverses the blindness mentioned in connection with the polluted postexilic cult (89:73-74). A second facet of the revelation can be inferred if we identify the Vision itself as part of the revelation described in the Vision. Although the Vision is ascribed to Enoch, it is the product of a person who believes that his announcement of an imminent end is based on revelation. This suggests that his description of latter-day events in 90:6 alludes not only to himself but also to his revelation. This double concern with torah and judgment is appropriate; the judgment inaugurates God's final reward and punishment of torah-related conduct.

Revelation took two forms for the author and his group. Generically, the text is a vision, and its pseudonymous ascription does not exclude the possibility that the real author has had a genuine visionary experience. The element appears several times within the narrative itself. The narrator claims to have seen the activity of the divine throne room (89:70-71, 76-77; 90:17). The account of events at Sinai emphasizes the theophany (89:30-31). The metaphor of eyes being opened is also compatible with the visionary character of revelation (cf. 1:2). This repeated emphasis on visionary elements does not, however, exclude a second aspect of the eschatological revelation, viz., the exposition of sacred tradition (see above, § Sources). Whatever the genuine visionary component may have been in the author's revelation, it was complemented by the learned searching of received tradition.

A militant ideology is a significant component in the profile of the author's circle.¹³ The belief that God acts through militant human activity is evident in the accounts of the slaughter of the idolaters on Mount Sinai (89:35) and of Saul's and David's wars, which are described with such verbs as "butt, pursue, strike, destroy, kill" (89:42-43, 49). The notion appears in connection with the author's group at 90:9, "horns came out of those rams." Whether the giving of the eschatological

sword (90:19) was part of the original form of the Vision is debated (see comm. on 90:16-19). Whatever the origin of this verse, the Vision could be comfortably transmitted in circles that saw the hand of God in the militant activity of Judas Maccabeus.

We can infer a few details about the sociology of the author's religious circle. That they are symbolized as lambs need not imply absolute age, but it indicates relative age: a younger generation chides its elders. Nonetheless, the Vision reflects a sophisticated use of tradition. The author is a learned expositor—a scribe or a sage. The overarching interest in sanctuary and cult need not indicate a priestly identity for the author or his circle, although the references to Moses, Aaron, and the Levites may indicate a Levitical identity.¹⁴ To what extent this author and any of his learned colleagues were constituted as an organized group, or were leaders of such a group, is difficult to say. Their belief that they could wage holy war on their Macedonian overlords may indicate some substantial numbers in their ranks and some form of organization and structure; however, this inference should be tempered by a reading of the biblical story of Gideon and Pseudo-Philo's story about Kenaz in *LAB* 27.

In conclusion, internal evidence from the Animal Vision suggests the following profile for the author's group. Their self-identity turns on a pervading eschatological consciousness born of their belief that they have received revelation about the correct law for the conduct of the cult. Their claims of revelation are tied to visionary experience, but are also rooted in the learned exposition of sacred tradition that included the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Enochic material.¹⁵ They are not a closed sect; rather they posit for themselves a double public function—to reform an apostate Israel and to exact divine judgment on the nation's Gentile oppressors.

External Evidence

The profile extrapolated from the Vision should be placed in the context of evidence from other texts, viz.,

13 For a comparison of militant and nonmilitant ideologies in this and other contemporary apocalyptic texts, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 102-5.

14 For a discussion of this text's attitudes toward temple and priesthood in the context of similar, con-

temporary texts, see *ibid.*, 105-9.

15 On the possible participation of this author and his group in an ongoing Enochic community, see Introduction §5.2.4.1-3.

earlier and parallel Enochic texts, the Cairo Damascus Document, *Jubilees*, and the Qumran Community Rule (see above, § Sources, and Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening).

Primary among these texts are the Enochic traditions of which this author is the heir. The Vision's pseudepigraphic ascription indicates that the author and his circle identified with the name of Enoch, and the use of earlier Enochic traditions places them intellectually and theologically in this tradition. In the absence of printing presses and public libraries, this suggests a substantial historical connection with the authors of the earlier material and the circles in which they first circulated.

What do the Vision's similarities to the Damascus Document indicate about the Vision's provenance? CD 1:4-8 indicates a date ca. 200 B.C.E. for its reform movement. If this is taken literally, the Enochic texts and the Damascus Document attest two similar reform movements within a couple of decades of one another. If CD 1 reflects an adjustment to tie the event to the chronology of Ezek 4:5 rather than to the interpretation of Jeremiah attested in Dan 9:2, 24, the Enochic and Damascus texts may be variant interpretations of the same event. In such a case, the Damascus Document's location of the reform in "the land of Damascus" adds new information to our profile of the author's group. It is noteworthy that this location is not far removed from Upper Galilee, where 1 Enoch 6–16 places the watchers' and Enoch's activity (see Excursus: Sacred Geography in 1 Enoch 6–16).

Possible Relationship to the Qumran Community and "the Hasidim"

One striking common feature of the Enochic texts, the Damascus Document, *Jubilees*, and the Community Rule is their presence in multiple copies in the manuscript collections at Qumran. The community that gathered at that location was heir and transmitter of the reformist traditions contained in these documents.

This Qumranic connection is complicated by the Vision's transmission in circles that supported Judas Maccabeus; after all, a number of Qumranic documents indicate considerable antagonism to the Hasmonean high priests. Unfortunately, none of the four Qumran mss. of the Animal Vision has preserved fragments that contain any parts of chap. 90, and therefore it is impossible to determine whether these mss. preserved the version of the Vision that included reference to Judas.¹⁶ At the very least, however, the Qumran Community and some of Judas's supporters had spiritual ancestors in the group responsible for the composition of the Animal Vision.

This commonality points one to the hypotheses that: (a) the Qumranians were descendants of the Hasidim; and (b) the lambs in the Animal Vision were the Hasidim who made common cause with Mattathias and Judas according to 1 Macc 2:42 (cf. 7:12-18) and 2 Macc 14:6.¹⁷ The historical issue of the Hasidim is complicated, to say the least.¹⁸ The possible relationships between the (company of) the Hasidim mentioned in Psalm 149, 1 and 2 Maccabees, 11QPs^a 18:10, and the *Psalms of Solomon* are uncertain.¹⁹ Was this a generic term that designated certain groups that thought of themselves as the pious and/or was it a proper name used by any of these groups? In any case it is noteworthy that the association between certain Hasidim and Judas, posited in 1 and 2 Maccabees, is paralleled by the Animal Vision's transmission in circles supportive of Judas, and that a militant concern about torah is ascribed both to the lambs in the Vision and to the Hasidim who came to be associated with Judas. These factors *may* indicate that the Animal Vision was written by a member of a group that called themselves Hasidim. How these people may have been related to the pious in 11QPs^a and the *Psalms of Solomon* or to the members of the Qumran community is a matter of speculation.²⁰

16 For the relevant parts of the diplomatic transcriptions of 4QEn^{c,d,e,f}, see Milik, *Enoch*, 351–52, 354–55, 358–59.

17 On the hasidic ancestry of the Qumran community, see, e.g., Cross, *Ancient Library*, 104–5. On the hasidic authorship of the Vision, see esp. in detail Charles, *Enoch*, 206–7.

18 See Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects," 647–48; Tiller, *Commentary*, 109–12; and the literature cited in both.

19 Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects," 647–48.

20 On the possible relationship between this author's group and the Qumranites, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 115–16.

History from Adam to the Fall of Jerusalem

INTRODUCTION TO THE VISION

- 1 After this I saw ■ second dream, and I will show all of it^a to you, my son.
 2 And Enoch lifted up^a (his voice) and said to his son Methuselah, "To you I speak, my son.
 Hear my words, and incline your ear to the dream vision of your father.

ADAM AND EVE AND THEIR CHILDREN

- Before I took your mother Edna (as my wife), I saw in ■ vision on my bed,^a and behold, a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white. And after it a young heifer came forth. And with her two bull calves ■ forth; one of them was black, and one was red. 4/ And that black calf struck the red one and pursued it over the earth.† And from then on I could not see that red calf. 5/ But that black calf grew up, and ■ young heifer came to it.^a And I saw that many cattle came forth from it, that were like ■ and were following after it.^b 6/ And that female calf, that first one, went forth from the presence of that first bull; she searched for that red calf, but did not find it, and she lamented bitterly over it and searched for it. 7/ And I looked until that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time on she did not cry out. 8/ After this she bore another white bull, and after it she bore many black bulls and cows.
 9 And I saw in my sleep that white bull, that it grew likewise and became a large white bull, and from it came forth many white cattle, and they were like it. 10/ And they began to bear many white cattle, which were like them, and each one followed the other.

THE FALL OF THE WATCHERS AND THE VIOLENCE OF THE GIANTS

- 86:1 And again I saw with my eyes ■ I was sleeping. I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and was eating and pasturing among those cattle.^a
 2/ Then^a I saw those^b large and black cattle, and behold, all of them exchanged their pens and their pastures and their calves, and they began to moan,^c one after the other.
 3 And again I saw in the vision, and I looked to heaven, and behold, I saw many stars descend^a and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star. And in the midst of those calves they became bulls, and they were pasturing with them in their midst.^b 4/ I looked at them^a and I saw and behold, all of them let out their organs like horses, and they began to mount the cows of the bulls, and they all conceived and bore elephants and camels and asses. 5/ And all the bulls feared them and were terrified before them, and they began to bite with their teeth and devour and gore with their horns. 6/ And they began to devour those bulls, and behold all the sons of the earth began to tremble and quake before them, and to flee.^a

DIVINE JUDGMENT

- 87:1 And again I saw them, and they began to gore ■ another and devour one another, and the earth began to cry out. 2/ And I lifted my eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold, there came forth from heaven (beings) with the appearance of white men; four came forth from that place and three with them. 3/ And those three who came after took hold of me by my hand and raised me from the generations of the earth, and lifted ■ onto a^a high place, and they showed me ■ tower high above the earth, and all the hills were smaller. 4/ And they said to me, 'Stay here until you see all that happens to those elephants and camels and asses and to the stars and to the cattle and all of them.'
 88:1 And I saw one of those four who had come before; he seized that first star that had fallen from heaven, and he bound it by its hands and feet and threw it into an abyss, and that abyss was narrow and deep and desolate^a and dark.^b 2/ And one of these drew ■ sword and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses.^a And they began to strike one another, and the whole earth quaked because of them. 3/ And as I looked in the vision, behold, one of those four who had ■ forth hurled stones^a from heaven and gathered and took^b all the great stars, whose organs were like the organs of horses, and bound all of them by their hands and their feet, and threw them into ■ abyss of the earth.

NOAH AND THE FLOOD

- 89:1 And one of those four went to <one of the white bulls>^a and taught it a mystery—trembling as ■ was.^b It was born a bull but became a man. And he built himself a vessel^c and

dwelt in it,^d and three bulls dwelt with him on that vessel,^e and the vessel was covered and roofed over them.^f 2/ And again I lifted my eyes toward heaven, and I ~~saw~~ [■] high roof and ~~seven~~ sluices on it, and those sluices ~~were~~ pouring out much water into an enclosure.^g 3/ ^aAnd I looked again and behold, fissures opened up in the floor in that large enclosure, and that water began to bubble up and rise above the floor, and I was looking^b at that enclosure until all the floor ~~was~~ covered with water. 4/ And water and darkness and mist increased on it, and I kept seeing the height of that water, and that water had risen above that enclosure and was overflowing that enclosure and stood on the earth.^a 5/ And all the cattle of that enclosure ~~were~~ gathered together until I ~~saw~~ them sinking and being engulfed and perishing in that water.^a 6/ And that^a vessel ~~was~~ floating on the waters, but all the bulls and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom^b together with every animal, so that I could not ~~see~~ them. And they ~~were~~ unable to escape but perished and sank in the deep. 7/ And again I saw in the vision until those water channels ~~were~~ removed from that high roof and the fountains of the floor ~~were~~ stopped up,^a and other abysses ~~were~~ opened. 8/ And the water began to descend into them until the floor ~~was~~ uncovered^a and that vessel settled onto the floor, and darkness withdrew and it became light.

FROM THE DISEMBARKATION TO THE EXODUS

- 9 That white bull who had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him. And one of those three bulls was white like that bull, and one of them ~~was~~ red like blood, and one of them ~~was~~ black. And that white bull departed from them. 10/ And they began to beget wild beasts and birds, so that there arose from them every kind of species: lions, leopards, wolves, dogs,^a hyenas, wild boars, foxes, conies, pigs, falcons, vultures, kites, eagles,^b and ravens. But among them ~~a~~ white bull ~~was~~ born. 11/ And they began to bite^a one another, but that white bull which ~~was~~ born among them begat a wild ass and ~~a~~ white bull with it, and the wild ~~asses~~ increased. 12/ But that bull^a which ~~was~~ born from it begat a black wild boar and ~~a~~ white ram of the flock.^b And that (wild boar)^c begat many boars, and that ram begat twelve sheep.
- 13 When those twelve sheep had grown up, they handed over one of themselves to the wild asses, and those wild asses, in turn, handed that sheep over to the wolves, and that sheep grew up in the midst of the wolves. 14/ And the ram led forth^a the eleven sheep^b to dwell with it, and to pasture with it in the midst of the wolves. And they multiplied and became many flocks of sheep.
- 15 And the wolves began to fear them and oppress them^a until they did away with their young, and they cast their young into ~~a~~ river of much water.^b And those sheep began to cry out because of their young and to make complaint to their Lord. 16/ And ~~a~~ sheep that had escaped safely from the wolves fled and went off to the wild asses. And I ~~saw~~ the sheep groaning and crying out and petitioning their Lord with all their might, until that Lord of the sheep descended from a lofty chamber at the voice of the sheep, and he came to them and ~~saw~~ them. 17/ And he summoned that sheep that had fled from the wolves, and he spoke to it about the wolves, that it should testify against them not to touch the sheep. 18/ And the sheep went to the wolves, at the command of the Lord, and another sheep met that sheep^a and went with it. And the two of them went^b and entered together into the assembly of those wolves. And they spoke to them and testified against them that they should not henceforth touch the sheep. 19/ After this I ~~saw~~ the wolves, how they dealt more harshly with the sheep with all their might, and (how) the sheep cried out. 20/ And their Lord came to the sheep and began^a to strike the wolves, and the wolves began to lament. But the sheep ~~were~~ quiet, and thereafter they did not cry out.
- 21 And I looked at the sheep until they went out from the wolves, and the wolves' eyes ~~were~~ blinded, and the wolves went out pursuing those sheep with all their might. 22/ And the Lord of the sheep went with them, leading them, and all his sheep followed him. And his face was dazzling and glorious and fearful to behold. 23/ And the wolves began to pursue those sheep until they met them by a swamp of water. 24/ And that swamp of water was split apart, and the water stood to one side and the other before them. And their Lord, ~~■~~ he led them, stood between them and the wolves. 25/ And ~~■~~ those wolves still did not ~~■~~ the sheep, they went into the midst of that swamp of water. The wolves pursued the sheep, and those wolves^a ~~ran~~ after them into that swamp of water. 26/ And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee from his presence, but that swamp of

water flowed together and suddenly returned to its natural state. And the water swelled up and ~~was~~ until it covered those wolves. 27/ And I saw until all the wolves that had pursued those sheep^a perished and sank.^b

FROM THE EXODUS TO MOSES' DEATH

- 28 But the sheep departed from that water and went out to a desert, where there was no water or grass, and they began to open their eyes^a and see. And I saw <until>^b the Lord of the sheep was pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep ~~was~~ going and leading them.^c 29/ That sheep went up to the summit of ~~a~~ high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. 30/ And after that, I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and his appearance was majestic and fearful and mighty,^a and all those sheep ~~saw~~ him and ~~were~~ afraid before him. 31/ And all of them ~~were~~ afraid and trembling because of him, and they ~~were~~ crying out after that sheep with the other sheep that ~~was~~ in their midst,^a 'We cannot stand before our Lord or look at him.' 32/ And again that sheep that led them went up to the summit of that rock, and the sheep began to be blinded and to stray from the path that it had shown them, but the sheep did not know about these things.^a 33/ And the Lord of the sheep was filled with great wrath against them, and that sheep discovered it and went down from the summit of that^a rock and came to the sheep and found most of them blinded and straying.^b 34/ And when they saw it, they were afraid and trembled before it, and wished to return to their folds. 35/ And that sheep took other sheep with it and went against those sheep that had strayed and began to slaughter them,^a and the sheep were afraid of it. And that sheep returned all the straying flock to their folds.^b
- 36 And I ~~saw~~ in this vision, until that sheep^a became a man and built a house^b for the Lord of the sheep and made all the sheep stand in that house. 37/ And I ~~saw~~ until that sheep that had met that sheep that had led them fell asleep. And I ~~saw~~ until all the large sheep perished, and little ones arose in their place, and they came to ~~a~~ pasture and approached ~~a~~ river of water. 38/ And that sheep that had led them, that had become ~~a~~ man, was separated from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep searched for him and cried bitterly because of him.

FROM THE ENTRANCE INTO THE LAND TO THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

- 39 And I ~~saw~~ until they ceased crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and <two>^a sheep arose that led them instead of those that had fallen asleep;^b and they led them. 40/ And I saw the sheep until they were entering ~~a~~ good place and ~~a~~ pleasant and glorious land. And I ~~saw~~ those sheep until they were satisfied, and that house was in their midst in the pleasant land.
- 41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes they were blinded, until another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes ~~were~~ opened.
- 42 And the dogs began to devour the sheep, and the wild boars and the foxes ~~were~~ devouring them,^a until the Lord of the sheep raised up ~~a~~ ~~ram~~ from among the sheep,^b which led them.^c 43/ ^aAnd this ram began to butt and pursue with its horns. And it hurled itself against the foxes and, after them, against the wild boars; and it destroyed many wild boars. And after them it <struck> the dogs.^a 44/ And the sheep whose eyes were open saw the ram among the sheep until it forsook its path and began to walk where there was no path.^a 45/ And the Lord of the sheep sent this sheep^a to another sheep to appoint it to be ram, to rule the sheep instead of the ram that had forsaken its way.^b 46/ And it went to it and spoke with it secretly,^a alone, and appointed it to be ram and ruler and leader of the sheep. And during all these things, the dogs ~~were~~ oppressing the sheep.^b 47/ And the first ~~ram~~ pursued the second ram, and the second ram arose^a and fled before it. Then I looked at^b the first ram until it fell before the dogs.^c
- 48 And the^a second ~~ram~~ arose and led the sheep.^b 49/ And the^a sheep grew and multiplied, and all the dogs and foxes^b fled from it and feared it.^c And that ~~ram~~ butted and killed all the beasts, and those beasts did not prevail again among the sheep, nor did they snatch anything at all away from them. 48b/ And that ~~ram~~ begat many sheep, and it fell asleep. And a little sheep became ram instead of it, and it became ruler and leader of those sheep. 50/ And that house became large and broad. And ~~a~~ large and high tower ~~was~~ built upon that house for the Lord of the sheep.^a That house was low, but the tower ~~was~~ raised up

and was high. And the Lord of the sheep stood upon that tower, and they spread a full table before him.

THE APOSTASY OF THE TWO KINGDOMS

- 51 And again I saw that those sheep strayed and went off in many paths and abandoned that house of theirs. And the Lord of the sheep summoned some from among the sheep and sent them to the sheep, and the sheep began to kill them, 52/ but one of them escaped safely and ~~was~~ not killed. It sprang away and cried out over the sheep, and they wished to kill it; but the Lord of the sheep saved it from the hands of^a the sheep and brought it up to me and made it dwell (there). 53/ And many other sheep he sent to those sheep to testify and lament over them.
- 54 After that I ~~saw~~ when they abandoned the house of the Lord^a and his tower, they went astray in everything, and their eyes ~~were~~ blinded. And I saw that the Lord of the sheep worked much slaughter on them, in their pastures, <because>^b those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed^c his place. 55/ And he abandoned them into the hands of the lions and the leopards and the wolves and the hyenas and into the hands of the foxes and to all the beasts; and those wild beasts began to tear those sheep in pieces. 56/ And I ~~saw~~ that he abandoned that house of theirs and their tower, and he threw them all into the hands of the lions ~~so~~ that they might tear them in pieces and devour them—into the hands of all the beasts. 57/ And I began to cry out with all my might and to call to the Lord of the sheep and to show him concerning the sheep, because they ~~were~~ devoured by all the wild beasts. 58/ And he ~~was~~ silent, though he ~~saw~~ (it), and he rejoiced because they ~~were~~ devoured and swallowed up and carried off, and he abandoned them into the hands of all the beasts as fodder.

85:1

- a ~~kwello~~ | *kwello helma* (“the whole dream”) g.
 2a *waʿanšeʿa* | “spoke” (*waʿawšeʿa*) tT⁹, n Ull.
 3a “of my bed” gmtT⁹.
 5a and - - - - him] For Eth. *mesla* with the meaning of “to,” see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 175. All mss. modify “female calf” with a demonstrative adjective | “and he brought that female calf to him” (causative form of the verb) T⁹.
 b *deḥrēhu* | “after them” (*deḥrēhomu*) gmtT⁹.

86:1

- a 4QEn^f 1:2 (Milik, *Enoch*, 244) “]among them” (בְּיַדָּם) suggests a slightly different text, in which the bulls, the antecedent of “them,” were mentioned earlier in the verse. See Tiller, *Commentary*, 237.
 2a *wasʿemze* (“and after this”) β | (*waʿ*)^{ʿemuntu} ([“and] they”) mqT⁹ | *māʿkala* (“among”) t, a dittograph from the previous verse. Translation follows 4QEn^f 1:1 (Milik, *Enoch*, 244), בְּאֶרֶץ, which suggests a corruption in 𐤁 from <na>*wa* <ba>^{ʿemāntu} <maʿwāel>.
 b Om. β, probably by hma. (ʿellektu ʿalhemtu).
 c “moan” (*yaʿawayaw[u]*) 𐤁-g | *yaḥayewu* “live (with one another)” g | The single testimony of g is suspicious (see also Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:197). Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 165 n. 12) emends to *yaḥayedu*, because lamentation seems out of place here (see also Tiller, *Commentary*, 238–39). But the verb *ʿawayawa* can translate Gk. βόάω, κράζω and need not mean “lament.” See Uhlig (*Henoch*, 680), who translates “schreien,” which he interprets as an expression of sexual passion (“leidenschaftlich rufen”).
 3a “and they descended” β.

- b The precise translation of this verse is uncertain. β adds *wa* (“and”) before “bulls” and omits it before “in their midst they were pasturing” (𐤁 word order), thus allowing one to translate, as Knibb does (*Enoch*, 2:197), “. . . to that first star, and amongst those heifers and bulls; they were with them, pasturing amongst them.” The problem relates both to the text one follows and to the translation of Eth. *kona* (“were” or “become”). On the problem of whether the stars were transformed into bulls, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 239–40. Here I have changed my translation and note from the form in which he read them.

- 4a Om. “at them” t.
 6a + “from them” gmtT⁹ 4750, perhaps a dittograph from the previous phrase.

87:3

- a + “holy and” m, a typical gloss of this ms., based on 9:1.
 88:1
 a “desolation” mu,bv.
 b All mss. read “darkness.” I emend to an adj. to agree with the first and most mss. of the third in the series. In Aramaic an error between ܕܫܝܝ (“dark”) and ܕܫܝܝܝܢ (“darkness”) would be simple enough to make.
 2a and asses] om. gmqT⁹.
 3a “hurled stones”] for this meaning of *wagara* without explicit mention of the projectile(s), see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 936.
 b “took” pl. gqT⁹ 2080 6281.

89:1

- a All mss. except m read “those white bulls.” ms. m alone reads sg. The sg. suffix “him” is attached to “taught” in all mss. except bdx. Translation follows 4QEn^c 1:13 (הָרָא מִן חוּרִיאַן; Milik, *Enoch*, 238), which resolves the problem, allowing both sg. and pl.
- b “trembling as he was”] *enza yereʿed* mt,β | “without his trembling” (*enza iyereʿed*) gqu. 4QEn^c 4 1:14 is problematic. Milik (*Enoch*, 238) restores: חוּרִיאַ וְאַלְף לֵה [חוריא ואסף לה] (“white, and taught him, and he built himself an ark”). Thus the whole line, “a mystery - - - a man,” was not in 4QEn^c. Tiller (*Commentary*, 259) thinks the transformation of Noah is an interpolation in imitation of Moses’ transformation (89:36) and is uncertain whether “a mystery” (רִי) is original. But the combination of “became a man” and “built” (which is in A here) argues for the originality of the long reading in C.
- c 4QEn^c 4 1:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 238) | “a large ship” C. Tiller (*Commentary*, 260) suggests that C may attest a duplication of the last two letters of *ark* (“ark”) from ערב רב (although the fem. noun calls for the adj. רבא). If the suggestion is plausible, however, an omission by hmt. in A is equally possible.
- d 4QEn^c 4:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 238). C *dibēhā* (“on it”) could translate *ēv*; cf. Exod 2:15.
- e dwelt - - - ark] עלו עמה לערבא [“enter]ed the ark with him”) 4QEn^c 4 1:5, reconstructed by Milik, *Enoch*, 238–39. The *lamed* before ערבא does not seem to presume יהב (“dwelt,” as in the previous line of 4QEn^c), unless it be a *pacl*, meaning “inhabited.”
- f “and the ark was covered and roofed [over them]” (וערבא חפית וכסית מן עליהון) 4QEn^c 4 1:15 (Milik, *Enoch*, 238). Repetition of the noun may be presumed in C T⁹, which adds “this ark” (*waze mašqara*). See Tiller, *Commentary*, 260.
- 2a This verse was shorter in 4QEn^c 4 1:16–17. Milik (*Enoch*, 238) reconstructs: “And I was] looking and, behold, seven sluices pouring out [on the earth much water”] (והויתן חוזה והא מרובין שבעת שפכין [על ערעא] (מין שניאין).
- 3a The text of this verse was shorter in 4QEn^c 4 1:17–18. Milik (*Enoch*, 238) reconstructs: “And, behold, the (underground) chambers were opened in the interior of the earth and (waters) began [to pour out and come upon it. And] I was looking until the earth was covered by the waters [” (והא חדרין פתחו בגווא ארעא ושריו) (ולהבעה ולמעל עליה וְאִנָּה הוּיָת חוזה עד ארעא חפית מין). For a discussion, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 262.
- b and I was looking] *waʿereyo* gt (supported by 4QEn^c 4 1:18; see previous note). Some C mss. misread the initial *ʿalep* of the verb as a negative rather than a first sg. prefix.
- 4a The text of this verse in 4QEn^c 4 1:19 is much briefer. Milik (*Enoch*, 238) reconstructs: וחשך ושחך והוין קאמין

עליהן ([“and by darkness and mist, and they were] standing upon it”).

- 5a Again 4QEn^c 4 1:19–20 has a shorter reading of this verse. Milik (*Enoch*, 238) reconstructs: וחוריא שקעין וטבעין [וואברין במיא אלהן] (“And the bulls were submerged and engulfed [and perishing in those waters]”).
- 6a Om. 4QEn^c 4 1:20 (Milik, *Enoch*, 238).
- b and elephants - - - sank to the bottom] The reading of 4QEn^c 4 1:20–21 (Milik, *Enoch*, 238) is uncertain; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 264–65. The *vacat* in line 21, however, indicates a shorter text than C.
- 7a 4QEn^c 4 2:2 (Milik, *Enoch*, 240); cf. Gen 8:2 | “were leveled” (*ʿarayu*) C, a paraphrase.
- 8a 4QEn^c 4 2:3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 240) appears to have prefaced this clause with another that began with the verb ספא (“ceased”).
- 10a *ʿaklebt* (*varr.*) | “snakes” (*ʿakyesta* T⁹). Some mss. read “dogs and wolves.”
- b falcons - - eagles] The identity of these species is not certain. Isaac (“I Enoch,” 65) translates: “hawks, eagles, kites, striped crows.”
- 11a [to bite] C. Text of 4QEn^d 2 1:24 (Milik, *Enoch*, 222) is uncertain. See Tiller, *Commentary*, 273.
- 12a “calf” (עגלא) 4QEn^c 4 2:12 (Milik, *Enoch*, 241).
- b All occurrences of “sheep” and “ram” in this section translate Eth. *bageʿ*, which can be translated generically or specifically of the male gender. In this particular case, both 4QEn^d 2 1:26 and 4QEn^c 4 2:12–13 (Milik, *Enoch*, 222, 241) appear to attest the reading דִּכְרִי (ram of the flock) while 4QEn^c 4 2:14 appears to have אַמְרִין (sheep) at the end of the verse (ibid., 241).
- c “wild boar” appears in the mss. of β, but is missing in mqtT⁹, which may indicate that it is a gloss *ad sensum*.
- 14a And the ram led forth] (וּדְבַר דְּכִרָא) 4QEn^c 4 2:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 241) | “And the Lord brought” (*waʿegziʿ amṣəʿomu*) C, due to a misreading of *κρύος* as *κύριος*.
- b + “all of them” (כֻּלְהוֹן) 4QEn^d 2 1:29 (Milik, *Enoch*, 222).
- 15a began - - - them] “. . . to frighten them . . .” tu and several mss. of β. The reading accepted above seems better to fit the biblical prototype (see comm.) | “began to oppress the flock” (שָׂרִין לַמְלַחֵן לַעֲנָא) 4QEn^c 4 2:18 (Milik, *Enoch*, 241). For the omission see Tiller, *Commentary*, 279.
- b and they - - - water] [. . . to sink in m[uc]h water (לְמוֹשָׁקַע מִן חֻבְרִינִין) 4QEn^c 4 2:19 (Tiller, *Commentary*, 279–80).
- 18a that sheep] “him” gmqtT⁹.
- b Om. “and they went” (*waḥoru*) t,β. On the idiomatic use of the verb see Tiller, *Commentary*, 282.
- 20a “they began” gqtT⁹, a dittograph from the next line.

- 25a those wolves] perhaps to be bracketed either as a gloss or a corruption for “those sheep,” i.e., “they ran after those sheep”; see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 171; Tiller, *Commentary*, 286.
- 27a sheep] “Flo[ck]” (לַעֲנָן) 4QEn^c 4 3:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 243).
- b +]“covered over them” (עֲלִיהֶוּן) 4QEn^c 4 3:15 (Milik, *Enoch*, 243).
- 28a and they ---- eyes] “and their eyes were opene[d]” (וַעֲנִיחֶוּן הַחֲפִתָּחוּן) 4QEn^c 4 3:17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 243).
- b “until” (*ʿeska*) supplied by Tiller (*Commentary*, 288 n. 1), presuming an omission before *ʿegziʿomu* (“their Lord”).
- c was going -- them] following the translation of Tiller (*Commentary*, 288 n. 2), who omits the particle *ʿenza*, which makes the activity of “that sheep” the object of Enoch’s seeing.
- 30a before them ---- mighty] *qedmēhomu warāyu ʿabiy wagerum wahāyāl* ̣ | “before] the flock, and his appearance was strong and great and fearful” (לְקִדְמוֹתָו וְהָיָה עֲזָו וְגָדוֹל וְיָרָא) 4QEn^d 2 2:29 (Milik, *Enoch*, 223).
- 31a that ---- midst] Here I follow Tiller’s (*Commentary*, 293–94) reading of the complex textual evidence.
- 32a that sheep did not know” ̣ 4QEn^c 4 4 (Milik, *Enoch*, 204) | “but that sheep did not know” ̣.
- 33a tu,ehn (*layeʿeti, lazeku*) and perhaps 4QEn^c 4 5 (Milik, *Enoch*, 204, ̣).
- b + “from his path” β, a gloss.
- 35a those ---- them] ̣ | Reading of 4QEn^c 4 7 (Milik, *Enoch*, 205) was slightly different.
- b אֲחִיבִּי אֲמָרָא דִּן לְכוּל עֲנָא מְעִתָּא לְדִירֵיהֶוּן 4QEn^c 4 8 (Milik, *Enoch*, 205). ̣ is slightly paraphrastic and redundant (“And that sheep returned those sheep who had strayed, and they returned to their folds”).
- 36a + וְאִתְּחַפֵּךְ (“was changed and”) 4QEn^c 4 10 (Milik, *Enoch*, 205).
- b bēt ̣. | For 4QEn^c 4 11, Milik (*Enoch*, 205) suggests מִן־שֶׁכֶן (“tabernacle”).
- 39a Emending *kwellomu* (“all”) to *kelʿehomu*, with Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 172 n. 23.
- b *sakabu* ̣, except T⁹, which reads *rakabu* (“found”).
- 42a And the dogs ---- devoured them] translation follows ̣ | “And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep” ̣.
- b until ---- sheep] translation follows ̣^v, which is followed by ̣ Ull (except that it reads “among them” for “among the sheep”) and ̣ⁿ (except that it reads “. . . and the Lord of the sheep raised up for them . . .”). Other ̣ mss. read corruptly, “And another sheep was raised up, the Lord of the sheep . . .” (om. “the Lord of the sheep” some mss.); on the developing corruption of the text, see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:207.
- c Om. this clause ̣^v.
- 43a-a
καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν τοῖς κέρασιν. καὶ ἐντίνασσεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ
- μετ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ὕας. καὶ ἀπώλεσεν ὕας πολλοὺς. καὶ μετ’ αὐτοὺς <ἤρξατο> τοὺς κύνας ̣^v. The emendation of ἤρξατο to ἤράξατο was proposed by John Strugnell, cited in Tiller, *Commentary*, 308 | ̣: “And that ram began to butt those dogs and foxes and wild-boars, on one side and on the other, until it had destroyed them all” (*wazeku hargē ʾahāza yewge ʿemzeya waʿemzeya zeku ʾaklāba waqwanāšla waharāwiyā gadām ʿeska lakwellomu ʾahgwalomu*, translation of Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:207) | 4QEn^d 2 3:27-28 has only one word and part of two others.
- 44a Translation of the verse follows ̣^v, except that for “sheep” (pl.) and the related pl. verbs it reads sg. of ̣. For ̣^v ὁδόν, ἀνοδίᾳ (“way,” “apart from the way”), ̣ reads *sebhat, zaʿenbala taddā* (= δόξαν, ἀδοξία, “glory,” “unseemly”). After “forsook his glory,” ̣ + “and he began to butt those sheep and tread on them.”
- 45a For the two occurrences of “lamb” (ἄρνᾱ) in ̣^v, ̣ reads “sheep” (*bageʿ*). Tiller (*Commentary*, 310) notes that in every place where ̣ is extant, ̣ *bageʿ* (“sheep,” sg.) represents אֲמָר (“lamb”) and *ʾabāge* (“sheep,” pl.) represents אֲמָרִים (“lambs”) or ̣ (“flock”), and he suggests that ̣ may have used only אֲמָר and not distinguished among different kinds of sheep.
- b “its glory” ̣; see n. a on v 44.
- 46a Om. ̣; it is perhaps a double reading in ̣^v.
- b + ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦτοις γέγραπται ὅτι (“next it is written that”) ̣^v, a scribal gloss.
- 47a ̣^v om. this clause, perhaps by hma. (καί).
- b + φήσιν ̣^v (“it says”), a gloss.
- c “And I looked until those dogs brought down the first ram” (*wareʿiku ʿeska ʾawdaqewwo zeku ʾaklāb lahargē gadāmāwi*) ̣. For a possible explanation of the difference, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 311–12. ̣^v is closer to 1 Sam 31:4.
- 48a “that” ̣.
- b “little sheep” ̣, which continues with material missing in ̣^v, inserted below after v 49.
- 49a “those” ̣.
- b + “and wild boars” ̣.
- c foxes ---- it] “and wild boars feared and fled from it” ̣. ̣^v ends at this point.
- 50a And a ---- sheep] The ̣ mss. divide, with some minor variations, between a long and a short text: *watahānša lazeku (laʿelku β) ʾabāgeʿ māhṣad (māhnaša T⁹) nawāh diba zeku bēt wamāhṣad nawāh* (om. *diba* --- *nawāh* gq, many mss. of β) *waʿābiy taḥanša* (om. many mss. of β) *diba zeku* (om. some mss.) *bēt laʿegziʿa ʾabāgeʿ* (lit. “And there was built for those sheep a tower [‘building’ T⁹], high, upon that house, and a tower, high [om. ‘upon ---- high’ gq, many mss. of β] and large was built [om. many mss. of β] upon that [om. some mss.] house for the Lord of the sheep”). The easiest explanation of the long and short texts is an omission by hmt. (*nāwah*, “high”). A dittography seems less likely, given the different word order

in the long reading and the lack of the same word at the beginning or end. The long text, however, contains two clauses almost identical in content, if not in word order. This almost certainly indicates a double reading. Whether the original readings were “high” or “high and great,” and “for those sheep” or “for the Lord of the sheep” is less certain. The reading given here seems more appropriate, although one could argue that its variants are the easier readings, reflecting mention of the presence of the Lord of the sheep on the tower

and the double description of the tower below (“raised up and was high”). See also the discussion of Tiller (*Commentary*, 312–13), who thinks the longer reading is the oldest in the Ethiopic tradition, but that it may contain a double reading.

52a ^{em}’edēhomu t,β (q, varr.) | “from them” ^{emmenēhomu} gmT⁹.

54a + “of the sheep” β.

b emending ^{eska} (“until,” all mss.) to ^{esma}.

c “did not betray” t.

■ **85:1-2** This introduction and v 3a identify chaps. 85–90 as part of the larger unit that begins with chap. 83. Verse 1 closely parallels the wording of 83:1, with v 2 indicating the identity of Enoch’s son. The grammatical shift from the first person (v 1) to the third person (v 2) is noteworthy, however.¹ Verse 2 may be part of the original narrative introduction to this vision. The use of the first person singular in v 1 is consonant with the idiom of chaps. 83–84, as well as 81:1–82:3 and chap. 91. This uniformity may indicate that one and the same person gave chaps. 83–84 its final form and edited chaps. 83–90 and perhaps also most of chaps. 81–91. On chaps. 83–84 as a composition intended to complement chaps. 85–90, see Introduction to chap. 83–84, § Origin, Function, and Date.

On the introductory formula, “Enoch lifted up (his voice) and said,” see comm. on 83:5-6. On the use of “hear . . . incline your ear” in wisdom contexts, see comm. on 82:1-4. Cf. especially the introduction to the wisdom instruction in 91:3. Another reference to chaps. 85–90 as a dream vision frames the section in 90:39-42, where v 42 again alludes to the dream vision in chaps. 83–84.

■ **3-10** The first unit in the body of the Vision covers the events described in Genesis 2–5 in the order of their occurrence in Genesis, but with significant deletions and additions. Adam and Eve are created, and Cain and Abel are born (v 3 | Genesis 2; 4:1-2). Cain kills Abel (v 4 | Gen 4:3-16) and then begets progeny, which begin a line of descendants (v 5 | Gen 4:17-24). Eve bears Seth and other children (v 7 | Gen 4:25; 5:3). Seth then begets progeny and begins his line of descendants (vv 9-10 | Gen 5:6-32).

The section begins with a chronological reference. Enoch’s dream vision, which was chronologically subsequent to the one he had as a youth (chaps. 83–84), nevertheless preceded his marriage (cf. 83:2). Although the reference could be to certain “rites of incubation which demanded temporary continence,”² it may only be a chronological indicator. On the name of Enoch’s wife, cf. *Jub.* 4:20 (Edni) and 4:27, where Edna is Methuselah’s wife. For other instances of receiving “visions . . . on my/his bed” (על־משכבה, על־משכבי), cf., for example, Dan 4:7, 10 (10, 13); 7:1.³

In biblical parlance the bull is symbolic of strength, and the word is used metaphorically with such connotations.⁴ Here the symbol may suggest the long lives of the patriarchs. Although there is considerable difference between the ages recorded in the prediluvian Sethite genealogy in Genesis 5 (which are mainly in the 900s) and Abraham’s 175 years (Gen 25:7-8), in Genesis it is concerning Abraham and Isaac (35:29) that one last hears of someone dying “old and full of years/days.” In keeping with this, *Jub.* 23:8-12 distinguishes not only between the ages of the prediluvian patriarchs and that of Abraham, but also between Abraham’s age and the much shorter life spans of those who followed him. Nonetheless, Isaac, the last bull in this dream vision, dies at 180 years according to *Jub.* 36:18 (but see also comm. on 89:12).⁵

That Adam comes from the earth reflects the account of Genesis 2 rather than Genesis 1. The use of the verb *waḏ’a* (“come forth”) here is noteworthy because its Hebrew equivalent (אצא = Aram. אעא) does not occur at

1 See Tiller, *Commentary*, 98–99.

2 See Milik, *Enoch*, 42; however, cf. Tiller, *Commentary*, 231.

3 See Tiller, *Commentary*, 225.

4 Cf. Ps 22:13 (12); Isa 10:13; 34:7.

5 For a good discussion of the various Ethiopic words for the bovid species, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 226–27.

Gen 2:7. The verb recurs with reference to Eve's creation (cf. perhaps Gen 2:21-22, where she is created from the rib that was taken out of Adam's body) and to the births of Cain and Abel (v 3). An explanation for this usage appears in 89:9, where the verb, following biblical usage, describes the disembarkation of Noah and his sons at the beginning of a new creation. (See comm. on 89:9.) The verb occurs again in the Vision with reference to birth only in the case of Cain's and Seth's progeny (vv 5, 9). This usage to refer to patrilineage is biblical.⁶

The first significant omission from the biblical narrative is the account of the fall in Genesis 3. Instead, Cain's murder of Abel is the first instance of human evil (v 4). This violent act prepares for the recurrence of violence throughout the Vision. Violence on a massive scale is introduced through the descent of the watchers (chap. 86), a typical Enochic emphasis (see Introduction §5.2.2).

The color of the bulls in the early chapters of the Vision—like their species—is symbolic. Adam's whiteness suggests his purity,⁷ and hereafter it will be an identifying characteristic of the line that continues through Seth (vv 8-10), Shem (89:9), Abraham (89:10), Isaac (89:11), and Jacob (a white ram, 89:12) and that will reappear in the eschaton (90:37-38). Abel's red color is symbolic of his blood (cf. 89:9, "red as blood"), or perhaps his bloody sacrifice.⁸ At the very least, the black or dark color attributed to Cain foreshadows his murder of Abel (cf. Job 6:16, of the treachery of Job's enemies); it also allows the reader to identify the non-Sethite progeny of Adam. The image might possibly reflect the haggadic notion later attested in Jewish, Christian, and gnostic literature that Cain was begotten by Satan.⁹

In addition to being the first perpetrator of violence, Cain may also foreshadow the second kind of major sin

emphasized in the Vision, viz., cultic irregularity (see comm. on 89:54-58). In Gen 4:3-7 it is God's differing responses to Cain's and Abel's sacrifices that trigger the fratricide.

The description of Cain's murder of Abel (v 4) is difficult to interpret. That Cain "pursued" Abel is mentioned in late rabbinic sources (*Qoh. Rab.* on 3:15). The author of the Vision may know such a haggadic detail or account, but then the order of the verbs "struck" and "pursued" is strange. For this reason we might reverse the subject and object of the second verb. After Cain killed Abel, the latter pursued him across the earth like a Greek fury, seeking vengeance.¹⁰ This notion appears in Gen 4:10 and is expounded in 1 Enoch 22:5-7, where Abel's spirit cries out against Cain and his progeny. This is perhaps the easiest explanation of the passage and is consonant with Cain's status as a wanderer and fugitive on the earth, one who has been driven from God's presence and finds a dwelling far from Eden (Gen 4:12-16). The expression "could not see" (1 Enoch 85:4) is used elsewhere in the Vision to indicate extinction (89:6, 67). Abel has been exterminated.

Verses 5 and 9-10, which are formulated in parallel language, describe the Cainite and Sethite lines, and the verb "follow" (*talawa*)—to judge from the counterparts in Gen 4:17-22; 5:1-32—denotes the succession of generations indicated by the respective genealogies. The narrative order in 85:4-8 seems odd. Reference to Cain's marriage and begetting of progeny (v 5) interrupts the natural sequence between Abel's death (v 4) and Eve's search for him and her lamentation (v 6). The reason for this interruption seems to be the author's technique of following the order of the biblical account.¹¹

In a text that omits much from the biblical account, the narrative in vv 6-7 is sufficiently full of details not

6 Gen 35:11; 2 Sam 7:12; 16:11; 1 Kgs 8:19; 2 Kgs 20:18; *Ecc. Rab.* 3:15; *Lev. Rab.* 27:5.

7 Cf. Ps 51:9 (7); *Ecc. Rab.* 9:8; Isa 1:18; Dan 11:35; 12:10.

8 Tiller, *Commentary*, 226, who also suggests an allusion to the red heifer of Num 19:1-10.

9 For discussions of the relevant texts, see A. M. Goldberg, "Kain: Sohn des Menschens oder Sohn der Schlange?" *Jud* 25 (1969) 203-21; and Nils A. Dahl, "Der Erstgeborene Satans und der Vater des Teufels (Polyk. 7:1 und Joh 8:44)," *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 10. Dezember 1964* (BZNW 30; Berlin: Töpelmann,

1964) 70-84. Neither cites the Animal Vision. Tiller (*Commentary*, 226) suggests that black may symbolize Cain's sin, but finds my suggestion "doubtful" (private communication).

10 In the same vein Tiller (*Commentary*, 227) suggests emending the verb *talawa* ("pursued it") to *tatawa* ("was pursued").

11 For details see *ibid.*, 229-30.

found in Genesis 4 to suggest that the author of the Vision is drawing on a haggadic tradition. Perhaps the myth of Demeter's search for Kore or the search of Isis for Osiris has been incorporated into the primordial history.¹² Among extant Jewish sources, *Apoc. Mos.* 2:1–4:1 indicates several positive and negative parallels with this text: Eve dreams of Abel's murder, Adam and Eve find Abel slain, they grieve over him, and then Eve conceives and bears Seth. Here the mother's search for her missing son and her grief at not finding him is natural and perhaps more original than the version in the *Apocalypse of Moses*. See also Jer 31:15 of Rachel and her children. Here the mother's lamentation may imply a wordplay between the son's name הָבֶל (*habel*) and the Aram. verb אָבַל (*ābal*, "to mourn"). A similar wordplay occurs in 1 Enoch 13:9, but on the same trilateral root (see comm. on 13:9–10). The final clause in v 6 seems superfluous, since the verse has already mentioned Eve's search for Abel. Perhaps we have a mistranslation of the verb בָּעָא, which can mean either "search" or "make petition." The ambiguity is present also in the Eth. verb *hašaša*, which occurs in both places, and it is possible that the last clause extends the idea of Abel's blood pleading to God. Such a notion may also be implied in the verb "cry out" in v 7 (*sarha*), which root occurs in 8:4 of earth's plea for vengeance against the bloody deeds of the giants and in 89:19 of Israel's plea against Egypt. Verse 7 forms a transition between the story of Abel and the birth of Seth. The connection may be an inference from Gen 4:25, where Seth is explicitly a replacement for Abel. The narrative here is natural enough and is reminiscent of 2 Sam 12:24.

Verse 8 combines ideas found in the two Genesis references to Seth's birth (4:25; 5:3–4); the latter mentions the rest of the sons and daughters of Adam. Nonetheless, a significant difference is evident between the present verse and Gen 5:3–4. In Gen 5:3–4 the other children are mentioned in close connection with the Sethite genealogy. Here the remainder of Eve's children are black bulls and cows. A qualitative distinction between the Sethite line and these other children permits the author to describe them with the same symbol as the Cainites. Verses 9–10 emphasize this distinction through

an explicit reference to the Sethite line and genealogy, and the verb "began to" may correspond to the same verb in Gen 6:1, which initiates the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men—the incident for which chap. 86 provides the counterpart.

■ **86:1–87:1** This section continues the Genesis story with an extensive elaboration of Gen 6:1–4 that draws on the traditions in 1 Enoch 6–8, albeit with knowledge of an earlier stage of that tradition.

This earlier stage is evident in v 1, where a single star (watcher) falls from heaven prior to the descent of the many stars in v 3. The importance of this event is underscored in 90:21, which also singles out "the first star that had preceded those stars whose organs were like horses." As is evident from 88:1 (see comm.), this first star represents Asael, who according to 10:8 was responsible for "all sins." In chaps. 6–11 Asael's role is ambiguous. In the onomasticon in 6:7 he is the tenth of the Dekadarchs who descend to find wives and is subject to Shemihazah. In 8:1 ⚙, however, his revelations are the means by which women seduced the holy ones. In keeping with this, he and his revelations are mentioned in 9:6 prior to Shemihazah and the sexual sin ascribed to him and his associates; in 10:4–8 he is also mentioned first. Read in light of chap. 86, the present form of chaps. 6–11 looks like a revision of a stage of the tradition in which Asael was the first angelic rebel. This early form of the tradition is attested also in *Jubilees* 4–5. According to 4:15, the watchers (pl.) descended "that they should instruct the children of men and that they should do judgment and righteousness on the earth." Chapter 5 then begins the account that corresponds to 1 Enoch 6, and *Jub.* 5:6 states explicitly that God "sent" the watchers to earth. For a later, Christian use of this tradition, see comm. on 8:1.

The use of stars as symbols for the watchers is consonant with the Jewish and pagan association of stars with angels or heavenly beings.¹³ The verb "fall" (*wadqa* = Aram. נָפַל, *nēphal*) may reflect Gen 6:4, which refers to the *nephilim* on the earth. While tradition tends to identify these as one class of the giants (see below), in 1QapGen 2:1 they are mentioned along with the watchers as the possible cause of Bitenosh's conception of the

12 Suggested by Tiller, *ibid.*, 229.

13 On stars and heavenly beings, see comm. on

18:12–16.

glorious child Noah.¹⁴ The image of a falling star, which would have been natural for observers of the heavens, also recalls Isa 14:12, where כִּכְלִיל is one of several verbs that depict the eviction of *hêlêl ben-šāḥar* from heaven to Sheol. That does not appear to be the sense here, although that myth, combined with the Asael material, will be used later in a unique way in Revelation 12–13, 20.¹⁵ Probably more to the point is Rev 8:10–11 and 9:1–6, where a falling star symbolizes the descent of an angel, who is sent from heaven to earth. Although the text is cryptic here, it may suggest that this first watcher lived among human beings as if it were a human being. On the problem of angels appearing to eat—which they cannot do as spiritual beings—cf. Tob 12:19; *T. Abr.* 4:9 A; also Luke 24:41–42. As to the present case, see the comm. on 8:1 and its reference to the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*.

The identification of the “large and black cattle” in v 2 is debated.¹⁶ Does it refer simply to adult black cattle?¹⁷ Or does the author allude to a tradition about the intermarriage of the Sethites (i.e., the “great” cattle; cf. 85:9–10) and the Cainites (i.e., the “black” cattle; cf. 85:5, but see also 85:8)? Supporting this interpretation is the reference to exchanging, which suggests two groups, and the complete disappearance of the white cattle. An idea approximating this is attested much later, in the *Chronography* of George Syncellus (16 [17], 26 [27], and 34 [35]), where it is ascribed to Julius Africanus (160–240 C.E.), and Pseudo-Malalas (7 [8]), as an interpretation of Gen 6:1–4: “sons of God” are the Sethites, and “daughters of men” are the Cainites.¹⁸ The tradition also occurs in rabbinic sources.¹⁹ Rather than being the source of these traditions, the present verse might reflect a contemporary alternative Jewish interpretation of the biblical text. In its later forms, the idea has interesting anthropologi-

cal overtones: the Sethites are the bearers of the image of God.²⁰ The text here does not indicate explicitly that the intermingling is evil or that it was prompted by the descending star, but the notion may be implied in 89:1–6. In chaps. 6–11 the presence of the Asael material provides a reason for *humanity* to be punished; they have been co-opted into sinning on the basis of Asael’s revelations. Here those revelations are not explicitly referred to, but the intermingling takes place after the fall of Asael, and it offers the only evident reason for the white bulls being almost exterminated in the flood (89:1–6). The Sethites have been corrupted by their intermarriage with the Cainites.

As in v 1, Enoch looks to heaven (v 3) and sees the “descent” of the watchers described in chap. 6 (see comm. on 6:4–6).²¹ In v 4 for the first time we hear of the intercourse of the heavenly and earthly beings and of the conception and birth of the giants (cf. 7:1–2 and the similar language, “and they began to . . . and they conceived and bore”). In likening the stars’ “organs” (an English euphemism equivalent to Semitic euphemistic usage) to those of horses, the authors employs imagery similar to Ezek 23:20. That the heavenly beings mate with the “cows of the bulls” may indicate intercourse between the watchers and the wives of mortal men, a notion attested in *T. Reub.* 5:6–7. The similarity to Ezekiel supports this interpretation.

In symbolizing the giants as elephants, camels, and wild asses, the author indicates knowledge of the long form of the text of 7:2. (See comm.) The particular species may be used as symbols because of the similarities between the two sets of Aramaic words: *pîlîn* (“elephants”) = *nēpîlîn*; *gamēlîn* (“camels”) = *gibbôrîn* (“giants”); *‘ārodîn* (“wild asses”) = “*Eliond.*”²² In any case the appearance of new species suggests the bastardly

14 See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 81.

15 On the use of the Asael material, see Rubinkiewicz, *Eschatologie*, 133–40.

16 On the translation of Eth. *‘abiyāna wašalimāna* (“large and black”) as “large, black,” see Tiller, *Commentary*, 237. For an analogy relating to the divine title “the Great Holy One,” see comm. on 1:3c–9, n. 3.

17 Tiller, *Commentary*, 237–38.

18 See Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 117–22.

19 See Alexander, “Targumim.”

20 Midrash *ha-be‘ur* Gen 4:25; *Tanḥ. Yitro* 10, cited by Dennis Berman, “Seth in Rabbinic Literature: Translations and Notes,” unpublished paper presented at the 1977 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco.

21 On the formulas used throughout this section to describe Enoch’s seeing the vision, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 235.

22 See Milik, *Enoch*, 240; and Tiller, *Commentary*, 240.

mixture mentioned in 9:9 and 10:15, and at least the elephants and camels conjure up an image of grotesqueness.

The results of the giants' births are recounted in 7:3-5. The fear and terror in 86:5, though not mentioned in 7:3-5, is appropriate both in this vision's symbolic framework (the appearance of new species) and with respect to the story it symbolizes (the horrible specter of the giants). Verses 5b and 6a parallel one another. In keeping with 7:4, 86:6a describes the giants' devouring human beings. This line could be a repetition of v 5b, with the subject made explicit, although the earlier line may depict a frightened reflex by the bulls. In v 6b the author makes a unique departure from his animal symbolism. It could be a slip of the pen. In any case it underscores the universal human terror that is the reality behind this part of the allegory. See 7:3, "all the sons of men"; and for "all the sons of the whole earth" in a soteriological context, cf. 91:14. The quaking and trembling repeats the fear and terror in 86:5. In a final counterpart to 7:5-6, 87:1 describes the giants' battles among themselves and the earth's plea for deliverance. A counterpart to this plea will appear in 90:11, where it triggers the final judgment

■ **87:2-4** The archangels' intercession, described at length in chap. 9, is reserved in this vision for the time near the eschaton (89:70-71, 76-77; 90:14, 17). The present context and 88:1-89:1 presume the commissioning of angels as agents of judgment (chap. 10), and in 87:2 (cf. 86:1, 3) Enoch looks to heaven and sees them dispatched on their mission.

Angels, not being human, are not depicted as animals in this allegory. Paradoxically, they are described in typical apocalyptic language as having a human appearance (cf. Dan 7:13 and 1 Enoch 46:1). In this respect, they differ also from the rebel watchers, who fall or descend like stars. White may indicate their status as "holy ones" (cf. 9:3); it is the color of God's raiment in 14:20 and Dan 7:9. The color white might also connote their status as heavenly priests.²³ Perhaps to differentiate them from the stars, who fall or descend, these angels "come forth"

from heaven. They are numbered in two groups. The four, who will be active in 88:1-89:1, correspond to the four in chap. 10. The other three fill the complement of seven mentioned in chap. 20, although in chaps. 21-33 all seven accompany Enoch on his visions. The present number three, which may stand behind the tradition in chaps. 17-19, has in any case given rise to the variant reading in 81:5 (see n. a ad loc.).

In 87:3-4 Enoch sees himself as an actor in his own dream (cf. Dan 7:16). The language of 87:3 parallels 70:1 and appears to indicate Enoch's final translation. It occurs after the sin of the watchers, which occurred "in the days of Jared," Enoch's father (cf. 6:6; *Jub.* 4:15; 1QapGen 3:3), and before their judgment.²⁴ The "high place" to which Enoch is taken is paradise, from which he can see the "tower," that is, the heavenly temple (cf. 89:50, 66 of the First Temple and 89:73 of the Second Temple).²⁵ From his vantage point Enoch will watch the rest of the action in the Vision, that is, the events of human history (cf. *Jub.* 4:23-24, on which see Introduction §6.2.3.3.3)). On Enoch's return to earth after all these events, see 90:31.

■ **88:1-3** Continuing the scenario in chaps. 6-11, 88:1-89:1 describes the missions of the four holy ones. The order differs in that Sariel's mission to Noah is described last, as an introduction to the lengthy account of the flood in 89:1-9. In 88:1 the first of the four deals with the fallen star as Raphael did with Asael in 10:4-5. The description of the chasm as "narrow, deep, and horrible" reflects the descriptions of the final place of punishment for the watchers in 18:10-11; 21:7-8. Gabriel's mission to prod the giants into a war of mutual extermination (10:9) has its counterpart here in v 2. As in 10:11-12, where Michael binds Shemihazah and his associates in the "valleys of the earth" (here "a chasm of the earth"), so in 88:3 the next angel deals with the stars whose sexual transgression was described in 86:3-4. Neither the earth quaking in v 2 nor Michael's hurling rocks²⁶ from heaven in v 3 is mentioned in the respective passages in 10:9-12. But both details occur in Hesiod's account of the *Titanomachia* in *Theogony* 675, 713-26,

23 See Tiller, *Commentary*, 245.

24 On the details see *ibid.*, 246.

25 For a detailed discussion of Enochic ideas about

paradise, see *ibid.*, 248-50.

26 On this translation of Eth. *wagara*, see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 936.

where the culprits are also bound in a deep chasm under the earth. The detail supplements other possible reflexes of Greek mythology in chaps. 6–11 (see Introduction §5.1.2.2.2).

■ **89:1-8** Although the author of chaps. 6–11 refers to the figure of the lone primordial righteous one—the equivalent of Noah (10:1-3)—the flood as such is not mentioned. In subsequent traditions in 1 Enoch, however, the event serves as a prototype of the final judgment (not least in chaps. 83–84). In keeping with this tendency, the present section provides a paraphrase of Gen 6:5–9:19. Material corresponding to Genesis 9 and its eschatological equivalent in 1 Enoch 10:18–11:2, like the parallels to 1 Enoch 9, is deferred to the description of the eschaton (90:28-38).

The account of the flood is introduced in 89:1 with a counterpart to Sariel's mission. As in 10:1-3, the instruction to Noah is described like an eschatological revelation (see comm. on 10:2). The holy one “teaches” (*mahara*; cf. 10:3) Noah a “mystery” (*meštir*; cf. 103:2 and comm. on 103:1-4). Noah's trembling (not mentioned in 10:1-3) may be a typical reaction to the angelophany. Alternatively, the verb *rešda* describes Noah as one of those who had been trembling before the onslaught of the giants (86:6). Verse 1 is one of two instances in the Vision where an animal “becomes” (*kona*) a man (cf. 89:36). In each case the expression is followed by “and he built/constructed.” Does this author find it impossible to imagine a bull or sheep with a hammer in his paw,²⁷ or is it suggested that Noah and Moses attained an angel-like status?²⁸

The construction of the ark and populating of the ark are described briefly in v 1b (cf. Gen 6:14-22; 7:1-9, 13-16). The only inhabitants mentioned are the four bulls (Noah and his three sons). The animal allegory does not

permit mention of the real animals in Genesis, but then they are not mentioned in parallel accounts in 1 Enoch 10:1-3; 67:1-3; 83–84; 106:15-18. More noteworthy here is the omission of the wives of Noah and his sons (cf. Gen 7:13; 8:15-18). The **A** contains two verbs to describe the covering of the ark (see n. f). The passive form of the two participles suggests a reference to God's covering the ark (cf. Gen 7:16)²⁹ rather than Noah's building a roof on it (cf. 6:16).³⁰ The second Aramaic word (ܡܫܬܝܬ), which can mean “to hide,” is the same root as Heb. מָסַח, which is used of the “covering” that Noah removes in Gen 8:13. In 1 Enoch 10:2 the notion of hiding may denote hiding from God's eschatological fury (see comm. on 10:2).

The description of the flood itself in vv 2-8 presents a substantial problem, because the **C** version is longer and significantly different from the form represented by the fragments of Qumran Aramaic ms. e.³¹ Both texts, it is true, contain the major elements of the biblical account. The rain descends (v 2; cf. Gen 7:4, 10, 12). The subterranean fountains are opened, and the water rises (vv 3-4; cf. Gen 7:11, 17-20). All life on earth perishes except the inhabitants of the ark (vv 5-6; cf. Gen 7:21-23). The rain ceases, the fountains are closed, the water recedes, and the ark settles on the earth (vv 7-8; cf. Gen 8:2-4). The inhabitants of the ark exit from it (v 9; cf. Gen 8:18).

The versions differ in that **A** appears to have contained a straightforward summary of Genesis, while **C** relates the story in a framework that symbolizes the cosmos as a gigantic building. The key word is the Eth. noun *ʿašad*, which can designate an enclosed area such as a courtyard, and translate, for example, the Gk. ἀύλη, or which can denote a building or village.³² Here the entity has a high roof (heaven), in which Enoch sees

27 Thus Dillmann, *Henoch*, 257; Martin, *Hénoch*, 203; Charles, *Enoch*, 190. But cf. 89:72-73.

28 This is suggested by Paul A. Porter (*Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8* [ConBOT 20; Lund: Gleerup, 1983] 53), who cites 67:1-2, where angels construct the ark. He is followed by Tiller (*Commentary*, 259, 295–96), who suggests, however, that the references to Noah's angelic transformation in vv 1, 9, both missing in **A**, were added in imitation of 89:36.

29 Cf. 67:2, “I will place my hand on it (the ark) and preserve it.”

30 For this meaning of Gen 7:16, see Westermann, *Genesis*, 437.

31 For detailed textual and philological notes on this section, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 260–67.

32 Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1023–24.

seven sluices (which are also mentioned in **A**). Its floor (*medr*) is the earth (also *medr* in Ethiopic). As Enoch watches, the sluices pour down great volumes of water into the enclosure, and fountains bubble up from beneath, covering the floor (vv 2-3). The water continues to rise until it overflows the enclosure and stands on the earth (*medr*, v 4). Enoch then watches the animals in the enclosure sink to the floor, while the ark floats above the waters (vv 5-6). Thereafter he sees the sluices and fountains closed, the water subsiding to reveal the floor, and the vessel settling on it. The one difficulty with this symbolic portrayal of the cosmos is in v 4. According to that verse in its present form, the cosmic building, whose floor is the earth, appears itself to stand on the earth, since when the building is filled, the water overflows onto the earth. The cause of this inconsistency is probably some sort of dittography in v 4. The repetition of similar phrases is suspicious: “the height of this water,” “that water,” “the height of that enclosure,” and “the height of the enclosure.” Moreover, different from the rest of the text, this verse alone has no counterpart in **A**.

Thus, granting some emendation in v 4, the **℄** version of vv 2-8 sets the story of the flood in a symbolic representation of the cosmos. The major difference between this text and the preserved fragments of 4QEn^c is the latter’s omission of **℄**’s references to the “enclosure” in vv 2, 3 (twice), and 4 (twice). While it is possible that the expression בְּנוֹת אֶרֶץ in v 3 (see n. a), which Milik translates “the interior of the earth,” could reflect the symbolism present in **℄**, this is by no means certain. It seems best to assume that the symbolic version is secondary to an original nonsymbolic form for the story. Certainly the contexts before and after give no hint of such a symbolism. The symbolism, however, has biblical precedent in Job 38:4-11 and Ps 104:2-9 (cf. Heb 3:4), where God is depicted as the builder of the cosmic tent or house. The cosmology is also hinted at in 1 Enoch 18, which speaks of the foundation and cornerstone of the earth and the pillars of heaven.

The references to the darkness that accompanied the flood and the light that returned afterward have no counterparts in the Genesis account or its recasting in

Jubilees 5. The motif of darkness may well have been taken over from Mesopotamian sources,³³ and the appearance of darkness and the reappearance of light may indicate a reversion to chaos and then a new creation,³⁴ a motif present also in the portrayal of the flood as the collapse of the waters above the firmament.

■ **9** With the end of the flood’s judgment, the author introduces a new era of human history that will continue until the final judgment. The disembarkation from the ark recalls the origins of humanity described in 85:3, 8. “That white bull . . . came out of (*wad’a ’em*) that vessel, and the three bulls with him (*mestēhu*),” just as Adam the white bull “came out of (*wad’a*) the earth, and after him a female calf came out (*wad’a*), and with her (*mestēha*) two bull calves came out (*wad’a*),” black and red in color. The color of the three bulls that represent Noah’s three sons replicates in reverse order the colors attributed to Adam’s three sons in chap. 85. The verb “come out” here reproduces the text of Gen 8:16-18 and explains the specific usage in the Vision’s creation account. Thus the biblical notion that the postdiluvian world involved a second creation (cf. Gen 9:1-7 with 1:26-30) is taken up by the author of the Vision in a unique way: Noah and his sons are the patriarchs of a new creation, who explicitly parallel the first patriarchs. The implications are ominous. In addition to a general parallelism, the colors may have specific connotations. Certainly this is so with Shem, who carries on the Sethite line of white bulls that will continue through Abraham and Isaac (89:10-11). If we follow the order of Noah’s sons in Gen 5:32; 6:9; 7:13; 9:18, the bull here described as “red as blood” represents Ham. This may symbolize the curse of Canaan (Gen 9:25) and the bloody fate of the peoples of the land whom Israel would later exterminate in the conquest (see the list in Gen 10:15-18). The black or dark color ascribed to Japheth fills out the triad of the colors of Adam’s sons. It may symbolize the gloom of the north (see comm. on 17:7-8), in which general direction the descendants of Japheth were thought to reside (see *Jub.* 8:25-29).

The departure of the white bull probably refers to the death of Noah (rather than the separation of Shem from

33 Tiller, *Commentary*, 263-64.

34 Ibid., 264, 266-67, who cites Martin, *Hénoch*, 205.

his brothers) and may imply a parallel with the heavenly assumption of Enoch and Elijah.³⁵

■ **10-12** This brief section provides a transition from the death of Noah to the beginnings of Israel (cf. Gen 10:1–37:1). It also recounts how the new creation quickly goes awry, as the first creation had. The bulls “began to” beget new species, just as beforehand the stars who became bulls “began to” impregnate the cows, who bore new species (86:4).³⁶ The list of new animals here represents the Gentiles (v 10) and corresponds to the genealogies in Genesis 10–11. The ominous implications of the new development are evident already in v 11; the Gentile animals “began to bite one another” as the giants “began to bite” (86:5). Soon the beasts will turn on the Israelites as the giants had turned on humanity.

The author has drawn the animal imagery here from Ezekiel 34, where the wild animals (lit. “beasts of the field,” vv 5, 8), representing the nations, prey on the sheep of Israel (see also Excursus: The Biblical Sources of the Idea of the Negligent Shepherds), and the wording seems to reflect Ezek 39:17-18.³⁷

Of the species listed in v 10, only the conies (or rock badgers, species *hyrax*),³⁸ pigs, and falcons are not mentioned later in the Vision (and thus cannot be identified). That the three are mentioned in a row could indicate that they constitute an addition to the original text. Whatever their origin in the text, they appear to have been included because, like the other animals mentioned here, all three are unclean animals, and because, different from some of the others, all three are explicitly mentioned in Leviticus 11 (vv 5, 7, 14).³⁹ Not only are the listed animals unclean by Levitical standards, but all the species that later function in the action are predators or scavengers, a point emphasized in 89:11a (which repeats the situation created by the giants in 86:5-6). Thus the author introduces here the antagonists in the central drama in the Vision: the struggle between Israel and the Gentiles who prey on them, disperse them, and destroy them.

The end of v 10 marks a new point of departure—the birth of the white bull that represents Abraham. As in much tradition that is based on Gen 11:26–12:3, here Abraham’s election and departure from Chaldea involve his forsaking Gentile ways—not least, idolatry.⁴⁰ Verse 11 emphasizes this contrast: after Abraham is born, the Gentiles continue their violent ways; yet Isaac is born to continue the line from Seth. Verse 11 is faithful to its biblical prototype in that it lists Ishmael and Isaac in the order of their births (Genesis 16, 21). The symbolizing of Ishmael by a wild ass reflects the angelic announcement in Gen 16:12, and the reference to the increasing of his progeny corresponds to the genealogy in Gen 25:12-18, which is followed almost immediately by the account of the birth of Esau and Jacob (Gen 25:22-26; here v 12). Esau, whom Gen 25:25 describes as “red,” is here said to be black, evidently in contrast to Jacob, who is white like his Sethite ancestor. This color contrast—reminiscent of the contrast between Cainites and Sethites—reflects the bitter rivalry between Israel and Edom. Obviously pejorative is also the depiction of Esau as a wild boar—the swine being notorious as an unclean animal (Lev 11:7; Deut 14:8).⁴¹ The contrast between the “many boars” and the mere twelve sheep begotten by the ram (Jacob) parallels the simple listing of Jacob’s sons in Gen 35:22-26 and the extensive list of Esau’s progeny in Genesis 36.

That the white bull (Isaac) should beget a white ram (Jacob) is noteworthy both because it is an anomalous birth and because it marks a break in the Sethite line, which hitherto has been symbolized by white *bulls*. The change in species symbolizes that the lives of the Israelites will be shorter than those of the patriarchs.⁴² Moreover, it is essential to the story recounted in the Vision. To begin with, sheep are a common biblical metaphor for Israel (see, e.g., Pss 74:1; 79:13; 95:7; Isa 53:6; Jer 50:6; Ezekiel 34; Zech 13:7). More important, this author will employ the image consistently with two biblical nuances that are fundamental to his interpreta-

35 Tiller, *Commentary*, 268. Note, however, that both 87:3 and 42 employ verbs denoting elevation.

36 For details see *ibid.*, 271–72.

37 On the parallels in wording, see *ibid.*, 271.

38 On the identification of this species, see *comm.* on 96:2.

39 For a discussion see Tiller, *Commentary*, 30–32.

40 E.g., *Jubilees* 12; LAB 6; *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

41 This image for Esau may not be accidental. Cf. *Jub.* 37:20. Tiller (*Commentary*, 274) cites Ps 80:13.

42 Suggested to me by Jonathan Goldstein. See also Tiller, *Commentary*, 274–75.

tion of Israelite history. First, the sheep are often blinded and go astray; that is, the nation is guilty of apostasy (89:32-33, 41, 51-54, 74; 90:7). (See Excursus: Blindness and Straying as Apostasy.) Second, the sheep of Israel are frequently, if not constantly, the helpless victims of the wild beasts that symbolize the Gentiles (89:13-21, 42, 55-57; 90:2-4, 11-13, 16).⁴³ Thus, with the birth of the twelve sheep at the end of v 12, the author is ready to proceed to the heart of his story—the history of Israel.

■ **13-38** If it is a truism that historically oriented biblical authors regarded the exodus as the pivotal event in Israel's history, the situation is roughly the same for the author of the Animal Vision. The space devoted to the events related to the exodus (from the selling of Joseph to the death of Moses = Genesis 37–Deuteronomy 34) exceeds the treatments both of the rebellion of the watchers and the flood and of Israel's history from Joshua to Manasseh. All but a few lines of this section correspond to the Book of Exodus.

■ **13-14** This brief summary of Gen 37:1–Exod 1:7 explains how Israel got to Egypt and thus introduces the main part of this major section of the Vision. Thus the primary theme of vv 15-27 is presented: the interaction between the sheep and their oppressors. Precisely what animal is used to symbolize the Egyptians is problematic. The Eth. noun is uniformly *ze'eb*, which means “hyena.”⁴⁴ Almost all editions translate the word as “wolf,” however, since this is the meaning of this noun's cognates in other Semitic languages.⁴⁵ I have adopted the translation “wolves” for several reasons. First, in 89:10 and 55 the word occurs along with *se'eb*, which also means “hyena.” Assuming the species would not be listed twice (in v 55 twice in a row), we may suppose that the Ethiopic translator's word choice has been influenced by a knowledge of the Semitic cognates.⁴⁶ Second, the Qumran Aramaic fragments of vv 14 and 27 appear to preserve part of the word ܕܒܐ, which could mean either “bear” (*dūba*?) or “wolf” (*dēba*?).⁴⁷ Third, the hyena is rarely mentioned in

the Bible and does not seem a likely choice to represent the archetypal oppressors of Israel. Finally, the absence of any reference to wolves in this author's menagerie would be very odd, since the fearful threat that real wolves posed to real sheep was well known and perhaps even proverbial. This proverbial character is suggested by Isa 11:6 and 65:25, where the return to paradise is marked by the peaceful coexistence of the two species. Metaphorical usage that presumes the antagonism appears in Matt 10:16 | Luke 10:3 and John 10:12, as well as in passages that depict Israelite officials and false prophets as ravenous wolves (Ezek 22:27; Zeph 3:3; Matt 7:15; Acts 20:29). The connotations of the metaphor appear to be taken for granted here, however. Nowhere in this Vision's account of Israel's slavery and the exodus do we find verbs like “tear to pieces, devour, and swallow,” and other verbs that do appear with some frequency later in the Vision are missing here. Throughout vv 13-27 the wolves are described as if they were the humans they represent.

The selling of Joseph into slavery is depicted as the sheep handing over one of their own to their ravenous enemies, although, different from Gen 37:17-36, the symbolism of the present text leaves no doubt about the ominous implications of the event. In portraying Joseph's captors as wild asses, the author identifies them as Ishmaelites (Gen 37:25, 27) rather than Midianites (37:28, 36). In keeping with the purpose of this section, v 14 ignores the rest of the Joseph story and refers only to Jacob's leading of his family to Egypt (Gen 46:1-7). The end of v 14 corresponds to Exod 1:7 and, like that verse, forms a transition to the story of Israel's slavery and deliverance.

■ **15-20** The wolves' fear of the sheep (v 15a) explicates the king's words in Exod 1:9-10, although the person of the king, not needed in the allegory, is not mentioned here. The enslaving of the Israelites is summarized in one verb (“and oppressed them”), and the Egyptian attempt to kill the Israelite children (Exod 1:15-22) is

43 Cf. esp. Ezekiel 34 and its juxtaposition of scattered sheep, wild beasts, and derelict shepherds.

44 Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1056; Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991) 630.

45 The sole exception is Tiller (*Commentary*, passim), on whose careful discussion I am dependent here;

see *ibid.*, 272, 276.

46 See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1056; Tiller, *Commentary*, 272.

47 Tiller (*Commentary*, 276) prefers “bears.”

mentioned only briefly. Israel's cry and complaint to God has no counterpart at this point in the sequence of the biblical narrative,⁴⁸ but it is a common motif in 1 Enoch in general and occurs elsewhere in this vision (87:1; 90:3, 11, 13).⁴⁹ Verse 16a picks up the biblical narrative in Exod 2:1-10, while v 16b summarizes Exod 2:11-22. In representing the Midianites as wild asses, the author accepts the identification that Gen 37:25-27, 28, and 36 presumes between the Midianites and the Ishmaelites (see above vv 11, 13). Israel's cry to God and God's response (v 16b) are mentioned in Exod 2:23-24 and 3:7-9. In this vision see also 87:1; 89:57; 90:11, 13-15. God's descent, not part of the biblical narrative, may anticipate the same event in 90:18 (and 90:15 if it is original) and thus depict the exodus as a prefigurement of the final judgment.⁵⁰ God's lofty chamber, not mentioned as such in Exodus, is the divine throne room, on which see 87:3 and 14:17-22. The narrative details in 87:17-19 correspond to major features in Exod 3:1–5:23: Moses is commissioned to go to Pharaoh, he meets Aaron, and together they speak to the king (here the assembly of the wolves), and the Egyptians increase the Israelites' burden. As in the case of 89:15b, the biblical account corresponding to this section makes no specific reference at this point to Israel's complaint, but it is presumed in Exod 6:5, where God responds to Moses' prayer in 5:22-23. Verse 20 deals with the ten plagues in short order (cf. Exod 7:14–12:30), referring briefly to the killing of the firstborn and to the Egyptians' lament in Exod 12:30. The phrasing of the final sentence in 89:20 parallels 85:7. In context it contrasts with the wolves' lamentation and indicates the alleviation of their oppression of the sheep; it may also be an oblique reference to the deliverance of Israel's firstborn.

■ **21-27** In general this account of the exodus itself corresponds to Exod 12:23-39 and 13:17–14:31. One set of details differs from the biblical account and may reflect current haggadic expansion: the wolves' blindness (89:21) and inability to see the sheep (v 25). This is the

one place in the Vision where blindness is attributed to someone other than the (apostate) Israelites. Perhaps the idea is drawn from the biblical account of the plague of darkness (Exod 10:21-23), which Wis 17:1–18:19 describes at length in connection with the night setting of the exodus.⁵¹ The wolves regain their sight and pursue the sheep, and then they perceive the glorious presence of Israel's God (v 26; cf. v 22b), an allusion to the pillar (עמוד) of cloud that stood (יעמד) between Israel and the Egyptians (Exod 14:19-20). The scene closes with a reference to the destruction of the wolves, who "sink" (89:27) in the swamp (vv 23-26). The image is drawn from Exod 15:4-5 and 10 rather than chap. 14, but the double verb here recalls 1 Enoch 89:5-6 and God's judgment on the bulls, elephants, camels, and asses in the flood. Different from the biblical typology of creation and exodus (cf. Isa 51:9-11), this author develops within two eras a typology of flood and judgment (see comm. on 89:10-12). The closing of the sea over the Egyptians may anticipate the earth's closing over the Gentile persecutors at the final judgment (90:18).⁵²

■ **28-35** The next major part of this section depicts Israel's journey to Sinai and the events that took place there. Different from the previous part, the author here employs metaphorical language appropriate to the animal symbolism (water, grass, pasturing).

This summary of Exodus 15–32 is remarkable for what it includes of the biblical account and what it excludes. Verse 28 alludes to the wilderness events recorded in Exod 15:22–16:36. At Marah God provided the thirsty people with water (15:25) and then made a statute and ordinance and commanded the people to keep all his statutes (15:26). This revelatory event is alluded to in a phrase that will be repeated much later, "they began to open their eyes and see" (1 Enoch 89:28; cf. 90:6, and see Excursus: Blindness and Straying as Apostasy).⁵³ The arrival at Elim and the giving of manna (Exod 15:27; 16:4-36) are here described as God's pasturing of the flock with water and grass (for the

48 But cf. LAB 9.2.

49 Cf. 1 Enoch 7:6; 8:4; 9:2, 10; 47:1; 97:3-5; 99:3; 103:14; 104:3.

50 Tiller, *Commentary*, 282.

51 Alternatively, the wolves' blindness might refer metaphorically to the Egyptians' hardness of heart; see *ibid.*, 285.

52 *Ibid.*, 287; but cf. Exod 15:12.

53 The wording of ㉔ in 89:28 and 90:6 is identical except in its order. On ㉔ of 89:28, see textual note a.

metaphors cf. Ps 23:1-2, of God the shepherd). Verses 29-35 summarize the Sinai narrative in Exodus 19–32. In keeping with 1 Enoch’s general silence on the Torah, the giving of the Law on Sinai is not mentioned; revelation has already taken place in the wilderness. The account focuses on the theophany (which is described like the theophany at the exodus; see 1 Enoch 89:22b) and Israel’s fearful reaction to the awesome majesty and power of their God (cf. v 22).⁵⁴ Despite the revelation of law and of God’s own presence, Israel apostasizes. The sheep are blinded and stray from the path of the law that their leader had shown them (*ʿarayomu*; cf. v 28, “they saw,” *yerēʿeyu*). The building and worship of the golden calf are the first in a series of numerous incidents of cultic apostasy. God’s wrath is enacted when Moses and the Levites slaughter the idolaters and the people repent (v 35; cf. Exod 32:1–33:6).

Thus the narrative is a unity. The sheep open their eyes and see; they are blinded and stray; after they are punished, the remainder of the straying flock return to their folds. The emphasis in the passage anticipates bad things to come. Israelite history will be characterized by apostasy and punishment. The sheep will repeatedly be blinded and go astray and then be devoured by Gentile predators.

Excursus: Blindness and Straying as Apostasy and the Opening of Israel’s Eyes as Revelation

Throughout the Vision, the author employs consistent imagery to describe Israel’s sin and its cause.

They “strayed” from the right path because “their eyes were blinded.” Conversely, Israel’s blindness was overcome when “their eyes were opened.” These metaphors derive from long-standing traditions in the religious vocabulary of Israel and are used here with special nuances.

The image of sin as straying from the path of righteousness is commonplace in the Hebrew Scriptures and related literature, and it appears frequently in 1 Enoch—especially in the Epistle—in the context of a two-ways scheme (see Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). In the Animal Vision the image of straying is incorporated into a broader biblical metaphor; the Israelite *sheep* go astray.⁵⁵ In the Epistle of Enoch (as elsewhere) “straying” can describe sins against one’s neighbor, as well as religious sins, strictly speaking (see Introduction to the Epistle). In the Vision “straying” denotes sins related to the cult, and such sins are singled out for attention, even in cases where this verb “to stray” does not occur (89:32-35, 41, 44-45, 51, 54, 73-74).⁵⁶

The sheep stray because their eyes are blinded and cannot see the way. This expansion of the metaphor is natural (cf. Matt 15:14 || Luke 6:39). In the Hebrew Bible blindness is an image for the lack of religious and moral knowledge mainly in Second and Third Isaiah; it appears much more frequently in later Jewish writings and in the NT.⁵⁷ In some of these texts, since sin is the result of demonic prodding, spiritual blindness is said to be caused by an archdemon. That demon may be identified generically rather than by a proper name.⁵⁸ Alternatively, in some Jewish, Christian, and gnostic texts, the notion of blinding is embodied in the proper name Sammael, “the god of the blind (or “the blind angel”).”⁵⁹ The oldest attestation of the name is in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. In this Christian apocalypse built around a Jewish legend from Maccabean times,⁶⁰ Sammael is

54 Reese, “Geschichte,” 36.

55 Cf. Ps 119:176; Isa 53:6; Jer 50:6.

56 For straying the Vision consistently uses the Eth. verb *sehta*, which reproduces some form of the Gk. root *πλανάω* (“to stray, wander”). Cf. 8:2; 97:10, emended in n. a; see also comm. on 98:15–99:1 for the translation of the *πλαν-* group by Eth. *ras’a* (“to act wickedly”). In 89:44 the image is applied to Saul, albeit with the verb “forsake” (Gk. *ἀφιέναι τὴν ὁδόν*).

57 For citations see Wolfgang Schrage, “*τυφλός, κτλ.*,” *TDNT* 8 (1972) 281–86, 291–93.

58 See, e.g., 2 Cor 3:12–4:6; and *T. Sim.* 2:7; *T. Jud.* 19:4; *T. Dan* 2:4, where the notion of straying or error (*πλάνη*) also appears.

59 For these texts and for the translation of Aram. ܫܡܥܝܠ as “god of the blind,” see Birger A. Pearson, “Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testimony of Truth* from Nag Hammadi (CG IX, 3),” *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren* (2 vols.; NumenSup 21–22; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 1:467; and André Caquot, “Bref commentaire du ‘Martyre d’Isaïe,’” *Sem* 23 (1973) 72.

60 See George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Stories of Biblical and Post-Biblical Times,” in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 52–56; M. A. Knibb, “Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah,” in *OTP* 2:149.

the chief name of the demon who inhabits Manasseh and leads him to his apostasy (1:8, 11; 2:1; 3:13; 5:15-16; 7:9; 11:41).⁶¹ The text is especially relevant to the present discussion because Manasseh's sin plays a crucial role in the Animal Vision (see comm. on 89:54-58). The natural association between blinding and error or straying occurs in several of the above-mentioned texts. *T. Sim.* 2:7, *T. Jud.* 19:4, and *T. Dan* 2:4 identify the one who blinds as "the prince of error" (ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλανῆς) or the one who casts "the nets of error." In two gnostic texts, "Samael, that is, the god of the blind," is rebuked with the words "You err! (πλαν-)." ⁶²

In the Animal Vision the word "to blind" occurs only as a passive verb (*tašallala*, 89:32, 41, 54; 90:7) or as a passive participle (*selhul*, 89:33, 74). This suggests a passive construction in the underlying Greek and Aramaic,⁶³ and this in turn raises the question: Does the Vision's use of the construction "their eyes were blinded" imply as its subject the demon Sammael or his equivalent? The major role that malevolent spirits play in the Vision as a whole suggests a positive answer to this question, even if the demon is never explicitly mentioned. The image of blindness in this part of the Vision may also have an equivalent in the first part of the Vision, viz., the dark color of Cain and the Cainites, which in turn may be related to a demonic conception (see comm. on 85:3-10).⁶⁴

If the sheep's eyes are often blinded, on occasion their eyes are opened (*kašata*, Aram. כִּשְׂתָא, at 89:28, 4QEn^c 4 3:17). This occurs first at the revelation in the wilderness (89:28), then during the time of the judges and Samuel (89:41, 44), and finally at the end, in an event that parallels the first revelation (90:6, as well as in the interpolated v 10). Characteristic of Israel's eschatological state is that "the eyes of all of them are opened" (90:35). In its transferred sense, the idiom is used elsewhere to describe how, in various ways, God reveals to humans things that they have previously failed to see.⁶⁵ What Israel "sees" when their eyes are opened is, first of all, God's revealed will in the law. It is the path shown to them

by Moses (89:28-32) and again revealed at the end time (see comm. on 90:6). At the time of the judges and Samuel, it also involves Israel's turning from their idolatrous ways (see comm. on 89:41). In addition to this metaphorical use of "see" in the sense of "understand," the author may posit here some kind of visionary experience. The idiom can be used in that sense and occurs with that meaning in 1 Enoch 1:2 and in its prototypes in the biblical texts about Balaam's visions (see comm. on 1:2-3b).⁶⁶ A visionary component may well have been part of the eschatological revelation described in 90:6 (see comm. on 90:6-9a). At the very least, the use of the visual metaphor is appropriate in a text that itself claims to be a vision, and indeed one of many visions received by Enoch.

In summary, the metaphorical complex of Israel's straying, being blinded, and have having their eyes opened underscores the author's sharp distinction between right and wrong conduct and his belief that, for most of its history, the nation has violated God's revealed law, specifically with respect to cultic matters. Two corollaries follow from this. First, Israel's victimization by the Gentiles is divine punishment for sinning against the light. Second, acceptance of a new revelation will bring about Israel's final and permanent deliverance from their enemies.

■ **36-38** This section completes the part of Israelite history that is recounted in the Pentateuch. For the second and last time in the Vision, an animal becomes a man and then builds something (v 36; cf. Noah in v 1). Perhaps the author has a problem with the image of a sheep building something; perhaps he alludes to Moses' angel-like glorification (Exod 34:29-35).⁶⁷ The "house" seems to be the tabernacle, whose construction is described in Exodus 35-40. See especially chap. 40, where the construction is attributed to Moses. But "the house" must also be interpreted more broadly. According to v 36b,

61 Although Sammael is never explicitly said to blind Manasseh, the twin notions of the blinding and opening of eyes appear in 11:10, 14, with reference to Jesus' birth.

62 *Hyp. Arch.* (II 4) 87:3; 94:25; *Orig. World* (II 5) 103:18.

63 Cf. the entries in Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1256-57, where these forms reproduce passive forms or phrases. Conversely, Gk. τυφλός (adj., "blind") in the LXX and NT is translated almost exclusively by forms of the Eth. adj. *ewur*.

64 A possible connection between Sammael and the

Qumranic "prince of darkness" is noted by Caquot, "Commentaire," 72. However, the latter figure seems to have been created as a counterpart to the prince of light (suggested to me by John Strugnell, private communication, June 2000).

65 Gen 21:19; Num 22:31; 24:3, 15, 16; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20; CD 2:14; Luke 24:31.

66 A visual, if not visionary, component is present in all the texts in n. 65 except CD 2:14.

67 See Tiller, *Commentary*, 296.

the sheep are placed in the house; this suggests an allusion to the whole Israelite camp, which was placed around the tabernacle according to Numbers 1–2. This broader use of “house” is also consonant with vv 50, 56, and 66, where the term describes the city of Jerusalem, whose “tower” is the temple.⁶⁸

In v 37 we hear first of the death of Aaron (cf. his appearance in v 18) recounted in Num 20:22–29, and then of the deaths of the wilderness generation and the rise of the younger generation. Thus Israel is at the plain of Moab, poised to enter the land (see esp. Deut 1:35–39). As with Noah, the author speaks of the death of the animal that had become a man (v 38). Different from Noah, who “departed” (*halafa*, v 9), Moses is both “separated” (*talēlaya*) from the people and “falls asleep.” The reference is perhaps simply to Deuteronomy 34, where Moses ascends the mountain and dies. Perhaps the author wishes to counter stories about Moses’ assumption.⁶⁹ Verse 38b alludes to Deut 34:5–8: no one knows the place of his burial; the people wept over him. The language parallels 1 Enoch 85:6 (of Eve and Abel).

■ **39–40** These two verses summarize the Book of Joshua. The cessation of mourning is a transition from the previous section, but perhaps also an allusion to the opening words of Joshua, “After the death of Moses” (1:1). The second sheep here mentioned might well be Caleb.⁷⁰ He is mentioned together with Joshua in Deut 1:34–38, a context that is in mind in v 37 (see above) and has some prominence in Numbers, Joshua, and Judges.⁷¹ More likely, the second leader is Eleazar, who replaces Aaron his father, as Joshua replaces Moses.⁷² The plural “those who had fallen asleep” refers evidently to both Aaron and Moses (see vv 37 and 38 for the same verb). The description of the land (lit. “a good place and a

sweet and glorious land,” *makān šannāy . . . medr ḥawaz wasebhat*) probably reflects traditional descriptions, as in Exod 3:8, “a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey.” The “house” in the final clause is probably the tabernacle, but could be the camp at Shiloh (Josh 18:9).⁷³ The people’s satisfaction suggests a happy closure to this unit, but the word, when contrasted to what follows in v 41, is reminiscent of Moses’ warning in Deut 8:11–20.

■ **41** The first half of this verse is a pithy summary of the Book of Judges that focuses on the major theme of that work—Israel’s apostasy and the repentance that takes place in connection with the rise of new leaders. The imagery is typical of the Vision, and the verb “arose” (*našʿa*) is typical of Judges (see, e.g., 2:16) and will reappear in this vision with reference to Saul and David (89:42, 47). The reference to blindness fits the author’s emphasis on Israel’s cultic sins. For references to Israel’s idolatry, cf. Judg 2:11–13, 19–21; 3:6; 8:33; 10:6; 17:3.

The second half of the verse appears to be a reference to the rise of Samuel the judge, because it is the only point of reference for v 44, where Samuel is already a known quantity. Verse 41b would then allude to the ceremony at Mizpah, where Israel formally repents of its sins of idolatry (1 Sam 7:3–17).

■ **42–50** The unity of this section lies in its focus on the activities of Israel’s first three kings, each of which is described as a ram of the flock. It may also allude to Israel’s enemies in the Book of Judges, who are not mentioned in the previous verse, where one would expect them.⁷⁴

The narrative begins with Israel under attack from its neighbors and continues as the first two rams (Saul and

68 For “house” (בֵּית) as a designation for the both the temple and the city of Jerusalem in Ezra–Nehemiah, see Tamara C. Eskenazi, *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra–Nehemiah* (SBLMS 36; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 53–57.

69 On these traditions see Samuel E. Loewenstamm, “The Death of Moses,” in Nickelsburg, ed., *Studies*, 185–217.

70 Charles, *Enoch*, 194.

71 Cf. Num 13:30; 14:6; Josh 15:13–19; Judg 1:12–20. Cf. also *LAB* 25–28, a much later text, where Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, is the Israelite leader par excellence.

72 See Tiller (*Commentary*, 300), who cites Num 20:25–28; 26–27; 32:28; 34:17; Deut 10:6; Josh 14:1; 17:4; 19:51; 21:1; 24:33; CD 5:3–4.

73 *Ibid.*, 301.

74 *Ibid.*, 305.

David) defeat these enemies. It concludes with Israel in a state of peace as the third ram (Solomon) builds a tower (the temple) and offers sacrifice to the Lord of the sheep, who honors the place with his presence. In contrast to the previous section, which emphasized the vacillation between the sheep's blindness and sight, apostasy is here mentioned only in connection with Saul. Of David's adultery, with its extensive consequences, and Solomon's marriages to foreign women we hear nothing. According to this vision, the united monarchy was the one period in Israel's history that was not characterized by national apostasy.

The Gentile threat against Israel (v 42) is posed by three groups. The dogs, who will continue as a threat, symbolize the Philistines. The choice of symbol may derive from 1 Sam 17:43, where Goliath asks David, "Am I a dog that you come to me with sticks?" The wild boars symbolize the Amalekites, listed in Gen 36:12 and 16 among the descendants of Esau, who is introduced as a wild boar in 89:12 (see comm. on 89:10-12). The foxes represent the Ammonites. The choice of this symbol may reflect Neh 4:3: "Tobiah the Ammonite . . . said . . . 'if a fox goes up on it, he will break down their stone wall.'"

Saul is the only Israelite leader in this vision who is depicted in a bad light, and, apart from Cain (85:4), he is the only individual so depicted. As in the biblical account in 1 Samuel, he appears as a divinely appointed ruler (1 Samuel 8–12), disobeys God, and falls from divine favor. In the symbolism of the Vision, the ram depicts leadership. The first reference to such an animal is in 89:12, 14, with reference to Jacob, the patriarch of the twelve tribes. According to 89:42 the ram's function is to "lead" Israel; at least in the case of Saul and David, this leadership is primarily military (see also 90:9-17). He butts and pursues Israel's enemies with his horns.

According to 1 Samuel, Saul does battle with the Ammonites (chap. 11), the Philistines (chaps. 13–14), the Amelekites (chap. 15), and then again with the Philistines (chap. 17). The Ⓔ and Ⓒ versions of the present text list the enemies in different orders.⁷⁵ The Ⓔ lists the Ammonites (foxes), the Amelekites (boars), and the Philistines (dogs), while the Ⓒ lists the dogs, the foxes, and the boars. The translation above follows the order of Ⓔ.⁷⁶ The battles in 1 Samuel 12–14 are ignored in this version in order to focus on Saul's slaughter of the Amalekites (boars), and the end of v 43 refers evidently to Saul's subsequent route of the Philistines (1 Sam 17:52).

The reference to Saul's disobedience is necessary to explain Samuel's anointing of David (vv 44–45), but it also permits the author an additional allusion to his favorite topic of cultic sin (cf. 1 Sam 13:8–14; 15:10–23). Verses 45–47 summarize well-known events in Saul's life: Samuel's secret anointing of David (vv 45–46a; 1 Sam 16:1–13); the battles with the Philistines (v 46b; 1 Samuel 17); Saul's attempts on David's life and David's flight (v 27a; 1 Samuel 18–27); Saul's death in battle with the Philistines (v 27b; 1 Samuel 31).

According to vv 45–46, Samuel appoints David to be "ram" and to "rule" (*marḥa*, ἐν ἀρχῇ) and to be "ruler and leader" (*mekwennan wamarāhē*, ἄρχων καὶ ἡγούμενος) of the sheep. The terms denoting leadership (the Eth. root *marḥa*) were used earlier in the text to denote the functions of God (89:22), Moses (vv 28, 32, 38), Joshua and Caleb (v 39), the judges (v 41), and Saul (v 42); they will recur with reference to David (v 48) and Solomon (v 48b). The Aramaic root behind these words is quite likely דבר (see 89:14, n. a). The Gk. root ἀρχεῖν ("rule," "ruler") is used only of David and Solomon and likely translates אֶשְׁלַט.⁷⁷ The military functions of the

75 For an excellent discussion see *ibid.*, 306–8.

76 Tiller (*ibid.*, 307–8) combines the Ⓔ and Ⓒ, placing a reference to the dogs at both the beginning (Ⓒ) and the end (Ⓔ) of the list in v 43. The order in Ⓒ seems, however, to follow the sequence in v 42 and breaks with the sequence of the biblical text, where Saul does not engage the Philistines until chap. 17. Tiller (*ibid.*, 307) notes rightly that in the Vision this event belongs chronologically in v 46b. However, the reordering allows all of Saul's battles to be grouped together.

77 Cf. Daniel Ⓟ at 5:7, 16; 6:26; 7:12, 14, 26, 27, where

the Gk. root ἀρχ- ("rule") consistently translates the Aram. counterparts אֶשְׁלַט, אֶשְׁלַטְנָא. The double usage here also corresponds to 11QPs^a 28:11, where the nouns נָיִד ("prince") and מוֹשֵׁל ("ruler") are paired to refer to David's functions as leader of God's flock. In the LXX, these two Hebrew words are translated by ἡγούμενος and ἄρχων respectively.

ram are evident in the brief description of David's reign, which allude to his defeat of the Philistines and Ammonites (v 49; 2 Sam 5:17-25; 8:1 and 10:1-11:1). David's other victories, alluded to in v 49, are recorded in 2 Sam 8:2-14.

The finality of David's military victories prepares for the reign of Solomon, "a little sheep" who becomes a ram. Solomon's size probably connotes his being younger than Adonijah (1 Kings 1). Solomon's only recorded accomplishment here is the enlargement of "the house," which is "low," and the construction of "a great and high tower." The reference is to Jerusalem, the low spur of the eastern hill, and to the Solomonic Temple that crowned the higher northern part of the hill. Thus the climax of Solomon's reign is the construction of the temple and its dedication, with the appearance of the divine glory (1 Kgs 8:10-11; 2 Chr 7:1-2) and the massive dedicatory sacrifices and feast (1 Kgs 8:62-66; 2 Chr 7:4-10).⁷⁸ On the idea that the divine glory "stood" above the tower, see comm. on 89:21-27.

■ **51-58** From this high point in Israelite history, everything is downhill. During the reigns of the first three kings, only Saul was an apostate, the defeat of Israel's enemies was definitive, and the period culminated with the expansion of Jerusalem and the construction of the temple. All this is now reversed. The house and tower will be forsaken; the sheep will be blinded, go astray, and fall prey to the ferocious beasts of prey. Thus the time of the divided monarchy—the period leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile—is depicted as an era of unmitigated disaster. The literary contrast between vv 42-50 and 51-58 is sharp and unmistakable.

■ **51-54** The contrast is evident in the opening words of v 51. The sheep stray into many paths. The motif has not been attributed to Israel as a nation since the worship of the golden calf (vv 32-35), nor has national apostasy been mentioned since the time of the judges (v 41). Israel strays precisely where they had been faithful according to the previous verse. The people "forsook that house of theirs." When Jeroboam divided the kingdom, he set up a new seat of power apart from Jerusalem and established counter-sanctuaries at Bethel

and Dan (1 Kgs 12:25-33). The rest of the history of the northern kingdom is recounted in brief order, and the passage may also refer to the contemporary history of Judah. Although Israel apostasizes, God attempts to restore them by sending prophets (vv 51b-53). The passage has a ring structure. The Lord of the sheep sends sheep (a), but many are killed (b) (v 51b). This motif leads to the story of the attempted murder and the rescue of Elijah (b'). It forms the major part of this passage, with Elijah's ascent to heaven being paralleled to Enoch's (v 52). The passage closes with reference to the many other prophets whom the Lord sent to testify and lament over Israel's sins (a'). In short, 89:51-54 summarizes 1 Kings 12-2 Kings 20 as a time of unmitigated apostasy and rejection of the prophetic call to repentance. The association of Elijah and Enoch is natural; both were taken up alive. At the time of the judgment, Elijah will descend to earth with Enoch (90:31).

■ **54-58** These verses bring us to the last century of the history of Judah. Neither in the previous section nor in this one do we hear a word about the "good" kings of Judah, for example, Jehoash, Hezekiah, and Josiah. The present section focuses on the reign of Manasseh and its consequences (see below). Two ideas predominate. The sheep forsake or abandon the house and tower of the Lord, and the Lord abandons them to the beasts and forsakes "their house and their tower." The nation's apostasy is complete; there will be no more prophets. The historical picture is striking, both because it ignores the good reign of Josiah, who reversed the apostasy of Manasseh, and because it omits any reference to the ministry and message of Jeremiah.

The section begins with a summary statement of Israel's sin and God's response (v 54), and then with some repetition it elaborates on the divine punishment. With respect to Israel's sin, v 54 expands on the idea expressed in v 51. In the former verse, "they went astray . . . and abandoned that house of theirs." The emphasis is on physical removal from Jerusalem. Here they "abandoned the house of the Lord and his tower completely, and they went astray and their eyes were blinded." Moreover, "they betrayed his place." That is, the city, Zion, is identified as God's, and in leaving it they "completely"

abandon God's sanctuary. In addition, the author uses the double image for apostasy— straying and blindness, a combination that has not appeared since the story of the golden calf (vv 32-35). God responds to this apostasy by permitting the sheep to be slaughtered, a point to be elaborated in the verses that follow.

The apostasy here described is not difficult to identify. As will become evident in vv 55-58, God's response will result in the destruction of the temple and the exile. In the biblical accounts and postbiblical traditions, these events were divine punishment for the sins, especially the cultic sins, of King Manasseh. These sins, which are said to be without equal, are described in 2 Kings 21 and 2 Chr 33:1-9. God's irrevocable decision to punish Judah is recounted in 2 Kgs 21:11-14, and the tradition persists in 2 Bar. 64:4-6. Although the cultic sins of Manasseh, including the construction of idolatrous altars in the temple, hardly seem to involve the "forsaking of God's tower," an idiom close to this does appear in one source, viz., the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, according to which "Manasseh forsook (*ḥadaga*, as here) the service of the God of his father and served Satan" (2:2). The reference could be to Manasseh's erecting of cultic places apart from Jerusalem (2 Kgs 21:3). The second statement, that the sheep "betrayed" the Lord's "place," is more in keeping with Manasseh's setting up of idolatrous altars in the temple (2 Kgs 21:4-7).⁷⁹

The slaughter unleashed on the sheep is described three times in vv 55, 56, 58, in each case in connection with the verb "abandon" (*ḥadaga*). In v 55 God abandons the sheep into the hands of wild beasts. The composition of the menagerie is noteworthy. During the time of Saul and David, the sheep were attacked by dogs, wild boars, and foxes. Here the foxes come at the end of a list that includes more vicious and larger animals of prey: lions, leopards, wolves, and hyenas, who devour and

swallow (v 58) the sheep after first "tearing them in pieces" (vv 55-56).

The identity of these animals and the events being described can be determined with some precision from the biblical accounts. The *wolves* are the Egyptians (cf. 89:13-27). The event is the campaign of Pharaoh Neco that resulted in the death of King Josiah. This battle is mentioned in 2 Kgs 23:28-35, immediately after a renewed reference to God's intent to destroy Judah because of Manasseh's sin (1 Kgs 23:26-27). The *foxes* are the Ammonites (cf. 89:43-48), who are mentioned in 2 Kgs 24:2-3: "In the days of Nebuchadnezzar . . . the Lord sent . . . bands of the Chaldeans and bands of the Syrians and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the Ammonites and sent them against Judah to destroy it." It is this event of 601 B.C.E. that the author appears to have in mind here. In such a case, the *lions* can be identified as the Chaldeans (cf. v 56, where the lions are alone identified), and the Syrians (Arameans), with the *leopards*.⁸⁰ Of those listed in 2 Kgs 24:2-3, the group yet to be mentioned are the Moabites, who would then be symbolized by the *hyenas*. Elsewhere in this vision the species is mentioned only in the initial catalog in 89:10.⁸¹

Verse 56 partly repeats the previous verse. Here, however, it is *their* house and *their* tower that the Lord forsakes; the idea parallels Ezekiel 9-10. In the place of a full list of beasts, we now hear only of the lions and "all the animals."

Verse 57 underscores the horror of the scene by depicting Enoch's petition in behalf of Israel. His cry will be repeated in 90:3, and in the idiom of the Enochic corpus it functions like angelic intercession. He makes known to God the plight of the beleaguered flock (for the idiom see 22:12). Enoch's cry is met with silence; God refuses to act and rejoices over Israel's deserved

79 Tiller (*Commentary*, 318-19) suggests that the betrayal of the temple might refer to one of several occasions when it was plundered. The prominence of Manasseh's sin in the biblical and postbiblical traditions seems to make it a better candidate for the author's allusion.

80 For the translation of Eth. *ʾanāmert* as "leopards" rather than "tigers" (Charles, *Enoch*, 199; Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:209; Tiller, *Commentary*, 320), see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 634 (*pardus*); Leslau, *Dictionary*, 398.

On the leopard in Palestine, see Edwin Firmage, "Zoology (Fauna)," *ABD* 6:1143.

81 Tiller's identification of the beasts (*Commentary*, 320) differs slightly; the foxes are Ammon and Moab, and the hyenas are Aram.

destruction (see comm. on 94:10).⁸² The decree of destruction, based on Manasseh's sin, is irrevocable. Thus the section ends starkly with the repeated refrain, "he abandoned them" to be devoured and "carried off"

(cf. 2 Kgs 24:10-16). Josiah's reforms are not mentioned because they were irrelevant and unable to avert the destruction of Jerusalem.

82 On God's action as an expression of divine justice rather than "coldheartedness," see Tiller, *Commentary*, 322-23.

THE COMMISSIONING OF THE SEVENTY SHEPHERDS AND THE ANGELIC SCRIBE

- 59 And he summoned seventy shepherds, and he left those sheep to them, that they might pasture them. And he said to the shepherds and their subordinates, 'Every one of you from now on shall pasture the sheep, and everything that I command you, do. 60/ I am handing them over to you duly numbered, and I will tell you which of them are to be destroyed. Destroy them.' And he handed those sheep over to them.
- 61 And another one he summoned and said to him, 'Observe and see everything that the shepherds do against these sheep, for they will destroy more of them than I have commanded them. 62/ Every ~~xxxxx~~ and destruction that is done by the shepherds, write down—how many they destroy at my command, and how many they destroy on their own. Every destruction by each individual shepherd, write down against them. 63/ And by number read them in my presence—how many they destroy,^a and how many they hand over to destruction, so that I may have this testimony against them, that I may know every deed of the shepherds, that I may <measure> them^b and see what they are doing—whether they are acting according to the command that I gave them, or not. 64/ And do not let them know it, and do not show them ~~or~~ rebuke them. But write down every destruction^a by the shepherds, ~~one~~ by one, in his own time, and bring it all up to me.'

THE FIRST PERIOD: THE TWELVE SHEPHERDS UNTIL THE EXILE

- 65 And I saw until those shepherds ~~were~~ pasturing <each>^a in his time, and they began to kill and destroy many more than they had been commanded, and they abandoned those sheep into the hands of the lions. 66/ And the lions and leopards devoured and swallowed up most of those sheep, and the wild boars devoured along with them, and they burnt down that tower and demolished that house. 67/ And I grieved exceedingly over that tower and because^a that house of the sheep had been demolished. And from then on I was unable to see whether those sheep were going into that house.
- 68 And the shepherds and their subordinates handed over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them. And each of them, individually, in his time, ~~was~~ given over by number, and by number each of them handed over^a to his companion. In a book it ~~was~~ written^b how many of them he ~~was~~ destroying.^c 69/ And more than was prescribed for them each of them ~~was~~ killing and destroying, and I began to weep and lament because of those sheep. 70/ And thus in the vision I ~~saw~~ how that one who was writing, was writing down each one^a that ~~was~~ being destroyed by those shepherds every day, and (how) he ~~was~~ bringing up and <spreading out>^b and was showing that whole book to the Lord of the sheep, everything that they had done, and everything that each ~~one~~ of them had taken away, and everything that they had handed over to destruction. 71/ And the book was read in the presence of the Lord of the sheep, and he took the book from his hand^a and read it and set it down. 72a/ <And I saw until> the shepherds ~~were~~ pasturing for twelve hours.^a

THE SECOND PERIOD: THE TWENTY-THREE SHEPHERDS FROM THE RETURN TO ALEXANDER

- 72b And behold, three^b of those sheep returned and came and entered and began to build all that had fallen down from that house. And the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they could not. 73/ And they began again to build as before and they raised up that tower and it was called the high tower. And they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. 74/ And besides all these things, the eyes of the sheep ~~were~~ blind, and they did not see, and their shepherds likewise. And they handed them over to <the wild beasts>^a for greater destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. 75/ And the Lord of the sheep remained silent until all the sheep were scattered over the field and were mixed with them, and they did not save them from the hand of the beasts. 76/ And this^a ~~one~~ who ~~was~~ writing the book brought it up and showed it and read it in the houses of^b the Lord of the sheep. And he interceded with him in their behalf and petitioned him in their behalf, showing him every deed of the shepherds,^c and he testified in his presence against all the shepherds. 77/ And he took the book and set it down by him^a and went out.

90:1 And I **SAW** until the time when <thirty-five>^a shepherds had been pasturing in this manner, and they all completed their respective times like the first ones. And others received them into their hands to pasture them in their respective times, each shepherd in his time.

THE THIRD PERIOD: THE TWENTY-THREE SHEPHERDS FROM ALEXANDER INTO THE SECOND CENTURY

2 After this in my vision^a I **SAW** all the birds of heaven come—eagles and vultures and kites and ravens, and the eagles were leading all the birds. And they began to devour those sheep and peck out their eyes and devour their flesh. 3/ And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and I cried out^a and lamented in my sleep because of that shepherd who **WAS** pasturing the sheep. 4/ And I **SAW** until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and by the eagles and by the kites. And they left them neither flesh nor skin nor sinew, until only their bones remained; and their bones fell on the earth, and the sheep became few. 5/ And I **SAW** until the time that twenty-three shepherds^a had been pasturing, and they completed in their respective times **58** times.

THE FOURTH PERIOD: THE TWELVE SHEPHERDS UNTIL THE END TIME

6 And behold,^a lambs were born of those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see and to cry out to the sheep. 7/ But they^a did not listen to them^b nor attend to their words, but they were extremely deaf, and their eyes were extremely and excessively blinded.^c 8/ And I **SAW** in the vision that the **RAVENS** flew upon those lambs and seized **ONE** of those lambs^a and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. 9/ And I saw until horns came out on those lambs, and the ravens **WORE** casting down their horns. {And I **SAW** until a great horn sprouted on one of those sheep.^a 10/ And it looked on them, and their eyes were opened, and it cried out to the sheep, and the **RAVENS** **SAW** it, and they all **RAN** to it.} 11/ And besides this, all those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were still tearing the sheep in pieces and flying upon them and devouring them. And the sheep **WORE** silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. {12/ And those **RAVENS** were struggling and fighting with it and wished to do away with its horn, but they did not prevail against it. 13/ And I saw until the shepherds and the eagles and those vultures and the kites came, and they cried to the **RAVENS** to smash the horn of that ram, and they struggled and made **WAR** with it, and it was struggling with them and cried out that its help might come.^a 14/ And I looked until that man came who wrote the **NAMES** of the shepherds and brought (them)^a before the Lord of the sheep and he helped it^b and showed it everything; his help **CAME** down to that ram.^c 15/ And I **SAW** until the Lord of the sheep **CAME** upon them^a in wrath, and all that **SAW** him fled and all fell into darkness^b before him. 16/ And all the eagles and vultures and **RAVENS** and kites gathered and brought with them^a all the wild <beasts>^b and they all came together and helped one another to smash the horn of that ram.} 17/ And I looked **at** that man who wrote the book at the word of the Lord, until he opened the book of the destruction that those last twelve shepherds worked, and he showed before the Lord of the sheep that they had destroyed more than those before them. 18/ And I **SAW** until the Lord of the sheep **CAME** to them and took in his hand the staff of his wrath and struck the earth, and the earth was split, and all the beasts and all the birds of heaven fell (away) from among those sheep and sank in the earth, and it covered over them. 19/ And I saw until a large sword was given to those sheep, and the sheep went out against all^a the wild beasts to kill them, and all the beasts and the birds of heaven fled before them.

63a + “on their own” (*bare’somu*) some mss. of β, a gloss.

b <*emattenomu*> 2080² | <*ewattenomu*> (“begin them”) gqT⁹ 1768 6281 7584 | <*emattewomu*> (“hand them over”) t,β. For a discussion see Tiller, *Commentary*, 327–28.

64a “all the destructions” q,β.

65a Emending *bagizēhu* (“in his time”) to the distributive *babagizēhu*; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 329 n. 1.

67a and because] *wa’esma* mq | *wa’esma* (corrupt) T⁹ | <*esma*> (“because”) g 2080,β | *za* (“this”) t.

68a This clause occurs only in mtT⁹. While it could be a dittograph, it does make sense, and its omission in the majority of mss. could be by haplography.

b *yeṣaḥaf* u | “should write” (*yeṣḥāf*) g | “they write” (*yeṣḥefu*) T⁹ | “wrote” (*yeṣḥef*) al.

c mss. add a two-word dittography.

70a Emending *’aḥada* (“one”) to the distributive *’aḥada ’aḥada*; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 329.

b *yá’arref* (“was causing to rest”) C. Translation presumes

- a Greek corruption from ἀνέπτυσσε to ἀνέπαισε; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 330 n. 5.
- 71a “in his hand” β.
- 72a Emending *re'iku* 'enza *yere'eyu* (“I saw the shepherds pasturing”) to *re'iku* 'eska *yere'eyu*. See, however, Tiller, *Commentary*, 337–38.
- b All mss. have the sign for “3.” In 2080 this is a correction over what seems to be the sign for “2,” which Tiller (*Commentary*, 338–39) takes to be the original reading.
- 74a to the wild beasts] “to the shepherds” all mss., which I construe as a dittograph from the previous sentence, where the word provides the antecedent for the verb in this sentence. The wild beasts are the natural subjects of the verbs “trample” and “devour” here. See the discussion by Tiller, *Commentary*, 341.
- 76a *waze* gmqt | “and that” (*wazeku*) β (cf. v 70) | “and” (*wa*) T⁹.
- b in - - of] *baḥaba* 'ab(i)yāta t²,β | 'ab(i)yāt(a) mt¹q | “before” (*baḥaba*) g | “the great things of” ('*abiyāta*) T⁹. For a discussion see Tiller, *Commentary*, 342.
- c the shepherds] gmqT⁹ 2080 6281 | “their shepherds” t 1768 7584, β | om. u.
- 77a For this reading see Tiller, *Commentary*, 342–43.
- 90:1
- a “thirty-seven” all mss.
- 2a “the vision” m,β | “my eyes” T⁹.
- 3a *ṣarāḥku* t,T⁹,β | “I watched” (*naṣarku*) gqu | “I saw” (*re'iku*) m.
- 5a Om. “shepherds” gmqT⁹.
- 6a *wanawā* gmqtuT⁹ | “little” (*ne'usāt[sa]*, *ne'usān[sa]*) β.
- 7a “the sheep” T⁹ and most mss. of β.
- b they - - - - them] 'isame^cewwomu t | “they afflicted them” (*ʿasrehewwomu*) m. Other mss. read various forms of the verb *ṣarḥa* (“cry out”), both with and without the negative prefix, 'i. The verb accepted here parallels well the next verb (cf. 91:3); the others appear to reflect a dittograph from the previous verse. For an argument for “afflicted” as the original reading, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 351–52.
- c excessively blinded] tT⁹ 1768 2080 6281 7584, β, using the adj. form of the verb *ḥēla* | “and they prevailed” gmq, using the third pl. verbal form.
- 8a one - - lambs] Tiller (*Commentary*, 352–53) accepts the reading of m, the only ms. not to refer to “one” of the lambs, on the grounds that one should expect an indefinite noun rather than the definite “the one.” But why not the definite, since it refers to a specific lamb?
- 9a + “and their eyes were opened (‘and their eyes saw” gmqt), evidently a dittograph from the beginning of the next verse, although different verbs are used.
- 13a *temaṣṣā* gmqtT⁹ | “come to him” (*temaṣ'o*) β.
- 14a brought them] causative form of the verb, mqtuT⁹ 1768 4437 6281 7584, β^{mult} | “and was going up” g 2080, β^{pc}.
- b + “and he saved him” g.
- c his help - - - - ram] “and his help - - - - ram” T⁹ 6281, ab | “he came down for the help of that ram” g 2080.
- 15a *dibēhomu* mtT⁹ | “to them” (*ḥabēhomu*) g,β.
- b *ṣelmat* T⁹ | “his (om. gm) shadow” (*ṣelālot[u]*) gmqtu,β.
- 16a and - - them] *wa'amṣe'u* mt, β | “and there came with them” (*wamaṣe'u*) gqT⁹.
- b emending 'abāge'a *gadām* (“wild sheep”), which have not been mentioned, to 'arāwita *gadām*, which are common in the vision; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 363–64.
- 19a *kwellu* gmqT⁹,β^{plm} | “these” ('*ellu*) β^{plm} | om. tu,x.

■ **89:59—90:19** At this point the author changes dramatically the manner in which Israel's history is depicted, providing the history with both an earthly and a heavenly dimension—which are indicated in the two parts of 89:59-64. In the first of these (vv 59-60) God hands over the sheep to seventy “shepherds,” with instructions to destroy certain of them. On earth the flock will continue to suffer. In the second part (vv 61-64) God summons an angelic scribe, who is to record the shepherds' actions and to bring into the heavenly courtroom the record of the shepherds' excessive destruction of the sheep. Thus in heaven God will be aware of what is happening to the flock on earth. These two dimensions are evident in the four subsequent sections that recount the history of the flock; actions take place on earth, and they are reported in heaven: (a) 89:65-67 | 68-71; (b) 89:72-75 + 90:1 | 89:76-77; (c) 90:2, 4-5 | 90:3;

(d) 90:6-13, 16 | 90:14, 17. The resolution of this section, and indeed of the whole Vision, will take place when the Lord acts on the information contained in the books.

■ **89:59-64** The sudden change in scene, from events taking place on earth (89:54-58) to events in the heavenly courtroom (vv 59-64), calls attention to an important shift in Enoch's narrative. God has adopted a new *modus operandi* by distancing himself from the flock. From the time that the Lord of the sheep was first mentioned (89:15), that Lord was closely involved in the lives of those sheep. This was evident, from a grammatical point of view, in the author's use of “the Lord of the sheep” as the subject of a variety of verbs. The Lord was the immediate subject of actions of which the sheep were the objects or beneficiaries. The Lord descended and led them from captivity (vv 16, 17, 20, 22, 24), pas-

tured them and interacted with them and their leader (vv 28, 30, 33), raised up new leaders for them (vv 42, 45), was present at their sanctuary and sacrifice (v 50), and sent messengers to turn them back from their errant ways (vv 51-52). With the final, great apostasy, however, a new verb appears. In the last part of 89:13-58, the Lord “abandons” the flock to the wild beasts (vv 55, 56, 58). This change in God’s action marks the transition to the remainder of the historical narrative, which documents that abandonment of the sheep.

This point bears on the chronology of the rest of the Vision. To be specific, when does the scene described in 89:59-64 take place? In answering this, one should note the continuity between the divine activity described in 89:59-64 and God’s actions at the end of the whole previous part of the Vision, that is, in 89:54-58. Specifically, although the verb *hadaga* (“abandon”) never occurs in vv 59-64, the notion is present. The Lord “rejects” (*gadafa* = ἀπορρίπτω, v 59) the sheep and “hands them over” (*mattawa* = παραδίδωμι) to seventy shepherds, who in turn hand them over for destruction to the wild beasts. Additionally, the verb *hadaga* does appear in v 65, at the beginning of the exposition of vv 59-64. In effect, God’s action here is the same as in 89:54-58. Thus it is reasonable to date the heavenly scene described in vv 59-64 back into the historical period described in vv 54-58 and to see, in that period when God abandons the sheep, the beginning of the time of the seventy shepherds. On the chronology of the time of the seventy shepherds, see below.

■ **59-60** This scene takes place in heaven, where the Lord of the sheep summons first the seventy shepherds and then an angelic scribe, who will be responsible to report to God in the heavenly courtroom.

That the seventy shepherds are angels has been disputed, mainly because they are described in terms that the Bible attributes to human leaders called “shepherds” (see Excursus: The Biblical Sources of the Idea of the Negligent Shepherds).¹ Their heavenly nature seems certain, however.² In the imagery of this apocalypse, all identifiable human beings in the historical survey are symbolized as animals. (On the transformation of Noah and Moses, see comm. on 89:1, 36.) Angels are symbol-

ized in other ways, which are traditional. The rebel watchers are described as stars (see comm. on chap. 86). The seven holy ones have “the appearance of white men” (87:2); and in 90:21-22 they are called “men,” and the heavenly scribe, who is one of their number, is called a “man.”³ Moreover, the term “shepherd” itself designates a human being with a particular function vis-à-vis a particular species of animals. The seventy individuals mentioned in v 59 are called “shepherds” rather than “men” (and hence are angels) for two related reasons. First, the term emphasizes their function as leaders of the sheep. Second, the author is drawing on biblical traditions that speak of “shepherds” (see Excursus below).

■ **61-64** The nature of the shepherds’ activity is clarified in the Lord’s instructions to the heavenly scribe. God has decreed that a certain number of the sheep are to be destroyed, that is, killed, and the words “destroy, destruction” run like a thread through the subsequent verses. The scenario is that God delivers the sheep to the shepherds and their associates (vv 58, 68), and the shepherds hand over the sheep to the wild beasts and birds of prey for destruction. In so doing, however, they deliver for destruction more than they should and thus act as negligent, malevolent, and disobedient shepherds. God is aware of this malfeasance of office before he delivers the sheep to the shepherds, but this foreknowledge is accompanied by God’s determination to hold the shepherds responsible for their actions.

To facilitate the just enactment of this judgment against the shepherds, God summons and commissions the angelic scribe, whose activity will be described in 89:70-71, 76-77; 90:14, 17, 22. According to 90:22, he is one of the seven holy ones, and he is to watch for, record, testify, and intercede concerning the sins of the shepherds. The notion of such heavenly witnesses, scribes, and intercessors is common in various strata of 1 Enoch. In chap. 9 the four holy ones witness, report, and intercede concerning the sins of the watchers and the violence of the giants. In the Epistle (chaps. 92-105), they are concerned with human sin. On the idea in general see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes.

1 For a summary see Charles, *Enoch*, 200.

2 See *ibid.*; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:187;

Porter, *Metaphors*, 43-60.

3 Cf. Dan 8:15-16.

Excursus: The Biblical Sources of the Idea of the Negligent Shepherds

The portrayal of the seventy as disobedient shepherds is a peculiar blend and transformation of material from several biblical sources, although the idea may have been informed also by other contemporary sources.

As Porter documents at great length,⁴ “shepherd” is a common biblical metaphor for Israel’s leaders, whether their functions be religious strictly speaking, political, or military, and this usage is paralleled in ancient Near Eastern texts and their references to kings. In Israelite sources the metaphor often presumes the image that Israel is God’s flock and that God is Israel’s shepherd (see, e.g., Pss 80:2 [1]; 100:3; Isa 40:11; cf. Psalm 23), and the relationship between God as shepherd and the king as shepherd surely reflects the king’s status as YHWH’s anointed one and as the agent of divine kingship in Israel.

Particularly noteworthy in the present context are the prophetic passages that condemn the activity of disobedient and negligent “shepherds” (Isa 56:11; Jer 23:2; Zech 10:3). Two such texts are probably the major sources for the present imagery, because each of them contains part of the complex of ideas in this vision. The most obvious source is Ezekiel 34. The oracle is directed against the shepherds of Israel, who have fed themselves on the flock rather than feeding the flock, have clothed themselves with the wool, have abused and neglected their charges, allowing them to be scattered and become prey and food to all the wild beasts. The shepherds are judged and condemned for this activity, and God promises to gather, heal, and feed the flock, setting over them the one shepherd, God’s servant David, and to banish the wild beasts (the nations, Ezek 34:28) from the land. This complex of ideas provides almost all the major components of the present author’s portrait of the angelic shepherds. (Concerning the idea of a messianic king, see the comm. on vv 37–38.) A connection with Ezekiel is strengthened in 90:4, which employs imagery from Ezekiel 37, which, like chap. 34, concludes with a reference to the one shepherd, David (37:24–25).

One major component in the Animal Vision is missing in Ezekiel 34. Ezekiel does not indicate that God delivers the flock to shepherds for the purpose of destruction and hence that the shepherds have exceeded a mandate for such destruction. The seeds for these ideas appear in Zechariah 11, although the

idea must be synthesized from several passages. In v 4 God commissions the prophet to be the shepherd of a flock doomed to slaughter. In v 9 the prophet disavows the office of shepherd with the words “what is to die, let it die; what is to be destroyed, let it be destroyed; and let those that are left devour the flesh of one another.” These words appear to contradict the attitude of Enoch’s shepherds. Zechariah implies that *only* what is to die, let it die, etc. Nonetheless, cynicism of the ex-shepherd is clear. Finally, Zech 11:15–17 offers a parallel. Again God speaks of appointing a destructive shepherd, but this is immediately followed by a woe against the worthless shepherd who deserts the flock. Both aspects of the Enochic picture are present.

If Ezekiel 34 and Zechariah 11 provide raw material for symbolizing the seventy as “shepherds,” the author of this vision has transformed the tradition by identifying the shepherds as angels. This notion of heavenly rulers or leaders also has traditional roots. According to Deut 32:8 (LXX), God apportioned the nations to “the sons of God,” and while this text and *Jub.* 15:32 state that Israel is God’s special portion, the notion that Israel also has a patron angel is present in Daniel 10–12 and parallel texts.⁵ In the Animal Vision Israel is placed in the hands of seventy angelic rulers, who oversee the nation in successive periods of time (89:64, 65; 90:1, 5). Their negligent or malevolent character, however, is more in keeping with the demonic identity of the rebel *ʿēlohîm* in Psalm 82 (see comm. on 89:72b–90:1) and the angels who oversee the nations according to *Jub.* 15:31, while the angelic scribe here has characteristics more in keeping with Michael, the patron of Israel. The number seventy is not drawn from ideas about the angelic patrons of the (seventy) nations;⁶ it is here associated with seventy time periods. This in turn raises the issue of the chronology of the last part of the Animal Vision.

Excursus: The Chronology of the Vision: Seventy Shepherds Ruling for Seventy Weeks of Years

The idea that seventy angelic shepherds rule over Israel for successive periods of time parallels the interpretation of Jer 25:11, 12, and 29:10 in Dan 9:2, 24. According to Jeremiah’s prophecy, the land would

4 See Porter, *Metaphors*, 61–120.

5 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 10–15, 28–37.

6 See Charles, *Enoch*, 200; Tiller, *Commentary*, 53–54.

remain desolate until seventy years were “fulfilled” (כָּלֵל). In Dan 9:2 the seer quotes this prophecy as he queries God on the length of Jerusalem’s desolation. In 9:24 Gabriel responds by interpreting the seventy years of exile as “seventy weeks of years” that are necessary to “finish” (כָּלֵל) the transgression, put an end to sin, and atone for iniquity.” Thus in Daniel 9 the time issue is related not to the beginning of the exile and to its length, but to the time required to eliminate the consequences of the sin that caused the exile. If the author of the Animal Vision does identify Manasseh’s sin as the cause of the exile, and if the seventy angelic periods do begin in Manasseh’s reign, then it would appear that Daniel 7 and the Animal Vision reflect variations of a common tradition about the exilic and postexilic periods.

The chronology of the last half of the Animal Vision is, however, a much debated subject. Some date the beginning of the angelic hegemony to the Assyrian conquest (722 B.C.E.).⁷ Others suggest, not implausibly, that the first period begins shortly before 587 B.C.E. and runs roughly the length of the exile.⁸ That the Vision’s four periods might coincide with Israel’s submission to four empires or kingdoms (Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian; or Babylonian, Persian, Ptolemaic, Seleucid) also makes sense. The difficulty with both chronologies is, however, the posited time periods (roughly 560 and 435 years, respectively) and the lack of correspondence between the hegemony of these kingdoms and the time periods stated in the Vision. For this reason I suggest beginning the angelic period during Manasseh’s reign and framing its segments to correspond roughly with the timing stated in the Vision.⁹ Here are the relevant considerations.

1. If the period of the shepherds is initiated by Manasseh’s apostasy, the terminus a quo for that period must be during the reign of Manasseh, 687–642 B.C.E.

2. A terminus ad quem can be set in the time of Judas Maccabeus, ca. 163 B.C.E., when the text of the Animal Vision was written or revised (see comm. on 90:6–19).

3. Given this span of 479–524 years (687/642–163 B.C.E.) and the parallel in Daniel 9, it seems plausible

that the Vision’s period of the seventy shepherds does in fact cover 490 years, with each of the shepherds ruling for seven years.

4. Although it is not clear precisely where in the narrative the author of the Animal Vision breaks his descriptions of the periods, it seems certain that he thinks of four periods of 12 + 23 + 23 + 12 hours, which equal 84 + 161 + 161 + 84 years.¹⁰ The key passages (on which see the respective sections of comm.) are 90:1, where <35> (= 12 + 23) marks the end of period 2; 90:5, where the end of 23 shepherds raises the previous total to 58 times, leaving yet to come the twelve mentioned in 90:17.

Thus textually, the periods are:

- | | |
|----------------|------------------------|
| 1. 89:65–72a | 12 periods = 84 years |
| 2. 89:72b–90:1 | 23 periods = 161 years |
| 3. 90:2–5 | 23 periods = 161 years |
| 4. 90:6ff. | 12 periods = 84 years |

5. Each of these periods is characterized by an event or events, but the author does not indicate when in the periods the events took place (with perhaps the exception of period 1 to be mentioned in 7 below). It is stated only that they took place in the respective periods. Given the precise numerical symmetry of periods, one can hardly expect that events in empirical history would regularly coincide with the beginning or end of such periods. By one method of counting, however, it is possible to place the events roughly in the middle of the second, third, and fourth periods.

6. The first period begins at some indeterminate time during Manasseh’s reign, and it includes the destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of the people, although 89:68 scarcely requires much time after 587. Thus the first period could end as early as 587/577.

7. The Ethiopic text of 89:72 is problematic. As it now stands, the sentence begins “And after that I saw the shepherds pasturing for twelve hours.” That is, the author is describing the beginning of period 2, after the events of period 1. Specifically, he refers to the first half of period 2, that is, the first 12 of its 23 hours. This brings the reader to 503/493, that is, 84 years after 587/577. 89:72–74 attributes to this period the return of the three and the rebuilding of the

7 See, e.g., Martin, *Hénoch*, 218; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:187.

8 See, e.g., Dillmann, *Henoch*, 266; Charles, *Enoch*, 201–2; Tiller, *Commentary*, 330.

9 Tiller (*Commentary*, 60) believes that beginning the angelic period during the reign of Manasseh is highly speculative and indemonstrable. The latter is technically true; the speculation is, however, based

on a comparison of the wording of 89:55–56 and 59–60 (see comm. on 89:59–64).

10 For this enumeration see Dillmann, *Henoch*, 266; Charles, *Enoch*, 201; and Porter, *Metaphors*, 44. Hengel (*Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:187) finds periods of 23 + 12 + 23 + 12 shepherds, but see the comment in point 7 at the end of this section.

house and the tower. In fact, the return from the exile and the rebuilding of the temple took place between 538 and 515, that is, within and toward the end of the first twelve hours. An emended reading of 89:72 makes the verse a description of the twelve hours of the first period (see the comm. on 89:72). In any case, the whole of period 2 ends at 426/416.

8. Period 3 then runs from 426/416 to 265/255. This period is characterized by the coming of the birds, at some unspecified time in the period. By the lower chronology, the middle of the period, week twelve, ends at 332, within a year or two of the rise of Alexander the Great.

9. Period 4 covers 265/255 to 181/171. Again, at an unspecified date in this period, the lambs begin to open their eyes. If one places this event in the middle of the period, its date would be 223/213. The Vision would have been composed around the turn of the century or a bit later, and the author would have posited a period of twenty to thirty years until the end.¹¹

Although the division of Israel's latter history into seventy periods appears to reflect the scheme in Daniel 9, the gathering of these periods into four segments is reminiscent of the scheme in Daniel 2 and 7. As in the Danielic visions, Israel's situation deteriorates toward the end. Corresponding to the fourth kingdom, with the strength of iron in Daniel 2 and claws of iron in Daniel 7, is the Macedonian kingdom, whose activities are depicted in the last two segments in the Animal Vision. Paradoxically, in the Vision's symbolism, the predatory birds do more damage than the larger and fiercer beasts that have preceded them.

■ **65-72a** Having described the commissioning of the shepherds and the scribe, the author turns to an account of their activities during the first period. Like the account of the commissionings, it divides into two parts that focus on the actions of the disobedient shepherds (vv 65-67) and the scribe's recording and reporting of them (vv 68-71). The first period of the angelic shepherds, which runs from 671/661 to 587/577 B.C.E., is initiated by Manasseh's apostasy and concludes after Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem and the exile to Babylon. Also included in the time span are the events that were described in vv 55 and 57: the death of Josiah (609 B.C.E.); the campaign against Jerusalem by

bands of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites (598 B.C.E.); and the first deportation (597 B.C.E.).

Verse 65 tersely reports that the shepherds have done as was anticipated (vv 61-62). Specifically, they have abandoned the sheep to the lions. Here alone in this part of the Vision the author uses the verb *hadaga*, which had been used three times of God in vv 54-58. The lions, which are mentioned alone here, must be a symbol for the military might of Nebuchadnezzar. Verse 66 elaborates on v 65 through a clear reference to the slaughter and exile of the Judeans ("devoured and swallowed up"), the burning of the temple, and the demolishing of the city walls and houses (2 Kgs 25:1-20; 2 Chr 36:17-20). In addition to the "lions and leopards" (who are also mentioned in the fuller description in v 55), the wild boars, that is, the Edomites, are singled out for special mention. Biblical texts repeatedly condemn them for participating in the events surrounding the destruction of Jerusalem (Ps 137:7; Jer 49:7-22; Lam 4:21-22; Ezek 25:12-14; 35; 36:1-7; Obad 8-14; cf. Mal 1:2-4). According to 1 Enoch 89:66b, they too devoured the sheep. The precise meaning of v 66c is uncertain, however. Is the subject of the verb "the lions and leopards . . . and the wild boars with them," or are the wild boars alone the ones who burn the tower? The latter interpretation seems unlikely since the accounts of the destruction of Jerusalem in 2 Kings 25 and 2 Chronicles 36 uniformly attribute this act to the Chaldeans and do not even mention the Edomites. A curious exception to this occurs in 1 Esdr 4:45, where Zerubbabel reminds Darius, "You also vowed to build the temple, which the Edomites burned when Judea was laid waste by the Chaldeans" (καὶ σὺ ἤψω οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν, ὃν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι, ὅτε ἡρημώθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων). Perhaps the present passage reflects a text common to 1 Esdras. This author's investment in a condemnation of the Edomites reappears in v 72.

Verse 68 may be a reference to the Jewish dispersion ("all the wild beasts"). But see also v 75, where the idea is explicit. Like v 65 it is a summary statement that introduces the following verses: the shepherds handed over the sheep; the scribe witnessed their activities and

11 This date coincides with what appears to be a similar chronology in the Qumran Damascus Document; see below, n. 33.

recorded them. Before elaborating on the scribe's activity, the seer expresses his own grief over this turn of events (v 67), as he had in v 57 and would in 90:3.¹² The repetition "every day . . . every day" emphasizes the preciseness of the angelic record (cf. 98:8; 104:7-8). From the action described in vv 70-71 it is clear both that God is aware of everything that is happening and that God is not yet ready to intervene. This notion appears also in 9:11. On the angels' daily recording of human sins, cf. 98:7-8; 104:7.

Verse 72a is textually problematic. As it stands, it places the shepherds' twelve hours after the end of the first period. But the number of shepherds is designated at the end of each of the other three periods (90:1, 5, 17), and no number is given 89:65-71, where twelve is in fact the correct number. For that reason I emend the text of v 72a, so that it forms the end of the previous section (see n. a). In such a case periods 2 and 4 would be counterparts. Both would begin with the same words ("And behold"). The former would describe the sins of the sheep, and the latter, their repentance.

■ **89:72b—90:1** The second period of the shepherds' activity runs from 587/577 to 426/416 B.C.E., for twenty-three rather than twelve times, 161 rather than 84 years. Included in the description of the period are the return from exile and the rebuilding of the temple and apparently of the city or its walls. Like the previous section, the account of the period focuses on historical events and the activity in heaven in response to them—although the outline of the section is not as well defined as in vv 65-71.

The clearly identifiable activity of concern in this section is the rebuilding of the temple and its consequences, and thus continuity is established with vv 66-67. The identity of the "three" who return is doubtful since the written sources give differing accounts and we do not know the shape of oral history regarding this period. Unless one follows the tradition in Ezra-Nehemiah, Sirach, and 2 Maccabees or one posits oral

tradition, Nehemiah should be excluded, since he appeared after the building of the temple and was the builder of the walls of Jerusalem.¹³ Both Ezra 5:2 and 1 Esdr 6:2 identify Zerubbabel and Jeshua as those who "arose and built the house of the Lord" with the help of the prophets, that is, Haggai and Zechariah, who are mentioned as the initiators of the project (Ezra 5:1; 1 Esdr 6:1). One or the other of these latter might be identified as the third member of the triad.¹⁴ More likely, the third person was Sheshbazzar, who led the return (Ezra 1:8-10; 1 Esdr 2:12-15) and who is said to have laid the foundations of the temple (Ezra 5:14-16; 1 Esdr 6:18-20; cf. 2:12-15).

Given the consistency of this author's use of symbolism, it is probable that he does not think here of the Samaritans interfering with the rebuilding, as is explicitly stated in 1 Esdr 2:16, but that he identifies the troublemakers as Edomites.¹⁵ The assertion balances v 66. They burned the temple; now they attempt to prevent its rebuilding. The source of the claim is uncertain. Is it pure fabrication, or does the author know a tradition about Edomite interference? In 1 Esdras 4 the reference to the Edomites burning the temple (v 45; see comm. on 89:65-72a) is balanced by a reference (also missing in Ezra) to the Edomites' encroachment on Judean territory (v 50).

Although v 72 mentions rebuilding the ruins of "the house," the more specific wording of v 73 focuses on the rebuilding of the "tower," that is, the temple. The passage balances v 50, but two interesting contrasts with the construction of Solomon's temple are evident. Here the tower that was raised is not said *to be* high (v 50) but to have been "*called* the high tower." Perhaps the wording reflects disappointment with the temple, which could not compare with Solomon's (cf. Ezra 3:12-13; 1 Esdr 5:63-64). More seriously, while in v 50 "a full table is laid out before" the tower on which the Lord stands, here the Lord's presence is not mentioned, and it is stated that builders "laid out a table before the tower, and all

12 It is uncertain whether it is Enoch the dreamer or Enoch in the dream who is grieving; see Tiller, *Commentary*, 333.

13 Dillmann (*Henoch*, 271) suggests and then dismisses Nehemiah and Ezra for chronological reasons. This problem does not disturb Charles, *Enoch*, 203. Tiller (*Commentary*, 339) cites Ezra-Nehemiah, Sirach, and

2 Maccabees, but argues that two, rather than three, is the original number in the text (see textual note b).

14 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 271.

15 See also Tiller, *Commentary*, 339-40.

the bread on it was polluted and not pure.”¹⁶ Employing language possibly taken from Mal 1:7 and 12,¹⁷ the author asserts that from its inception the cult of the Second Temple did not follow correct laws of ritual purity. For a similar notion see comm. on chaps. 12–16. A similar charge is made against the contemporary priesthood in CD 4:17–5:19, and abstention from the cult is commanded in CD 6:11–13 by the citation of Mal 1:10.

To the author’s critique of temple and cult, a more damning observation is added. The sheep are blind and do not see.¹⁸ This combination of a criticism of the temple and a general claim of apostasy recalls v 54. The author ignores the reforms of Ezra, as he ignored Josiah’s.¹⁹ The destruction, exile, and rebuilding notwithstanding, the situation parallels the circumstances that led to the destruction and exile. Nothing has really changed. Therefore the people will continue to suffer at the hands of their disobedient shepherds and to be victimized by the wild beasts (vv 74b–75). Verse 75 refers specifically to the Jewish dispersion in language reminiscent of Ezek 34:12, and the final words of the verse could reflect Ps 82:5 (4), which accuses the *ʾēlohîm* of neglecting their human clients. The reference to being mixed with the nations could refer to intermarriage in dispersion.²⁰ The reference at this point in the historical account may have been triggered by the Judean problem so central to the narratives in Ezra–Nehemiah.

With all these things happening, the Lord “is silent,” as had been the case before the destruction (v 75a; see v 58). This is emphasized in the differences between vv 76–77 and vv 68b–71, the two parallel scenes describing the heavenly activity of the angelic scribe. As in the previous period, the scribe enters the divine presence and shows the book to the Lord (vv 70, 76a). In the present

instance, however, the scribe also reads the book to God and then intercedes and makes petition in behalf of the sheep and testifies against their oppressors. But the activity is futile; different from v 71, here God does not reread the book. It is simply set down and the scribe goes out. He does not return to read the book in the account of the third period (cf. 90:3). The conclusion of the section, with its enumeration of the shepherds and its reference to the passing on of their function, emphasizes the periodization essential to the Vision.

■ **90:2–5** In the third period, which runs from 426/416 to 265/255 B.C.E., the historical events of note are the arrival of the Macedonians and the results of their oppressive activity. They are described as birds of prey rather than wild beasts, but their activity is no less disastrous (according to v 17, it is worse). In birdlike fashion they pick out the eyes of the blind sheep.²¹ This may be an example of the principle of appropriate compensation (see comm. on 95:4–7). Additionally, they devour the flesh of the sheep as the beasts had done. The result is vividly portrayed in the language of Ezekiel’s vision of the exile (v 4; see Ezek 37:5–6), perhaps underscoring the point in 89:73–74a. Since the conditions that led to the exile had not changed, the people’s situation can be described in an exilic image (cf. 89:75). The situation is the more poignant if one compares 90:3 with 89:76–77. The angelic scribe and his record and intercessory activity are absent. The sheep cry out, but their cry is only faintly echoed by Enoch’s cry and lamentation in his dream. Moreover, different from 89:57, where he cries out with all his might and formally functions as an intercessor, here he can only lament over the shepherds’

16 The translation “laid out” renders *ʾaqrabu* in v 50 and *yenaberu* in v 74. In the Ethiopic Bible, both verbs are used to translate Gk. *παράιθνημι*, where it refers to the preparation of food; see Gen 18:8; 43:31–32; 1 Kgs 9:24.

17 Tiller (*Commentary*, 340) thinks the language could have been used here independently of a citation of Malachi. John Strugnell is also not certain (private communication, June 2000).

18 This second parallel to Mal 1:8 (where the priests offer blind sheep) is noteworthy, though the text here is symbolic. John Strugnell suggests that it

implies the ritual impurity of the priests (private communication, June 2000).

19 Tiller, *Commentary*, 340.

20 On this problem cf. Tob 4:12–13.

21 Cf. Prov 30:17.

malfeasance of office. As the continuation of the narrative indicates, the lament is ineffectual.

The precise identification of the various species of birds is difficult to ascertain. The absence of a specific reference to Alexander the Great is noteworthy in view of subsequent history, but then individual Gentile leaders (including Nebuchadnezzar) are never identified in the Vision. The eagles are the easiest to identify and almost certainly represent the Ptolemies, whose coins regularly display an eagle on their reverse side.²² The identification of the other birds is more problematic.²³

The mention of dogs is striking, since these representations of the Philistines have not been mentioned since the reign of David (89:49). Exactly how the inhabitants of the Philistine territory may have opposed or victimized the Jews at this time is uncertain. Nonetheless, texts roughly contemporary with the Animal Vision indicate considerable antagonism against the Philistines. Ben Sira groups them with the Edomites and Shechemites (Sir 50:26), and the author of *Jubilees* has interpolated a long invective against them into the Genesis narrative at *Jub.* 24:28-32. Later, the author of 1 Maccabees refers to "the land of the Philistines" in three separate contexts (3:24, 41; 4:22; 5:66, 68), and the continuity of this people's Philistine self-identity is evident in 1 Macc 10:70-85, which mentions the temple of Dagon in Azotus.²⁴

The events here described are the wars of the first Diadochoi in 323-301. The account as a whole, with its picture of overall devastation and the reference to the cries for help, is reminiscent of 1 Enoch 6-9, which may well reflect events from the Diadochian wars (see Introduction to chaps. 6-11, § Date and Setting). The reference to the Ptolemaic eagles is not surprising. Jewish tradition remembered that Ptolemy I had taken a considerable number of Jewish captives to Egypt (*Let. Aris.* 12-13), and Josephus twice quotes an account by Agatharchides of Cnidus regarding Ptolemy's attack of

Jerusalem and his harsh treatment of the Jews (*Ag. Ap.* 22 §205-12; *Ant.* 12.1.1 §1-10).²⁵

■ **6-19** This section recounts events in what the author expects to be the last years of human history before the eschaton. According to my chronology, these years, characterized by the activity of the final twelve shepherds, would be 265/255 to 181/171 B.C.E. But the present form of this section recounts, at least in part, events from the wars of Judas Maccabeus (166-161 B.C.E.), which appear to have been added to an earlier form of the Vision before Judas's death in 160.

Two types of evidence indicate the presence of two levels of tradition. The first is the tension between references to the many sheep and the one ram and his horn. The second is the duplication of common narrative elements. Both create disjunctions in the text as it stands. Specifically, vv 6-9a begin with reference to the many lambs and their horns. Then in vv 9b-10 we hear of one sheep and his horn. Verse 11 returns to the many, who are devoured by the birds, and to the cry of the rams. Without transition or indication of an antecedent, v 12 takes up the earlier reference to the one sheep and "its" horn and continues that series of events through v 16. Then, though we have heard of the horn's cry for help and direct divine intervention in response to it, we are returned to the heavenly courtroom, where the scribe (again) intercedes for the many sheep who have been destroyed, and another theophany takes place (vv 17-18). In the following comparison, the material about the sheep and the one ram have been placed in parallel columns.

22 Suggested to me by Jonathan Goldstein. For these coins, see, e.g., Reginald S. Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* (repr. Bologna: Forni, 1963) *passim*.

23 For some very specific suggestions, see Charles, *Enoch*, 205; and regarding vv 12-13, Jonathan A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* (AB 41; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 41 n. 12; Tiller, *Commentary*, 359.

24 See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 420-21, who argues that in 1 Macc 10:71-72 Apollonius claims to be of Philistine descent.

25 References provided by Jonathan Goldstein.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>6 <i>And behold</i>
lambs were born to
those sheep</p> <p>they began to <i>open their</i>
eyes and see
and to <i>cry out to the sheep</i></p> <p>7 they <i>did not listen or attend</i></p> <p>8 the <i>ravens</i> flew upon
those lambs,
dashed the sheep in pieces,
and devoured them</p> <p>9a horns came, ravens <i>cast</i>
down horns</p> <p>11 <i>eagles, vultures, crows, kites</i>

tear sheep in pieces</p> <p>fly upon them
devour them</p> <p>rams lamented and <i>cried</i>
out</p> <p>17 <i>And I looked until</i>
<i>that man who wrote</i>
... opened the book</p> <p><i>showed before the Lord of</i>
<i>the sheep</i></p> <p>18 <i>And I looked until</i>
<i>the Lord of the sheep came</i>
to them</p> <p>staff of his <i>wrath</i>
struck the earth, split
<i>all animals, birds fell,</i>
sank <i>in the earth,</i> closed
over them</p> <p>19 a great sword given to
those sheep
went against all wild beasts
all animals, birds fled
before them</p> | <p>9b <i>And as I looked</i>
great horn sprouted on one
of those sheep</p> <p>10 and it looked on them and
<i>their eyes were opened</i>
and it <i>cried out to the sheep</i>
they all ran to it</p> <p>12 <i>ravens</i> struggled and fought
with it</p> <p>wished to <i>do away with its</i>
<i>horn,</i> were unable</p> <p>13 <i>eagles, vultures, kites</i> came,
cried
to ravens to smash horn of
that ram
struggled and fought with it
it struggled with them</p> <p>and <i>cried out</i> that its help
might come</p> <p>14 <i>And I looked until</i>
<i>that man who wrote</i>
brought (book) <i>before the Lord</i>
<i>of the sheep</i>
<i>showed</i> it everything</p> <p>his help came down to that
ram</p> <p>15 <i>And I looked until</i>
<i>the Lord of the sheep came to</i>
<i>them</i></p> <p>in <i>wrath</i></p> <p><i>all who saw ... fled ... fell</i>
<i>into darkness</i> before him</p> <p>16 all eagles, vultures, ravens,
kites
brought wild sheep
helped one another smash
horn of ram</p> |
|--|---|

Two facts about this comparison are immediately evident. (1) Each column has elements that correspond to

those in the other column. (2) The elements occur in the same order. Each begins with a new event: lambs are born; a horn sprouts. The lambs open their eyes; the horn sees that they are opened. The lambs cry, but the sheep do not listen. The horn cries, and the sheep run to it. The ravens devour and cast down the lambs' horns; the ravens struggle and attempt to destroy the horn. All the birds enter the conflict. The seer looks and sees the heavenly scribe involved in the same activity. He looks again and sees the Lord of the sheep acting in wrath and all the opponents disappearing in the earth or in darkness. There is a final sortie with a plurality of opponents.

Closer inspection of the respective columns also indicates some internal consistency beyond the singulars and plurals. In the first column only, in vv 8 and 11 the birds "fly upon" the lambs, physically and violently attack them, and devour them. In the second column vv 12-13 describe reciprocal struggle and warfare, and in vv 13 and 16 the four types of birds attempt to "smash the horn of that ram." Clearly each set of verses employs its own diction.

Two basic explanations for these parallels in content and sequence have been presented. Charles has arranged the two sets of verses in parallel columns, with one verse displaced, and has argued that these parallels are alternative endings to the historical part of the Vision, the one updating the other.²⁶

v 13		v 16
v 14	v 19	v 17
v 15		v 18

Goldstein sets out the division offered in this commentary, though not with all the parallels indicated, and he argues that the material in the first column represents an updating of the original form of the Vision that is preserved in the material in the second column.²⁷ The details of the parallelism presented here support that explanation and indicate furthermore that the elements in the revision were composed in close imitation of the content and sequence in the original form.

Tiller contests the present analysis on several grounds.²⁸ The disjunction between v 11 and v 12

26 See Charles, *Enoch*, 209–12.

27 See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 40–42.

28 Tiller, *Commentary*, 67–70.

(where the latter's sg. pronoun has no immediate antecedent) is paralleled elsewhere in the Vision. Verse 16 parallels v 13 better than it does v 19 and better than v 11 parallels v 13. Outside vv 13-18, the only parallels are between v 6 and vv 9b-10a. This analysis, while focusing on verbal parallels, or lack of them, ignores the observations about the sequential parallels and the common diction in each of the respective columns. A choice between the two analyses may not be decisively demonstrable.

The two options lead to two slightly different datings for the Vision. Here I suggest that a vision composed either in the last decade of the third century B.C.E. (see Introduction, § Date), or after the death of Onias III (169 B.C.E.)²⁹ (if 90:8 refers to that event; see comm. on 90:6-9a), was updated late in that decade before the death of Judas Maccabeus. In Tiller's view references to Judas Maccabeus are original to the Vision.³⁰ Verse 11 *may be* an interpolation, and vv 13-15 were composed a bit later to update the original Vision to reflect the later campaigns of Judas. The remainder of this commentary presumes the validity of the analysis proposed above.

■ **6-9a** These verses constitute the first part of the original form of the Vision's description of the last period. As in the beginning of period 2, the words "And behold" introduce the actions of certain characters (90:6; cf. 89:72). In contrast to the situation in period 2, lambs born to the blind sheep (89:74) begin to open their eyes and see. In Ⓒ the wording in 90:6 replicates, with one change in order, the wording in 89:28. God grants a new revelation that parallels the revelation given in the wilderness after the exodus. Here the younger generation has begun to see the error of the nation's ways and calls its elders to repentance.³¹ The lambs' appeal to the sheep is, however, futile (v 7). The

blindness that is more severe than in v 74 is compounded by the deaf ear that refuses to hear the prophetic call.³² Verses 8-9 indicate intensified hostility between the Israelite converts and their Gentile overlords. First the ravens seize one lamb (quite possibly Onias IV; see p. 400), then they attack the sheep; finally, when the lambs sprout horns (take up arms), their militant activity is crushed by the ravens.

The text up to this point indicates a significant change in events. The opening of the lambs' eyes indicates a reversal of the blindness that has characterized the nation since the time of Manasseh (89:54, 74), and it portends the removal of the Gentile oppression that began before the destruction of Jerusalem and continued after the return, when Israel continued to be blinded and to stray. At least some of the blind have begun to see.

Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening in the Hellenistic Period

The notion of an awakening, or repentance, or religious revival late in the Hellenistic period is a notable feature in several texts parallel to the Animal Vision.

The closest parallel to the Animal Vision is the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17). Although the Apocalypse is a pithy summary set out in a ten-week scheme, the elements contained in it have important parallels in the Animal Vision.

29 See Jonathan A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* (AB 41a; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 238-40.

30 Tiller, *Commentary*, 70-79.

31 Tiller (*Commentary*, 350) notes that it is really impossible to tell whether the Aramaic originally used two words for "sheep" and "lamb." In any case the text here distinguishes between the older generation and the newly born younger generation.

32 The accusation that the wicked do not "listen to" the words of God or the prophets is common in the prophetic literature; cf., e.g., Jer 7:13; 11:10; 29:19; Ezek 3:7; Hos 9:17; Zech 7:11. Cf. also the use of

"hear" in the wisdom tradition and the Enochic admonitions; see comm. on 91:3a-d and 82:1-4a. The double image of blindness and deafness in 1 Enoch 90:6 occurs also in Isa 6:10, together with a reference to the hardness of heart, which appears in 1 Enoch 98:11, on which see below.

	Table 7 Apocalypse of Weeks	Animal Vision
Intro- duction	heavenly tablets (93:2; cf. 81:1-4)	all of humanity's deeds (90:41)
Week 1	righteousness in Enoch's time (93:3)	
Week 2	violence and deceit (93:4ab)	violence (86:5–87:1)
	first end, Noah saved (93:4cd)	watchers judged, flood, ark (88:1–89:8)
	iniquity increases (93:e)	species change, begin to bite (89:10-11)
Week 3	Abraham, righteous plant (93:5)	Abraham, white bull (89:10)
Week 4	visions of holy (93:6ab)	vision of Lord (89:30-31)
	covenant (93:6c)	(eyes opened [89:28])
	tabernacle built (93:6c)	house built (89:36)
Week 5	temple built (93:7)	tower built (89:50)
Week 6	all blind, stray (93:8a-c)	sheep stray, eyes blinded (89:54)
	man (Elijah) ascends (93:8d)	sheep brought up (89:52)
	temple burned (93:8e)	tower burned (89:66)
	chosen people dispersed (93:8f)	sheep handed over (89:68)
	-	sheep return, rebuild (89:72-73)
		sheep dispersed (89:75)
Week 7	perverse generation (93:9)	polluted cult, sheep blind (89:74)
	elect given wisdom (93:10)	lambs open their eyes (90:6)
	overturn violence, deceit (91:11)	upbraid blind, deaf sheep (90:6-7)
Week 8	sword given, judge wicked (91:12)	sword given, pursue beasts (90:19)
	temple built (91:13)	new house brought (90:28-29)

Week 9 wickedness descends (beasts sink into
to pit (91:14c) earth [90:18])
all humanity turns all species become
to right path white bulls (90:38)
(91:14d)

Week 10 watchers judged (stars, shepherds
(91:15) punished
[90:24-25])

Several major points of similarity are relevant here: (1) a division of human history into three major eras (other explicit subdivisions notwithstanding), the first two ending with divine judgment; (2) a focus on Israelite sanctuaries; (3) a description of the sin that leads to the destruction of the temple and the exile as blindness and straying; (4) a disparagement of the postexilic period, with the return and the new temple either not mentioned or explicitly denounced; (5) the receipt of revelation at the beginning of the end of the second era; (6) a succession (in different order) of three judgments against the apostates, other wicked, and the sinful angels; (7) the final conversion or transformation of all humanity and the prospect of a permanent sinless condition in a new creation.

A second set of texts appears in the Cairo Damascus Document (CD 1:3-12; 2:14–4:12; 5:20–6:11). These texts parallel the Animal Vision, especially the Apocalypse of Weeks, and preserve elements of a common tradition about a religious awakening in the Hellenistic period. During the age of God's wrath against Israel, three hundred and ninety years after Nebuchadnezzar's sack of Jerusalem (ca. 197 B.C.E.), with no mention of a return from captivity, a remnant, called a "plant root," come to recognize their iniquity and grope like blind men until God provides them with a teacher to guide them in the way of God's heart (CD 1). The issues criticized in the Damascus Document are roughly the same as in the Enochic texts (temple, cult, priesthood).³³

Other texts appear to reuse the tradition attested in 1 Enoch and the Damascus Document. The first of these occurs in *Jubilees*, a text of the early second century B.C.E.³⁴ *Jubilees* 1:7-18 may be interpreting Deuteronomy in such a way as to ignore the sixth-century return and rebuilding and to posit a return and an eschatological rebuilding of the sanctuary. In addition, *Jub.* 23:12-31 needs to be studied in connection with all of these texts; it may posit a double repentance with the younger generation opposing the older (vv 16-17, 26). Verses 27-28 reflect Isa 65:20 but with the Animal Vision's nuance about patriarchal age. The description of the rise of the Qumran com-

33 See Nickelsburg, "1 Enoch and Qumran Origins: The State of the Question and Some Prospects for Answers," in Kent H. Richards, ed., *SBLSP* 25

(Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 342–43.
34 See idem, "Bible Rewritten," 101–3.

munity in the Community Rule (1QS 8–9) appears to be a later variant of the tradition in the Damascus Document, the Animal Vision, and the Apocalypse of Weeks.³⁵

One final significant text that may shed light on this passage is Dan 11:14: “The sons of violence among your people will rise up to confirm the vision, but they will fall” (ובני־פריצ־עמך ינשאוֹ להעמיד חזון) (וּנְכַשְׁלוּ). The language suggests a portion of the population staging a militant uprising based on an eschatological vision or interpretation of a vision. The event, in which the people side with the “king of the south” against the “king of the north,” is perhaps to be dated to the war between Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III, which ended with the latter’s victory in 200 B.C.E.

The texts summarized in this excursus indicate that the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C.E. saw the rise of a (series of) reform movement(s) in Palestinian Judaism. In part their concern was the conduct of the Jerusalem cult and its priests. These pious Jews appear to have had an eschatological worldview that was authenticated by claims of revelation. How precisely the events described in 1 Enoch 90:6–9a relate to the events described in the other texts is uncertain. Do the Apocalypse of Weeks, the Animal Vision, CD 1, and Dan 11:14 all refer to the same event or to a number of similar and perhaps related events? The militancy in 1 Enoch 90:7–8 is paralleled in 91:12 and quite possibly in Dan 11:14.³⁶ If 1 Enoch 90:6 refers to visionary activity, it may allude to the same event described in Dan 11:14. See further Introduction, § Provenance. The identity of the single lamb who is struck down (v 8) cannot be determined with certainty, although the high priest Onias III is a good candidate (cf. 2 Maccabees 4).³⁷

■ **9b–10** At this point, the original form of the Vision (according to my hypothesis) is interpolated with a reference to the rise of Judas Maccabeus, the great horn. That he was perceived as a champion of “the congrega-

tions of the Hasidim” who fought with him is asserted by 1 Macc 2:42–48 (where Mattathias is mentioned); 7:13; and 2 Macc 14:6. However one evaluates this evidence as testimony for a particular group called “Hasidim,”³⁸ the present text posits—in its narrative world—an association between Judas and an already extant group of apocalyptic militants and attests—in its author—real sympathy for the Maccabee.³⁹

■ **11** This verse originally continued the account of widening conflict between “the sheep” and the broader spectrum of Macedonian forces, who, as in v 8, tear at the sheep and devour them. The verse ends with the leaders, here called “rams,” lamenting and appealing for divine help. This time, different from v 3, which attests the time before the awakening, the cry will be heard, when the angelic scribe—absent in the earlier text—will successfully intercede with the Lord of the sheep. But the narrative as it now stands places this event during the time of Judas, who has appeared in vv 9b–10, and that narrative returns us to his campaigns.

■ **12–16** In vv 12–13 the struggles and battles between Judas and his enemies climax with his cry for help, which parallels the cry of the rams in v 11. Judas’s cry is heard by the angelic scribe, who prods God into direct, cataclysmic intervention (vv 14–15). The sequence is odd because, the theophany notwithstanding, the battle continues between Judas on the one hand and the Macedonians and some “wild sheep” (recalcitrant Jews) on the other hand. The sequence seems to be due to an imitation of the earlier form of the text, which appears in vv 17–19. In any case v 16 marks the point during the life and battles of Judas at which the reviser has made his additions to the earlier text. Precisely which campaigns of Judas the text refers to is uncertain, although the references to Judas’s cry for help, the appearance of an angel, and Judas’s victory parallel the account of the battle of Beth-zur in 2 Macc 11:6–12.⁴⁰

35 Idem, “1 Enoch and Qumran Origins,” 342–43; in more detail see Patrick A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 313–35.

36 Suggested to me by Jonathan Goldstein.

37 Most commentators see here a reference to Onias. Collins (*Apocalyptic Imagination*, 122) is dubious. See, however, Tiller, *Commentary*, 354.

38 See Nickelsburg, “Social Aspects,” 647–48.

39 On the problems of identifying the various groups of characters in the narrative, see Tiller, *Commentary*, 354–57; on the problems of identifying the author with the Hasidim, see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance.

40 For a discussion of the possible references to specific Maccabean campaigns, see Tiller, *Commentary*,

■ **17-19** With these verses, both the original Vision and its revised form move from actual historical event to an anticipation of future, final divine intervention. For the reviser, the war between Judas and his opponents will be ended by a second angelic intercession. For the author of the original Vision, the activity of the angelic scribe is an answer to the cry of the rams, described at the end of v 11. God responds, appearing in wrath against the Gentile enemies of the sheep, who are swallowed up in a chasm that has been opened in the earth.

“Rod” or “staff” (*batr*) denotes both a shepherd’s implement (Ezek 20:37; Mic 7:14; Ps 23:4) and a royal scepter (Isa 11:4; Esth 4:11; Ps 2:9; Ep Jer 14 [13 LXX]). Both images are appropriate for “the Lord of the sheep,” the divine King (see v 20). Metaphorical references to such an instrument of judgment and punishment appear in royal contexts (Ps 2:9; Isa 11:4), and the phrase “the rod of my/his anger” is used twice in the Bible of God’s judicial activity (Isa 10:5; Lam 3:1). The smiting of the earth recalls Isa 11:4, where, however, there is a textual problem.⁴¹ The description of the cataclysmic punishment draws on Num 16:31-33⁴² and is also paralleled in 1 Enoch 99:2, although these two passages describe the punishment for apostate Israelites rather than for Gentiles, as is the case here. The verb “sink” (*tasaṭma*) is a natural image for being submerged in water and is used several times in 1 Enoch to describe

the flood (83:4, 7; 89:6). The author here may be implying the typology of flood and final judgment or even a comparison with the Egyptians’ destruction in the sea (see comm. on 89:21-27).⁴³

Verse 19 stands in tension with v 18. Why, if God has acted against “all the beasts” and “all the birds,” should the sheep be given a sword to kill “all the wild beasts”? While this could simply be the result of a conflation of sources, there is a model for the scenario in the Apocalypse of Weeks. In 91:12, after the judgment in 91:11, a sword is given to all the righteous to execute judgment on all the wicked, and the combination of human action and divine judgment coexists elsewhere in the Epistle of Enoch (see comm. on 91:12-13). The present text appears to envision the participation of the righteous in militant judgmental action against a broader contingent of the Gentiles than those with whom they had been in immediate conflict. Perhaps the action is against all the utterly wicked Gentiles and excepts those of whom we hear in vv 30 and 37. Or perhaps the animals and birds mentioned in v 19 escape the sword long enough to appeal for mercy (v 30).⁴⁴

357, 359–62. On the possible reference to the battle of Beth-zur, see Martin, *Hénoch*, 227; Charles, *Enoch*, 211; and Milik, *Enoch*, 45. Tillier (*Commentary*, 360) is a bit more cautious.

41 For MT’s “rod (שֶׁבֶט) of his mouth,” LXX reads “word (λόγος) of his mouth,” which is also presumed by *Ps. Sol.* 17:35.

42 See Charles, *Enoch*, 212; and Rau (“Kosmologie,” 45), who also sees a parallel in 1 Enoch 1:6-7.

43 Cf. Exod 15:4-12, where the Egyptians sink in the sea and the earth swallows them. The event occurs when God stretches out his right hand and, according to 14:16, when Moses stretches out the rod in his hand.

44 It is possible that this verse reflects the tradition in 2 Macc 15:15-16, where Jeremiah appears in a vision to Judas Maccabeus and gives him a sword; see Goldstein, *2 Maccabees*, 499. If this author is dependent on the Apocalypse of Weeks (see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Use of Sources: Enochic Tradition: The Apocalypse of Weeks), however, the parallels in that text suffice to explain the element in this text. See also Tillier (*Commentary*, 366) on the motif.

The Judgment and the New Age

THE JUDGMENT

20 And I saw until a throne was constructed in the pleasant land and the Lord of the sheep sat upon it, and he took all the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep. 21/ And the Lord summoned those first seven white men,^a and he commanded them to bring^b before him beginning with the first star that had preceded those stars whose organs were like the organs of horses,^c and they brought all of them before him. 22/ And he said to the man who had been writing before him—who was one of those seven white ones—he said to him, 'Bring those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep and who took and killed more than I commanded them.' 23/ And behold, I saw all of them bound, and they all stood before him. 24/ And judgment was exacted first on the stars, and they were judged and found to be sinners. And they went to the place of judgment, and they threw them into an abyss;^a and it was full of fire, and it was burning and was full of pillars of fire. 25/ And those seventy shepherds were judged and found to be sinners, and they were thrown into that fiery abyss. 26/ And I saw at that time that an abyss like it was opened in the middle of the earth, which was full of fire. And they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found to be sinners. And they were thrown into that fiery abyss, and they burned. And that abyss was to the south of that house. 27/ And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning.

A NEW BEGINNING

28 And I stood up to see, until that old house was folded up^a—and they removed all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of that house were folded up with it—and they removed it and put it in a place to the south of the land. 29/ And I saw until the Lord of the sheep brought a new house, larger and higher than that first one, and he erected it on the site of the first one^a that had been rolled up. And all its pillars were new, and its beams were new,^b and its ornaments were new and larger than (those of) the first one, the old ones that he had removed. And all^c the sheep were within it. 30 And I saw all the sheep^a that remained. And all the animals upon the earth and all the birds of heaven were falling down and worshiping those sheep and making petition to them and obeying them in every thing.^b 31 After that, those three who were clothed in white and who had taken hold of me by my hand, who had previously brought me up (with the hand of that ram also taking hold of me), set me down among those sheep before the judgment took place. 32 And all those sheep were white, and their wool was thick and pure. 33/ And all that had been destroyed and dispersed <by>^a all the wild beasts and all the birds of heaven were gathered in that house. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced greatly because they were all good and had returned to that house. 34/ And I saw until they laid down that sword that had been given to the sheep; they brought it back to his house and sealed it up in the presence of the Lord. And all the sheep were enclosed^a in that house, but it did not contain them. 35/ And the eyes of all were opened, and they saw good things; and there was none among them that did not see. 36/ And I saw how that house was large and broad and very full. 37 And I saw how a white bull was born, and its horns were large. And all the wild beasts and all the birds of heaven were afraid of it and made petition to it continually. 38/ And I saw until all their species were changed, and they all became white cattle. And the first one became <leader>^a among them (and that <leader> was a large animal), and there were large black horns on its head. And the Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the cattle.

THE CONCLUSION TO THE VISION

39 And I slept among them and awoke. And I saw everything. 40/ and this is the vision that I saw while I slept. And I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave him glory. 41/ And after that I wept bitterly, and my tears did not cease until I could no longer endure it, but they were running down^a because of what I had seen;^b for everything will come to pass and be fulfilled, and every deed of humanity was shown to me in its order. 42/ That night I remembered the^a first dream. I wept because of it, and I was disturbed because I had seen the vision."

- 21a Om. “men” β.
- b Lit. “that they bring” (*kama yāmṣeʿu*), supported by the causative at the end of the verse | “that they (the stars) come (*yemṣeʿu*).
- c beginning --- horses] *ʿemkokab* (*lakokab* g,l) *qadāmāwi zayeqadem ʿemmena zeku kawākebt ʿella ḥāfratomu kama ḥāfrata ʿafrās* {*walakokab qadāmāwi zawadʿa qedma*}. With Charles (*APOT*, 2:259), Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:214), Tiller (*Commentary*, 370), and others, I consider the bracketed words at the end to be a doublet of those at the beginning. For a discussion see Tiller (*ibid.*). With Charles (*ibid.*) and Tiller (*ibid.*), and against Knibb (*ibid.*), I consider the reading of g,l to be secondary. A reference to a multitude of stars, and not just the first, is clearly presumed by the end of the verse (“they brought all of them”).
- 24a Emending *ʿemuq* (“deep”) to *ʿemaq*. See Tiller, *Commentary*, 367.
- 28a mss. divide between the verbs *ṭamʿa* and *ṣaṭama* (“submerge”) and *ṭoma* (“fold up”), which occurs later in the verse. See Tiller, *Commentary*, 374–75.
- 29a “the first site” gmqtT⁹, Ull and 4 mss. of β.
- b and its -- new] + “and its planting was new” tT⁹,bnx.
- c all] “the Lord of” m,befhnpvx. See the discussion by Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 187 n. 24.
- 30a Om. “the sheep” t.
- b Presuming that “every word” (*kwellu qāl*) reflects the use of Aram. מְלֵא with the meaning of “thing” rather than “word.” See Tiller, *Commentary*, 377.
- 33a All mss. read “and all” (*wakwellu*). This seems out of place in light of the end of the verse; the Gentiles have not “returned” to the house. Hence one should emend either to “by” or “among.”
- 34a All mss. except g read the verb *ʿaṣawa* (“were enclosed”) | “were summoned” (*taṣaweʿu*) g.
- 38a leader] “a word” (*nagar*) ㊦. It is universally agreed that “word” reflects a textual corruption. Three emenda-

tions have been suggested. According to Dillmann (*Enoch*, 287–88), ㊦ reflects *πημ*, a transliteration of Heb. רֶמֶם (“wild ox”). This would also work in Aramaic (רִמָּם). See also Barnabas Lindars, “A Bull, a Lamb and a Word: 1 Enoch XC.38,” *NTS* 22 (1976) 484; and Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:216). But see the critique by Lindars. Charles (*Enoch*, 216), following Goldschmidt’s Hebrew retroversion (*Enoch*, 90–91), sees a corruption from מֶלֶךְ (“lamb”) to מֶלֶךְ (“word”), which also works in Aramaic, as Lindars notes, “Bull,” 484. Lindars’s own suggestion is similar. The consonants of Aram. אִמְר (“a lamb”) were read to mean “a word.” I suggest that Aram. דִּבְר (“leader”) was read in Hebraizing fashion as “word.” For the verb *debar* (“to lead”) in the Animal Vision (89:14), see 4QEn^c 4 2:16 (Milik, *Enoch*, 241). For the noun in a Hebrew context, albeit with an Aramaic pl., see *b. Sanh.* 8a (*dabbār* and *dabbārīn*), called to my attention by Jonathan Goldstein and cited in Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1:375, who also notes Syr. *dābūrā*. For the *qaṭṭāl* class of Aramaic nouns denoting professions, see Gustaf Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960) 161. For the propriety of this translation, see comm. on 90:37–38. Tiller (*Commentary*, 386–88) doubts that any proposed emendation is satisfactory.

41a but --- down] *ʿallā yewwarredu qtT⁹* | *soba ʿerēʿi yewwarredu* (“when[ever] I looked, they flowed down”) t² 2080² 4750, β | *soba ʿerēʿi ʿesma ʿellu yewwarredu* (“when I saw that they flowed down” g | *ʿella yewwarredu* (“those that flowed down”) m 1768 7584. The reading adopted here seems to make the most sense: “they did not cease . . . but flowed down.”

b “When I looked” appears to be a gloss, against the meaning of the text, which states that his tears fell after the dream. *ʿella* (“who”) appears to be a corruption of *ʿallā* (“but”).

42a “my” β.

■ **90:20-27** The remainder of the Vision resolves problems that have been raised throughout. The first part of that resolution occurs in the judgment described in 90:20-27. The scene is set in v 20. Some details of this narrative are reminiscent of Dan 7:9-10: a throne is set up, the Lord takes his seat, books containing the record of deeds are opened, a fiery punishment follows.¹ In this text, however, the judgment takes place not in the heavenly court but in “the pleasant land” of Israel (cf. 89:40). An earthly setting for the final judgment is presumed also in 1:4, 25:3, and perhaps 102:3, but none of these

passages specifies Israel as the place of judgment.

The judgment is recounted as a series of stereotyped events. The Lord commands certain individuals to be summoned. They are judged, found guilty, and consigned to a fiery abyss. The fallen stars, the rebel watchers, are the first group to be judged, and as in chap. 86, the first star is distinguished from those who followed and mated with the heifers (v 21). The fiery abyss to which they are consigned is the one described in 18:11 + 19:1 and 21:7-10, with its fiery pillars. This committal completes the process of initial imprisonment and final

1 See Porter, *Metaphors*, 85.

punishment described in 10:6, 13. The special mention of this judgment of the stars underscores the importance of the events described in chaps. 86–88.

The second group to be judged and condemned are the seventy shepherds. Different from the rebel watchers, who were brought to the Judge by the seven angels who previously interacted with them, the seventy are brought to the Judge by the angelic scribe who recorded their deeds (89:62–64, 68–71, 76–77; 90:14–70) rather than by all seven “white ones,” among whose number the scribe is said to have been (v 22). They are, however, consigned to the same fiery abyss as the watchers. Perhaps the author thinks of the tradition in 18:12–14 and 21:1–5, where transgressing stars are banished to a fiery abyss on the perimeter of the earth, which is not identical with the one described in 18:10 + 19:1 and 21:7–10, but which is mentioned in the journeys in immediate connection with it.

The final part of the judgment (vv 26–27) is introduced as a separate event, “And I saw. . .” With an allusion to the idea in chaps. 26–27, the pit of the Valley of Hinnom is opened up “in the center of the earth” (90:26; cf. 26:1). On the significance of this place as the locus of eschatological punishment, see comm. on 27:2–3a. Without being commanded to do so, the angels bring “the blind sheep,” who are condemned and consigned to the pit, which is accurately located “to the south of that house,” that is, south of the city of Jerusalem. That their bones burn suggests the intensity of the heat. Which blind sheep are condemned is not made clear. Is it only those who survive to the judgment, that is, those mentioned in 90:7? Or does the author think of a resurrection that will make possible the judgment of all the blind sheep since the time of the golden calf?²

Although the great judgment does not involve a cataclysmic return to chaos,³ it does function as a counterpart to the flood. The two events have four points of similarity. (1) Both are triggered by the cry from the

earth (87:1; 90:11). (2) The archangels are agents of judgment. (3) The watchers who were condemned before the flood are now formally judged (90:21, 23–24; cf. 88:1–3). (4) As earlier, both the angelic and human sinners of this era are judged (90:22, 25–27). There is, however, a qualitative difference between the conclusions of the two eras; the great judgment brings total closure to the first two eras together by consigning the watchers from the first era to eternal punishment.

■ **28–36** With the great judgment indicating a conclusion to the second era, the remainder of the Vision’s narrative depicts the beginning of a third era. There are continuities with the second era, specifically the resolution of unresolved problems: the renewal of Jerusalem, the return of the dispersion, and the submission of the Gentiles. Nonetheless, vv 37–38 indicate a return to the first beginnings and hence a new creation and an entirely new era.

Reference to the house in v 26 prepares for a major set of events that center in Jerusalem. First the old city itself is removed and replaced with a new city. The reason for storing the old house in the south of the land is uncertain. Perhaps “the south” is a dittograph from v 26. Alternatively, the author describes the sheep moving into the territory of Edom and taking back land from the “the wild boars” (cf. Obadiah; Mal 1:1–5).⁴ The New Jerusalem is brought by the Lord of the sheep, presumably from heaven. It is both greater and higher than the old house (v 29) and thus possesses the characteristics of both the city and the temple (cf. 89:50: the house is broad and large and the tower is high). Different from the tower mentioned in 89:73, the new house is not *called* high—it *is* higher than the tower that it replaces. The attention paid here to the replacement of the city and temple underscores their significance in the Vision. The first city and temple were destroyed because of the sins committed there. The postexilic replacement of that temple was characterized by a polluted cult. All this is changed. One indication of a return to beginnings is in

2 Tiller (*Commentary*, 372) notes rightly that the text makes no reference to a resurrection here, although v 33 posits a resurrection of the righteous. For a double resurrection cf. Dan 12:2, on which see comm. on 27:2–3a.

3 See Reese, “Geschichte,” 23.

4 Tiller (*Commentary*, 375–76) cites 1 Macc 4:43,

where the defiled stones of the temple are removed to an unclean place. It is an interesting parallel, but does not explain its place south of the land.

v 29. Here as in the author's description of the wilderness camp (89:36), all the sheep are said to be in "the house." The point will be repeated later. Traditions about a new Jerusalem are widespread in Judaism (see comm. on chaps. 24-25). For the notion of a heavenly Jerusalem, cf. 2 Bar. 4:2-7. The descent of the new city from heaven is described in Rev 21:10-14, which states explicitly that there is no temple, because the Lord and the Lamb are its temple.

Whether the New Jerusalem does have a temple is debatable.⁵ Different from the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:13), here none is specifically mentioned. The height of "the house" parallels earlier references to the "high tower," that is, the temple, but it may also allude to Isaiah's prophecy that the height of "the mountain of the house of the Lord" will exceed that of all the mountains of the earth (Isa 2:2-4). What seems certain is this: all Israel will be present in "the house," which is located in Jerusalem and reprises the desert camp. If the house is thought of as city and temple, it will be a temple in which God dwells (v 34) and where no traditional cult is necessary both because of God's presence and because the human race has been fully and permanently purified of sin.

In contrast to the sheep, who are at home within Jerusalem, the animals and birds of heaven are reduced to a position of great inferiority—worshiping, petitioning, and obeying the sheep (cf. 63:9; Zech 14:16; Dan 7:27). The situation that has prevailed throughout the main part of the Vision is now reversed. Those who had preyed on the sheep are at the mercy of their former victims. This situation has yet to be resolved (see vv 37-38).

Before that resolution takes place, a brief digression focuses on the person of the seer. The angels, who had taken him to heaven "to see all that happens" (87:3-4),

now bring him back to earth, because almost everything has happened. Verse 31 presents two problems. The first is the identity of the ram. Is it Judas Maccabeus,⁶ or is it Elijah, who had ascended to be with Enoch (89:52)? That the ram is Elijah seems most likely, since there is no indication that Judas has ascended to paradise to bring Enoch down.⁷ In that case we have here an early attestation of a tradition that joins Enoch and Elijah as eschatological agents.⁸ The second problem, which involves the placement of the verse, is indicated by a comparison of its introductory and concluding words. To paraphrase, "after" the judgment and the construction of the new Jerusalem, Enoch is returned to earth "before the judgment took place." Why is this earlier event recorded at this point in the narrative? Perhaps the phrase "before the judgment took place" is simply corrupt,⁹ although the traditional association of these two figures with the judgment makes this unlikely.¹⁰ It appears that either the verse has been (accidentally?) transposed from its chronologically correct location between vv 19 and 20, or that "before the judgment took place" is a scribal gloss that ties Enoch's and Elijah's return to earth to the tradition of their participation in the judgment.

The narrative focuses on "those sheep," who had been left and who are in the house (v 29) and in whose midst Enoch has been placed. Their white and thick wool signifies their purity and, perhaps, their good health.¹¹ In contrast to this image is the immediate mention of those "who had been destroyed and dispersed" by all the animals and birds. But they now return home. Of their dispersion we heard in 89:75. The pairing of dispersion and return recalls Ezekiel 34, as well as Ezekiel 37. The latter passage describes these with the metaphor of death and resurrection. The return of those who have been "destroyed" suggests a literal resur-

5 I summarize here the extensive discussion of Tiller, *Commentary*, 45-51, 376.

6 For Judas as the ram, see Milik, *Enoch*, 45.

7 Black, *Enoch*, 279. The parallel phrasing in the two halves of v 31 indicates that both the three angels and the ram are bringing Enoch to earth.

8 For a discussion see idem, "The 'Two Witnesses' of Rev. 11:3f. in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Tradition," in E. Bammel, C. K. Barrett, and W. D. Davies, eds., *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 226-37. See also Richard Bauckham, "The

Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" *JBL* 95 (1976) 447-58.

9 See Tiller, *Commentary*, 379, for various possibilities.

10 On Enoch see Introduction, Use of Sources §4c. On Elijah cf. Mal 3:23-24 (4:5-6); Sir 48:9-10; Luke 1:16-17.

11 As Tiller (*Commentary*, 380) notes, the sheep have previously been described as "white"; however, the reference to their thick pure wool is striking.

rection of the dead, which is sometimes described as a return of the dispersion.¹² The verb “destroy” and the noun “destruction” occur with some frequency in 89:59–90:1 as shorthand for the activity of the disobedient shepherds. The Lord’s previous wrath at the unjust destruction is now replaced with divine joy that the sheep are all good and have returned to the house (contrast 89:58).

Next (v 34) the sword that had been given to the sheep (v 19) is returned and sealed up in the Lord’s presence. Divinely ordained warfare is no longer necessary, and slaughter has come to an end. The reference to the sword at this point appears to interrupt the action, since the next sentence refocuses on the sheep who have returned to the house (v 34b). If v 34a is secondary, this may indicate that v 19 was itself an interpolation in the text. In any case v 34b picks up the motif, from vv 29 and 33, of the presence of the sheep in the house. Jerusalem is in a special way the home of Israel, as the camp had been (89:36) and the city had been (89:40, 50) before some had forsaken it at the time of the divided kingdom (89:51) and others had been carried away at the time of Nebuchadnezzar (v 58) and the dispersion (v 75). This return home is therefore the resolution of a major problem in the action of the Vision. Moreover, it corresponds to a major structural element in Ezekiel 34 (vv 11–13, 16). Not only are all the sheep returned, but the eyes of all are opened. The problem of blindness, that is, apostasy, has been solved, and therefore what they see includes “good things”; they experience the blessings of the covenant (see comm. on 98:9–10). This penultimate section of the Vision concludes with a final reference to the city (v 36), which is large and broad (see 89:50) and full to the point of bursting (90:36).

■ **37–38** With all the sheep in the house, that is, all of Israel at home, the narrative may appear to have reached closure. But one final matter requires resolution. What of the wild animals and birds of heaven?

With the Israelites at home, are the Gentiles excluded? The logic of the Vision invites a different scenario, because both the sheep and the wild animals have descended from one white bull, the descendant of the first-created white bull. For this author, complete resolution of the plot requires that in the end all the species representing the diversity of nations and people return to the primordial unity from which they diverged. Such a notion is present in other strata of 1 Enoch. In both 10:21–11:2 and 91:14, certain of the Gentiles “become righteous” and are the recipients of eschatological blessing. So also here, in the peculiar idiom of the Vision, a great white bull is born (v 37), and then all the species are transformed into white bulls.

Although the identity of this white bull has been debated, it is generally interpreted as a symbol for the Messiah.¹³ The origin of this interpretation lies in the assumption that any such eschatological human figure must be “the Messiah.” Nonetheless, the presence of such a messianic figure here should not be surprising. A Davidic prince appears at the end of Ezekiel 34, which is a major source for the imagery in this Vision (see above). Here, as in Ezekiel 34, the figure appears after God has effected salvation for the sheep.¹⁴ The suggested textual emendation in v 38 may also point to Ezek 34:24: “My servant David will be prince among them” (ועבדִי דוד); the wording approximates v 38, “became <leader> among them.” Moreover, the bull’s function as “leader” parallels the role ascribed to David and Solomon in 89:46, 49. Two facts may appear to exclude the messianic interpretation. First, the white bull is depicted as not doing anything, other than “becoming” a leader and a large animal with large horns. He is not described as carrying out functions usually associated (in the scholarly mind?) with a messianic king, viz., military activity, ruling, and judging. This appraisal of the situation is somewhat misleading, however. The wild animals’ reaction to the bull indicates that he does hold a position of authority, or at least of power. That the bull

12 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 106–8. Cf. also 4Q386 1:1–10, which appears to interpret Ezekiel 37 to refer to a literal resurrection of the dead.

13 See Dillmann, *Henoch*, 286; Charles, *Enoch*, 215–16; Black, *Enoch*, 279–80; Jonathan A. Goldstein, “How the Authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees Treated the ‘Messianic’ Promises,” in Jacob Neusner, William S.

Green, and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 72–73.

14 Goldstein, *ibid.*

does not wage war is a function of the transformation of the wild animals. They, like the sheep, become white bulls, and so there is no longer enmity in the human race. The powers that threatened Israel have been completely and permanently eradicated. Finally, there is a contemporary analogy to this text in Daniel 7. The heavenly son of man receives the power to reign, all nations are said to be subservient to him, and because this is the permanent state of affairs, there is no need to describe him waging war or doing anything, for that matter.

A second problem that may appear to exclude the messianic identity of the eschatological figure is the symbol that is employed. Both David and Solomon were depicted as sheep. This animal is a bull. For a counterpart one must look to the early patriarchs: to Adam (85:3), Seth (85:9), Noah or Shem (89:1, 9), Abraham or Isaac (89:10, 11)—all of whom are symbolized as white bulls. It is perhaps wrong to try to see this white bull as an eschatological counterpart to any specific one of these ancient figures. He might be seen as a new Adam, who with the transformation of all the animals becomes the head of a new human race.¹⁵ Alternatively, the adjective “large” recalls Seth (85:9), who was the patriarch of the line that survived the flood (89:10-11) and eventually gave birth to the variety of animals that now revert to white bulls. An allusion to Abraham is also not to be excluded. Such an eschatological allusion appears in 10:16 (see comm. on 10:16c-17). Perhaps also relevant is Psalm 72. This royal psalm celebrates the king’s dominion over the nations (vv 8-11), and perhaps with an allusion to Gen 12:3, v 17 sees him as a source of blessing to all (cf. 1 Enoch 10:16). In the tradition represented in the Greek Bible, v 17 sees the king as the one in whom the promise to Abraham is fulfilled.¹⁶

That an eschatological figure is born as a white bull is important in its own right in the allegorical system of the Vision; it indicates a return to the beginning. Indeed, his irregular birth (a bull, evidently from a sheep) is a reverse counterpart of the earlier irregular births, when the wild animals and the sheep were born

from the Sethite line of white bulls (89:10, 12). However, his birth catalyzes the transformation of all the species into white bulls, the one species from which all of them came. It initiates the resolution of the remaining and fundamental problem in the Vision. With the universal transformation, the perennial enemies of Israel are eliminated, and the world returns to its created unity. Salvation in a preeminent sense takes place. Now, with a twist in the imagery, “the Lord of the *sheep*,” who rejoiced over the return of the sheep (v 33), rejoices over *all the bulls*. Reference to “all the bulls” is doubly significant. An unprecedented situation exists. All the bulls are white. There is no red bull to be slain or any black bull to slay him. The creation cannot go awry as it did with the first two beginnings. God rejoices because the intended divine purpose will be fulfilled. The third era will have no catastrophic end.

The soteriological imagery of this author is daring and perhaps without parallel in pre-Christian Jewish literature. An eschatological figure is born whose righteousness (and perhaps other characteristics) is paralleled to that of the patriarchs, whether the model be Adam, Seth, Noah, or Abraham. The qualitative difference between the child and his parents suggests the kind of divine intervention that is typical of biblical stories about the births of heroes (Isaac, Samson, and Samuel). Indeed the closest model may even be in the Enoch cycle in the story of Noah’s birth (1 Enoch 106–107). Different from the latter story, however, the birth of this extraordinary human being triggers the transformation of the whole human race, Israelites and Gentiles, into primordial righteousness and perfection. As noted, such a transformation is indicated in 1 Enoch 10:21–11:2 and 91:14. The latter text presumes the creation of the remnant of the end time, who receive eschatological revelation. But the present text alone juxtaposes the transformation with the birth of a figure, into whose image, so to speak, the human race is transformed. The closest analogy is in the two-Adams theology of the apostle Paul.¹⁷

15 See Milik, *Enoch*, 45; Black, *Enoch*, 289. See also Tiller, *Commentary*, 388.

16 καὶ ἐυλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν (“And all the tribes of the earth will be blessed through him, all the nations will consider him blessed”) Ps 71:17.

17 Cf. Rom 5:12-21; 1 Cor 15:45-50; Phil 3:21. Three texts from Qumran designate “all the glory of Adam” (כול כבוד אדם) as an eschatological gift of the community, but it is not tied to an Adamlke figure (cf. CD 3:18-20; 1QS 4:22-23; 1QH 4[17]:15).

■ **39-42** These concluding verses summarize the content of Enoch's second dream vision, express his reaction to it, and tie it to the first dream vision and to the immediate context. Verses 39-40a are formally a defining subscript, written in a-b-b'-a' form. The "everything" that Enoch saw is explicated in v 41: "all the deeds of men were shown to me." While the content of the Vision is a summary of all human deeds, the claim that he saw everything that will happen is the equivalent of 81:2, where Enoch saw on the heavenly tablets a record of all human deeds. What he would see on his heavenly journey late in his life he already saw in summary visionary form while he was a young man. His opening statement is noteworthy: "I slept among them." The only context is within the dream itself, where at the end he is set down among the sheep.

Enoch's blessing of God parallels the blessing in 81:3, which he utters also upon being placed on earth after reading the heavenly tablets. It also parallels his blessing in 83:11 after he awakens from his first dream vision, but there is a notable difference in the immediate contexts of the two blessings. After the first dream vision, he awoke in fear and lamented the destruction of the cosmos that he had witnessed, but then praised God when he had been assured of the Creator's control over the cosmos. Here he weeps profusely because he has seen the human deeds that are subject to divine judg-

ment. The relatively long report of this lamentation—which echoes other lamentations within the dream itself (89:57; 90:3)—is the more noteworthy because it contrasts with the concluding sentence of the Vision: "The Lord of the sheep rejoiced . . ." (v 38). The seer has come down to earth in another sense. The eschatological joy is overshadowed by the sad recognition: for the seer, that these terrible things must happen; for the author, that they are an essential part of his world and of the lives of the people to whom he addresses the account of the Vision. Thus, ironically, after the joyous climax of the Vision, the conclusion underscores its lamentable contents and recalls how Enoch had wept over the first vision and its message of judgment (v 42). If this vision was composed apart from its present context, as seems likely (see Introduction to chaps. 83-84, § Origin, Function, and Date), then this verse would be a later addition. It is possible that all of vv 39-42 are the work of the redactor who brought the first and second dream visions together. The first person idiom parallels the redactional 85:1 (see comm. on 85:1-2), the blessing parallels 83:11, and the section as a whole has a certain unity.¹⁸

18 Tiller (*Commentary*, 390) notes the parallel to first person idiom in 85:1, as opposed to the third person introduction in 85:2, but he does not acknowledge that after that introduction the whole vision is narrated in the first person.

91

- 1 And now, my son Methuselah,
Call to me all your brothers,
and gather to me all the children of your mother.^a
For a voice is calling me,
and a spirit^b is poured out upon me,
so that I may show you everything that will happen to you forever.
- 2 Then Methuselah went and called all^a his brothers^b to him and gathered his relatives.
3/ And he spoke (of) righteousness to all his sons,^a and he said:
"Hear, O sons of Enoch,^b every word of your father,
and listen aright to the voice of^c my mouth;
for I testify to you and speak to you, my beloved.^d
Love the truth^e and walk in it;
4 but do not draw near to the truth with a double heart,
and do not associate with those of a double heart.^a
But walk in righteousness, my children;
and it will guide you in the paths of goodness,
and righteousness will be your companion.
- 5 For I know that the state of violence will grow strong upon the earth;
and a great scourge will be consummated upon the earth.
Indeed, all iniquity will be consummated;
but it will be cut off from its roots,
and its whole structure will vanish.
- 6 And again iniquity will be consummated upon the earth;
and all the deeds of iniquity and violence^a and sin will prevail again.
- 7 And when^a sin and iniquity and blasphemy and violence increase in every deed,^b
and perversity and sin and uncleanness^c increase,
a great scourge will come from heaven upon all these,
and the holy Lord will come forth in wrath and with a scourge,
to execute judgment upon the earth.
- 8 And in those days, violence will be cut off from its roots,
and the roots of^a iniquity, together with deceit;
and^b they will be destroyed^c from under heaven.
- 9 And all the idols of the nations will be given up;
and^a the tower(s) will be burned with fire.
And they will be removed from all the earth,
and they will be cast into the fiery judgment,
and they will be destroyed in fierce, eternal judgment.
.....
.....^b
.....
- 10 {And the righteous will arise from his sleep,
and wisdom will arise and be given to them.}^a
- 11—17^a
- 10 And now I tell you, my children,
and I show you the paths of righteousness and the paths of violence,
and I shall show you^a them again, that you may know what is coming.
- 19 And now hear me,^a my children,
and walk in the paths^b of righteousness,
and do not walk in the paths^c of violence;
for they will perish forever,^d
all who walk in the paths^e of iniquity."

- 1a your brothers - - - - mother] “the children of your mother, and gather to me your brothers” g | “to me” in the second clause om. m,fn.
- b “my spirit” Ull.
- 2a Om. T⁹.
- b + “and he called them” (*wašawwe’omu*) gmtT⁹, repeating the earlier verb.
- 3a And - - - - sons] *watanāgaromu lakwellomu* (om. u) (*la*)*weludu šedqa β-nya’b’* | “- - - to all his sons (of) his righteousness” (- - *weludu šedqo*) t 1768 2080 | “- - - to all the sons of righteousness” (- - *weluda šedq*) gqT⁹,yb’ | “- - - to all (of) his righteousness” (- - *šedqo*) mu | “- - - to all the sons of his righteousness” (- - *weluda šedqu*) n. On the text chosen, see comm. on v 3. Reference to Enoch’s righteousness and to the sons of righteousness in general seems out of place in an exhortation to righteousness addressed to Enoch’s own sons.
- b “my sons” t²,β.
- c the voice of] om. mqtT⁹.
- d *fequrāneya* | “beloved” (*fequrān*) gmqT⁹.
- e “Love our God in truth” (*ʾafqerewwo laʾamlākena bareʿ*) m.
- 4a and - - - - heart] om. guT⁹ 1768 6281 by hmt.
- 6a and violence] *wagefʿ* gmqT⁹ | “and the deeds of violence” (*wagebra gefʿ*) β. Whether the latter reading involves a dittograph of *gebra* (two words earlier) or the short reading reflects an omission by hma. is uncertain.
- 7a *waʿemani* gqT⁹,β | “And then” (*waʿemennēhu* | *waʿemze*) mt.
- b *bakwellu tāgbar* gmt | “will be done by all things” (*bakwellu tetgabbar*) T⁹ | “and every deed” (*wakwellu tāgbar [gebr]*) q,β.
- c and sin and uncleanness] om. u | “and uncleanness” g.
- 8a the roots of] om. gq.
- b Om. u,befhp.
- c Om. gq.
- 9a and] gu,ob’.
- b On the textual problems associated with the placement of ʕ vv 10–17, see Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91–93. On the probable original content of this section, see comm. on 91:7c-9.
- 10a See comm. on v 10.
- 11-
- 17a See comm. on 7c–17.
- 18a *waʿarʾyakemu* m,β | “and I have shown you” (*waʿarʾaykukemu*) gqt | om. u.
- 19a *semeʿuni* qtu | “hear me, hear me, and hear me” (*semeʿuni semeʿuni wasemeʿuni*) m | om. g | “hear” (*semeʿu*) β.
- b path (*fenota*) T⁹,cix(p¹?)a’.
- c path (*fenota*) bcx.
- d Aramaic had a longer and somewhat different reading. Surviving is אבד לכוף אבדנאן (“... be]cause he will utterly perish[. . .” 4QEn^g 1 2:21; Milik, *Enoch*, 260).
- e Aramaic had a longer and different reading. Perhaps בחרו בדרך קשטא למקד ברוך (“choose the paths of] righteousness, to walk in them[”; see Milik, *Enoch*, 260, 4QEn^g 1 2:19-20).

■ **91** This chapter continues the testamentary form of the previous chapters. See Excursus: The Literary Unity of 1–36; 81:1–82:4a + 91:1-10, 18-19 + 93:1-10; 91:11-17 + 93:11–94:5 + 104:10–105:2. With the completion of the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90), Enoch has ended his instruction to his son Methuselah. Adopting the narrative style of chaps. 81–82, he commands Methuselah to gather the rest of the family, so that he can instruct them also (v 1). When they have gathered (v 2), he addresses them (v 3a-d) and then begins his instruction. The first part is a command to walk in the right way and to avoid wrongdoers (vv 3e-4). The stated basis for this instruction is his knowledge of the future and its scenario: wickedness will prevail, but God will judge it (vv 5-9). At the conclusion of this historical review, Enoch refers to yet another revelation of future events (v 18) and concludes the section with a verse of two-ways instruction that recalls vv 3e-4 and anticipates 94:1-5. We

are now ready for the second revelation, the Apocalypse of Weeks in 93:1-10; 91:11-17, and the extended paraenesis comprised by chaps. 92–105.

■ **1-2** The opening of Enoch’s address to Methuselah repeats the formula of 82:1 and 83:1. The scene is typically testamentary: the father summons his children in order to instruct them before he leaves them (cf. 81:6). Verses 1bc and 2 employ the clichés of the testamentary form. For the verb “call” (*sawʿa*), cf. Gen 49:1; Deut 29:2; 31:7; *T. Levi* 1:2; *T. Iss.* 1:1; *T. Dan* 1:2 (קרא, καλέω). For the verb “gather” (*ʾastagābeʾa*), cf. Gen 49:1 (קבץ, συνάγω); 49:2 (קבץ, ἀθροίζω); Deut 31:28 (קבץ, ἐκκλησιάζω); *T. Reu.* 1:2; *T. Levi* 1:2; *T. Jud.* 1:2 (συνάγω).

The occasion for this summons is Enoch’s receipt of revelation. Different from 93:2, here Enoch does not appeal to his heavenly revelation, but to a voice that is calling him and the Spirit that is poured upon him (for a similar parallelism, cf. Isa 59:21). This may indicate that

this section derives from a level of composition different from the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks. For the pouring out of the Spirit in connection with revelation, cf. Joel 3:1-2 (2:28-29). Whatever the connection between this verse and 93:2, the seer here appeals to revelation at this moment as the basis for his discourse to his sons. The content of Enoch's discourse is summarized as a revelation of events to come and not ethical instruction. Although Enoch will present only a very sketchy summary of history, he describes it as "everything that will happen to you forever." Thus vv 5-9 are a schematic summary that makes the author's point. That Enoch has learned everything that will happen in the course of human history is repeatedly asserted (81:2; 90:41; cf. 93:2, "I have learned everything"). The verb "show" (*ar'aya*) occurs in 104:8 with revelatory connotations (*ὑποδείκνυμι*), and the verb (*ὑπο*)δείκνυμι occurs in testamentary contexts in Tob 4:20; *T. Ash.* 1:2; and in *T. Naph.* 8:1 with reference to information about the end times.

■ **3a-d** The instruction "Hear, my son(s)" usually employed in parallelism, is typical of wisdom literature; cf. Prov. 1:8; 4:1, 10; 5:7; 23:19, 22; and especially 7:24; Sir 6:23; 16:24. Its transferred use to preface the instruction in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is too frequent to document. For the use of the word pair ἀκούω ("hear") and ἐνωτίζω ("give ear") in parallelism cf. *T. Reub.* 1:5; *T. Iss.* 1:1; and *T. Jos.* 1:2. This formal introduction stresses the importance of what follows. The double use of the verbs "hear, give ear" at the beginning of a revelation that is called "testimony" occurs in Deut 32:1 (cf. Deut 31:19, 21, 26). What follows here is Enoch's testimony, and this verb (*ʿasmeʿa*) occurs in 81:6, 104:11, and 105:1 in connection either with Enoch's words (his books) or with the latter-day testimony that will be based on them.

■ **3e-4** Before commencing his revelation of future events, he exhorts his children to proper conduct. This provides a frame of reference for the historical review that follows. The prediction is a description of the kind of evil deeds that Enoch's children should avoid and that God will judge.

Enoch's instruction consists of two parallel tristichs based on two-ways teaching. See Excursus: The Two Ways. Each begins with a positive command: "Love, walk in. . . ." These are followed by two lines about with whom or what his sons should or should not associate. Verse 3e, which recurs verbatim in 94:1, stresses inner motivation ("love") and its expression in conduct ("walk"; cf. comm. on 94:1). The second tristich picks up with the second verb. The nouns "truth" (*retʿ*) and "righteousness" (*sedq*) may well translate the same Aramaic word (ܣܕܩܐ). But cf. 1QapGen 6:2, where both ܣܕܩܐ and ܚܒܐ appear. The verb "draw near" (*qarba*) will be repeated in 94:3, and "associate" (*habara*) has its synonym in 104:6, where the righteous are commanded not to associate with sinners. Here the author's concern is with the double-hearted (*ʿella bakelʿe leb*, probably translating δίψυχοι). It is not enough to avoid outright sinners; those who waver back and forth are also dangerous. For a similar sharp criticism of those with a double heart (בלב ולב), cf. 1QH 12(4):13-16, where they are said not to be firm in God's truth (cf. also Jas 1:4; 4:8). This imagery may have led the translator to render ܣܕܩܐ here as ἀλήθεια ("truth"). Because ܣܕܩܐ is truth, it is a contradiction to approach it with a double heart. The image of the double heart fits well in the larger imagery of the two ways; to be double-hearted is to vacillate between the two. Its opposite is simplicity (ἀπλότης), a favorite virtue in some testamentary expositions (cf. *T. Sim.* 4:5 and *T. Iss.* 4:1, ἀπλότης ψυχῆς/καρδίας, "simplicity of soul/heart").¹ In the second tristich, the author speaks positively of associations, of a kind of personification of righteousness, which guides one on the path of righteousness. This personification is reminiscent of the hypostasis of wisdom, and the imagery here parallels Prov 4:6-10. Perhaps the author alludes to the tradition of Wisdom as a companion of the wise person (Sir 7:18-31; 51:13-22; Wisdom 8).² The parallelism between righteousness (*sedq*) and piety (*hirut* = ὁσιότης) is relatively frequent in the Epistle. See comm. on 102:5.

1 See J. Amstutz, 'ΑΠΛΟΤΗΣ: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Studie zum jüdisch-christlichen Griechisch (Bonn: Hanstein, 1968).

2 See J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 83-85.

The outline of this passage should be compared with 94:1-4: 91:3e | 94:1b; 91:4ab | 94:3b; 91:4d | 94:4. Similarly, this passage with its negative injunction to stay away and its positive promise of the companionship of righteousness is paralleled in 104:6: do not associate with sinners; you will be companions of the angels.

■ **5-10** This historical review schematizes the history of sin and its punishment from primordial time to the final judgment. Its two parallel sections treat primordial sin and its punishment in the flood (v 5) and subsequent sin and its resolution in the final judgment (vv 6-9). Verse 10 was probably composed as a transition by the editor who inserted here material from the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:11-17). See comm. on v 10.

Period 1 (v 5)	Period 2 (vv 6-9)
a violence . . . upon earth	6a iniquity will be consummated upon earth
c all iniquity will be consummated	6b all iniquity, violence, sin
	7ab sin, iniquity, blasphemy, violence, perversity, sin, uncleanness
b a great scourge	7c a great scourge
	7de theophany
d cut off from roots	8abc will be cut off from roots, destroyed
structure will vanish	9 idols, towers, will be given up, burned, removed, destroyed

A comparison of the two parallel sections indicates a similarity in conception and language. Against this parallelism, however, the imbalance and differences between the two sections is significant. The greater length and the richer detail of vv 6-9 indicate that the author's interest lies here. Corresponding to two lines about sin in v 5 are four much longer lines in vv 6-7b. While the words "violence" (*gef*^c) and "iniquity" (*'amaḏā*) recur in vv 6-7, the heaping up of these and six other nouns gives the distinct impression that the sin of the end time greatly exceeds that of primordial time, as the double use of the verb "increase" indicates. Corresponding to two lines on the judgment in the flood (v 5b-d) are eleven lines on the final judgment (vv 7c-9). Corresponding to the flood is a theophany, and its result is the eradication not only of the stereotyped "violence"

and "iniquity," but also of the more specific "deceit," and the eternal removal of idolatrous religion. The Aramaic fragments suggest that the historical review closed with a brief description of all humanity bringing its praise to the true God (see comm. on vv 7c-9).

Thus the structure of the historical review indicates a central concern with the pattern of sin and punishment, and the use of primordial sin and its punishment in the flood as a prototype for contemporary sin and its punishment in the final judgment. Here the author's interest lies. Sin in his own time is massive, exceeding anything in the past, but God's final judgment will be equal to the task of its eradication. In both its typology and its heavy emphasis on present sin and its judgment, this historical review parallels chaps. 6-16 and the Apocalypse of Weeks.

■ **5** The introductory formula appeals to revealed prediction as a basis for the parenthesis the author has just completed (cf. 94:5; 104:10). Sin and punishment are described in alternating ab/a'b'b' form. The wording "The state of violence will grow strong" follows ⲉ, *yeṣanne' helawē gef*^c, as interpreted by Dillmann ("Zustand") and Martin ("l'état").³ Charles, finding the reading "wholly unlikely," emends *halawē* to *halawo*, in which he sees a translation of the Gk. verb *δελ*: "violence must increase."⁴ But "state" could be a synonym of "structure" in line e, or it could reflect an expression parallel to *דייה עולה* in 1QS 4:18 (see comm. on 92:5). That sin grows strong or hardens (possibly *ἐνισχύω* or *κραταιόω*) parallels the idea in vv 6-7, where, however, the verbs suggest the image of proliferation. That sin will be cut off from its roots suggests the image of a plant (cf. Deut 29:18 and see Excursus: The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature), and it can be considered a foil to the image of Abraham and Israel as the plant of righteousness (93:5, 8, 10). Less likely, this line should be taken with the next, where "structure" (*hensa*) may be compared with 91:11, according to which the structure of violence and deceit will have its foundations uprooted.

■ **6-7b** The double use of "again" (*tedaggem*, *kāb'a*) and the repetition of similar terms for sin tie the description in v 6 to that in v 5. The verb "prevail" (*teṭ'ahaz*) corre-

³ Dillmann, *Henoch*, 65; Martin, *Hénoch*, 239.

⁴ Charles, *Enoch*, 226; on the grammatical problem

see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 4-5.

sponds to “grow strong” (*yeṣanneʿ*) in v 5. If the sin and punishment in v 5 correspond to that in the second week of the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:4abc), the sin now described corresponds to that in the rest of the Apocalypse. That sin “will increase” (*telheq*) after the Flood is stated both here and in 93:4e. The double reference to “all the deeds” and “every deed” in v 6b and 7a and the addition of “perversity” (*ʿelwat*) to the catalog in v 7 resembles the description of the seventh week, “there will arise a perverse generation, and many will be its deeds, and all its deeds will be perversity” (93:9). The nouns *ḥāṭiʾat* and *ʾabasā* (“sin”) are natural enough additions to the list, although they and *rekwes* (“unclean-ness”) have the effect of overloading the lines and thus increasing the impression of the predominance of sin. “Blasphemy” (*serfat*) is the most specific term and will recur in the Epistle (94:9; 96:7). The list as a whole recalls the long lists in 10:20, 22—the evils to be eradicated in the judgment.

■ **7c-9** This description of the final judgment greatly exceeds the sketchy two lines in v 5 and adds to the imagery in that verse phrases and terminology that recall parallel passages in chaps. 1, 10, and 91:11-17 (the Apocalypse of Weeks). The description of the theophany appears to depend on 1:3, 4, 9, although the word pair “wrath” and “scourge” (*maʿat*, *maqṣaft*) is reminiscent of *T. Mos.* 10:3 (*indignatio et ira*), to which 1 Enoch 1 is somehow related (see comm. on 1:3c-9). The combination of “violence” (*gefc*), “iniquity” (*ʿamaḏā*), and “deceit” (*gwehlut*) parallels the word pair “violence” and “deceit” in 93:4 and especially 91:11, where the image of uprooting is also used. Particularly noteworthy is v 8c, which appears to depend on Deut 29:20; its proximity to v 8b, which may be dependent on Deut 29:18, is striking. The verse as a whole suggests the total destruction of evil. Verse 9 corresponds to 10:21 and 91:14 and their vision of the conversion of the Gentiles. For the destruction of idols, cf. *T. Mos.* 10:7, mentioned above, and the historical review in Tob 14:4-7;⁵ the idea may come from Mic 1:7, a context alluded to in 1 Enoch 1:6. For “tower” (*mahfad*) as a term for a temple, cf. 87:3; 89:50; 89:73.

The idea here seems to be that the Gentiles are converted and surrender their idols. While v 9cde is not altogether clear, the tristich appears to be saying that the idols and their temples will be cast into the fiery abyss. The verbs “remove” (*waḏʾa*) and “cast” (*gadafa*) correspond to the same verbs in 91:14, where “the deeds of wickedness” are the object and the context is the conversion of the Gentiles.

The evidence of 4QEn^s 1 2:13-26 is crucial for an understanding of the original shape of the conclusion of the present passage. It is clear, first of all, that lines 18-26 of A correspond to 91:18-19 + 92:1-2, although the wording of the latter passage does not agree with the C.⁶ Second, as 4QEn^s 1 4 shows, 91:11-17, the last part of the Apocalypse of Weeks, was not in the present context in A but followed 93:10. Third, lines 13-17 of 4QEn^s 1 2 give no indication that they contained 91:10 C; to the contrary, the preserved fragments indicate a different text.

13] [] []
14] wal[k]] והלכ]
15	[and] to him prai[se	חלה תשבחה
16	and [the] ear[th] will rest	ותחנא ארעא
17	all the generations of eternit[y]	כל דרי עלמין

Any reconstruction of the text in the lacunae is hypothetical and tentative. Nonetheless, the parallels to texts about the conversion of the Gentiles suggest that 10:21-22 may provide a key for the reconstruction of this text. There we read of the conversion of “the sons of men,” of their worshipping and blessing God, of the cleansing of the earth, and its freedom from any divine wrath for all the generations of eternity. It seems quite possible, therefore, that in the original Aramaic the present historical review concluded in a similar way, drawing on the language and imagery of both chap. 10 and 91:14. That the earth will find rest would be a fitting wordplay on the name of Noah (cf. 106:18) in a context that employs the typology of flood and last judgment.

Thus the historical review in its original Aramaic form may have described the rise of sin and its judgment

5 George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Tobit and Enoch: Distant Cousins with a Recognizable Resemblance,” in David Lull, ed., *SBLSP* 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 60–61.

6 See Milik, *Enoch*, 260–63.

in the flood, the reemergence of sin with greater force, its final judgment and extermination by God, the conversion of all humanity, and the restitution of the earth, forever, to God's intention. This scheme is present already in chaps. 6–11, although the typology of flood and final judgment is implied through a kind of superimposition and is not indicated by a sequence. This sequence, however, is explicit in the Apocalypse of Weeks.

Terminological and structural factors indicate a close relationship between this passage and the Apocalypse of Weeks, but the nature and direction of the relationship remain uncertain. (See also the comm. on 106:13–107:1.) The differences between the two passages are noteworthy. Here there is no periodization of history into ten segments, only a division oriented around the typology of two judgments. Moreover, lacking here is the history of the community of the chosen righteous; indeed, this text is noteworthy for the complete lack of any reference to the righteous, except, it would seem, at the very end and in v 10, which appears to be a later addition (see comm. on 91:10). One can argue that the references to cutting wickedness off from its roots are reverse reflexes of the image of Abraham and Israel as the plant, but the image could also be dependent on 10:3, 16, 18–19, where (different from the Apocalypse of Weeks) the plant is applied to both Noah and the community of the end time. In any case it is strange that all hints of Israel and the righteous are missing here. It is uncertain whether v 9 here explicates “the deeds of wickedness” in 91:14, or whether the latter generalizes the specific reference to idolatry here. However one resolves this problem, two points are clear about the present text: if it is dependent on the Apocalypse of Weeks, it has also used other material, specifically the theophany in chap. 1 and perhaps related traditions, and the description of the end time in chap. 10. While the author or redactor of this section might have chosen to speak of righteous and sinners—as does the Apocalypse of Weeks—in order to undergird his two-ways instruction in 91:3–4, he chose to focus on the theme of sin and its punishment, thus offering a stern warning to those who might be inclined to associate with the wicked.

Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91–93

It has long been recognized that the order of the \mathbb{C} text of chaps. 91–93 reflects a displacement from the original order of the text. As the text stands in all MSS. of \mathbb{C} , the description of the last three weeks of the Apocalypse of Weeks is located not after 93:10, where it clearly belongs, but between 91:9 and 91:18. General consensus posits the following original order of the text:⁷ 91:1–10, 18–19; 92:1–93:10; 91:11–17; 93:11–14, and this is supported by Milik's reconstruction of 4QEn⁸. Most recently Olson has challenged Milik's placement of 4QEn⁸ frg. 1a and has argued that the original order was: 91:1–10; 92:3–93:10; 91:11–92:2; 93:11–14.⁸ In that posited order, the Epistle of Enoch ran from 91:1–92:1, with the last verse forming a postscript rather than an incipit to the Epistle, and 92:2 served as an introduction to the “nature poem” in 93:11–14. The present order of \mathbb{C} was due to an accidental displacement of a leaf: 91:11–92:2 was copied into a ms. between the originally juxtaposed 91:10 and 92:3. Moreover, 91:10 and 92:3, which are very similar to one another, are ditto-graphs.

Several factors tell against Olson's reconstruction.

- (1) 93:1, with its third person narrative past tense, makes a less satisfactory introduction to an Epistle than 92:2, with its second person direct address.
- (2) 92:2 is not demonstrably a better introduction to 93:11 than it is to 92:3.
- (3) The reference to “this epistle” in 100:6 indicates that 92:1 in Olson's placement cannot be the postscript to the Epistle.
- (4) Three factors tell against the notion that the present placement of 91:11–17 in \mathbb{C} is accidental. First, the contents of vv 11–17 duplicate the contents of vv 7c–9, and such a perfect juxtaposition is not likely to be the result of an accident. Second, the displacement begins at the beginning of a sentence and ends at the end of a sentence and constitutes a literary unit—no more and no less. That a displaced leaf would happen to begin and end this way seems quite unlikely. Third, and most significantly, the \mathbb{C} version of 91:11, which is much longer than its \mathbb{A} counterpart, includes a number of expressions not found in \mathbb{A} , but with counterparts in 91:6–7. The passage reads: “And then the roots of *iniquity* will be cut off, and *sinners* will perish by the sword; some of the *blasphemers* will be cut off in every place. And those that plan *violence* and those that commit *blasphemy* will perish by the sword.” These parallels indicate that the person who inserted 91:11–17 into its present context in \mathbb{C} was aware of

7 Daniel C. Olson, “Recovering the Original Sequence of 1 Enoch 91–93,” *JSP* 11 (1993) 69.

8 *Ibid.*, 69–94.

that context and placed the passage there as an alternative version of the events described at the conclusion of the historical review.

In order to provide a transition from the original historical review (vv 5-9) to the transposed material (vv 11-17), the editor then created 91:10 as a counterpart to 93:10, which originally led into 91:11-17 and was left as a conclusion to the Apocalypse of Weeks. In addition to creating this transitional verse, he revised and expanded v 11 to function better as a resolution of the sin described in vv 6-7. Through the addition of vv 10-17, the redactor fills out the scenario described in 91:7c-9 and also indicates to his readers that this historical review and the Apocalypse of Weeks were dealing with the same events. The duplication is not surprising; a similar duplication occurs at the same place in the Animal Vision (90:13-15 || 16-18).

■ **10** This verse is most closely paralleled in 92:3 and 93:10, and it contains terminology found in both. The Aramaic fragments indicate that it took the place of a reference to the sons of men becoming righteous (cf. 10:21), and in any case it finally introduces the righteous as a necessary prerequisite for the action described in vv 11-17 now displaced to this location.

■ **11-17** Thus in ㉔ we have a duplication of the events of

the end time. When all sin has been extirpated, the righteous will arise (a reference to a resurrection?), and they will start the process of extirpating evil; then we hear of the conversion of the Gentiles and the restoration of all things.

■ **18-19** This brief exhortative section consists of two parallel units, the first making an announcement, and the second containing an exhortation. For the opening formula in v 18, cf. 94:1. On the verb “show,” cf. 91:1. Both vv 18 and 19 refer explicitly to the two (kinds of) ways, as opposed to 91:3-4, which mentions only the right way. Verse 18a seems to suggest that in the historical review just completed the author has shown the ways of righteousness and violence, and in v 18b he promises to show them again. The author alludes to the Apocalypse of Weeks and its account of righteousness and violence. The formula introducing v 18 repeats v 3c. The antithetical parallelism in the two lines of this command combines features from the longer paraenesis in 94:1, 3, 4. Thus encircling his apocalypse with two-ways instruction, he prepares us for the Epistle that follows. The two-ways instruction will be picked up one more time, at the end of the Apocalypse of Weeks (94:1-5).

Introduction

In this last major section of the Enochic corpus, the patriarch addresses words of ethical and eschatological import to his children and to the righteous and sinners of the latter days. The limits of the section are indicated by substantial points of correspondence between 92:1 and 104:12–105:1. Themes introduced in the superscription in 92:1 find their reprise in 104:12–105:2: the whole earth; the latter generations who observe truth and peace | the righteous, pious, and wise, who learn the paths of truth and teach others, who will have peace and be the children of truth.

1.0. Literary Analysis

This large textual edifice is constructed of many smaller units, among which one can readily identify a number of literary forms and formulas well known from canonical and extracanonical literature. My study of these small units and the larger literary structures within this section has several purposes. (§1) Through an analysis of empirically verifiable features of the text, I shall attempt to identify the major theme or themes embodied in these units and the manner of its (their) exposition in the section as a whole. (§2) On the basis of this information, I shall seek to reconstruct the author's symbolic universe and the place within it that he assigns to himself and his book. (§3) Using these and other literary and historical data, I shall attempt to locate the real historical contexts that catalyzed the writing of the document and to ascertain the specific functions that the

author wished it to serve. Although the Epistle doubtless comprises a fair amount of traditional material, my purpose here is to understand the work as a whole and the viewpoint and purpose of its final author.

1.1. The Forms

1.1.1. Woes

The most frequently used form in this section is the "woe." Derived from mourning cries in ancient Israel, this onomatopoeic exclamation (אָוֶה or הָוֶה, *hōy, hōy*), which has counterparts in many languages, came to take on overtones of a vengeful curse. The classical prophets employed the form to express their distress over the sins of the people and the nations, and to contrast present arrogance (especially in sins of social oppression) with the disastrous judgment that would be unleashed on the Day of YHWH.¹ The Enochic forms carry this connotation, and there is no indication that the author is bewailing the fate of the sinners.

Table 8 lists the occurrences of the woe form in 1 Enoch 92–105 and schematizes their formal structure.

In 1 Enoch the woes tend to be shorter than their prophetic counterparts. Most often they run to no longer than three lines. All occurrences of the form evince the basic twofold structure typical of the prophetic woe; variations expand one part or the other, usually with a line or two. The simplest version of the form is a distich (e.g., 95:5; 98:13, 14; 99:11). The two

1 See Waldemar Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracles* (BZAW 125; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972). The translation of Gk. οὐαί in a modern English edition of 1 Enoch is problematic since the expression "woe" is considered archaic. "Alas!" is a more modern equivalent but creates problems when used to describe the genre, particularly in the plural. A word denoting a curse might carry the emotion and vehemence of these sayings, but suggests a technical usage for which other words were available. So I have retained the familiar old onomatopoeic equivalent of the Semitic cry. My thanks to Willis Barnstone, Waldemar Janzen, and John Strugnell for advice. The practical translation decision is my own. K. C. Hanson ("How Honorable! How Shameful! A Cultural Analysis of Matthew's Makarisms

and Reproaches," *Semeia* 68 [1996] 81–111) argues that the woes and makarisms should be understood within a culture of honor and shame and translated accordingly. Without denying this cultural context, I believe that the two-part structure of the woes and makarisms, and the analogous two-part structure of the related exhortations (see below §§1.1.2; 1.1.5.2.) requires a translation that emphasizes not honor and shame in the culture but the happy or ominous consequences of the behavior described in the first part of the respective form.

Table ■
Enochic Woe Forms

Part I			Part II		
<i>Address</i>	<i>Additional Characterization</i>	<i>Additional Addressees</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Additional Indictment</i>	<i>Additional Description</i>
"Woe to . . . who . . .	and who . . .	and who . . .	For you will be . . .	because you . . .	And you will be . . ."
94:6a	6b		6c		6d
94:7a			7b		7c
94:8a			8b	8c	
95:4a			4b		
95:5a			5b		
95:6a			6b		6c
95:7a			7b		7c
96:4a	4b		4c		4d
96:5-6					
5a	5bc				
6a			6b	6c	
96:7a			7b		
96:8a			8b		8c
97:7a			7b		
97:8-10					
8a	8b-9		10abc	10d	10e
98:9a	9c		9b		9de
98:11a	11bcd		11e		
98:12a			12c		12de
98:13a			13b		
98:14a			14b		
98:15-16					
15			16		
99:1a	1b		1c		
99:2a	2bc		2d		
99:11a			11b		
99:12a	12b		12c		
99:13a	13b		13c		
99:14a	14b		14c		
99:15-16					
15a	15b		16a		16bcde
100:7a	7b		7c		
100:8a	8b		8c		
100:9ab	9c		9d		
103:5-8					
5ab, 8eα	5c-6		7a, 8eβ	7	b, 8a-d

lines in each of these woes are related to each another in terms of sin and judgment. Part I describes the sins for which part II specifies the judgment. The speaker bewails the evildoers because of the judgment that is about to overtake them. The reason for the specific nature of the judgment is often not clear, although in a number of cases the principle of *quid pro quo* is evident (95:5; 98:12-13; 99:11, 15).²

In some woes the first clause is expanded to clarify or underscore the seriousness of the sin of the evildoers (e.g., 95:6; 99:2; and 94:8, where the expansion of part I occurs physically after part II). Part II of the woe can also be expanded (e.g., 94:6; 95:7; 100:8).

Other woes have more complex expansions of the basic form and the aforementioned simple variations. In 96:5-6 two complementary woes coalesce, with the second woe providing a judgment clause for both woes. In two cases a woe has been expanded through the interpolation of a second form (97:7-10; 103:5-8). Part I is expanded through the use of a form that consists of assertion and refutation: "You say . . . | You err . . . (Know . . .)" (see below §1.1.5.3).

The structure of the woes offers a capsule summary of the author's worldview and message. Built into the woes in both their simple and elaborated forms is a contrast and complementarity between present sin and future judgment. The main characters—who appear in every case—are evildoers. Their deeds, which are their salient feature, are construed as sin. Because of this sin, God will punish the sinners. Thus the irreducible common point of these woes is the relationship: sinner|God; sin|judgment. A secondary relationship is inherent in the nature of the sinners' deeds. Their sin is of two sorts: acts of social oppression against other human beings; and false religious teaching, which perverts divine truth and leads other human beings to stray from that truth. In either case the violation of divine law involves an offense against other human beings. These latter are, for the most part, members of the author's

own group or persuasion, who are known as "the righteous" and "the pious." Thus the woes describe an unresolved tension and its resolution. The unrequited deeds of the wicked (part I) stands in tension with the concept of divine justice, which will be enacted in the judgment (part II). This tension is paralleled by another. The righteous fail to receive the divinely promised reward of their righteousness—a tension that is heightened by the fact that they suffer this injustice at the hands of the sinners. The resolution of these tensions is the subject especially of the second literary form, the exhortation.

1.1.2. Exhortations

This bipartite form, which occurs in biblical books ranging from the Hexateuch, through Second Isaiah, to the Chronicler,³ provides a mirror image of the Enochic woes. The exhortations are addressed to the righteous rather than the sinners. Accordingly, part I begins with a word of encouragement to those suffering evil—which is sometimes alluded to in part I. Part II cites the future judgment as the reason for this encouragement.

Different from the woes, the addresses in the exhortations vary: 95:3 ("Fear not"); 96:1 ("Be hopeful"); 96:3 ("Fear not"); 97:1 ("Take courage"); 102:2–103:4 ("Fear not," "take courage," "do not grieve," "fear not"); 104:2-3, 4-5 ("Take courage"); 104:6 ("Fear not"). In common, however, they encourage the righteous in the face of the inequities that the woes spell out and to which the exhortations allude (circumstances). In part II the exhortations describe the judgment in two aspects. 95:3, 96:1, and 97:1 refer to the punishment of the sinners, in the first two cases at the hands of the righteous. These texts are especially reminiscent of biblical holy war oracles.⁴ 96:3, 102:4–104:4, and 104:6 focus on the coming glory of the righteous. The closest biblical parallels to these texts occur in Second Isaiah. In 92:2-5 and 104:2-3, 4-5, both aspects are mentioned. Thus the bipartite form of the exhortations expresses the same message as the woes: the tension of present inequities

2 On the "Talionstil" in biblical woes, see Janzen, *Mourning Cry*, 27–39. On the *jus talionis* in the NT, see Ernst Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) 66–81.

3 Cf. Gen 15:1; 21:17; Exod 14:13; 20:20; Num 14:9; Deut 1:21; 3:22; 20:3; 2 Sam 9:7; 13:28; 1 Chr 28:20;

2 Chr 20:17; Isa 35:4; 41:13; 43:1; 44:2ff.; 51:7-8; 54:4.

4 Cf. esp. Num 21:34; Deut 3:2; Josh 8:1.

Table 9
The Enochic Exhortations

	Part I			Part II	
	<i>Address</i>	<i>Circumstances</i>	<i>Expansion</i>	<i>Judgment</i>	<i>Expansion</i>
	"Fear not..	Present ills		"for . . ."	
	"Take Courage . . .				
	O righteous"				
92:2-5	2aα	2aβ		2b	3-5
95:3	3aα	3aβ		3b	3c
96:1	1a			1b	1c
96:3	3aα	3aβ		3bcd	
97:1	1a			1bc	
102:4-103:4	4a				
	4b				
	5aα	5aβbc	6-11	103:1-4e	
	103:4fα	4fβ			
104:2-3	2a	2b		2-3	
104:4-5	4a			4b	5
104:6	6aα	6aβ	5bc	5d	

will be overcome in the judgment, when the sinners will be punished (in part by those whom they now oppress) and the righteous will be rewarded for the conduct and faith that they have maintained in spite of their present circumstances.

1.1.3. Descriptions of the Future

Although the woes and exhortations refer to the judgment, and occasionally to specific details of it and its consequences, detailed reference to it is reserved mainly for another group of passages whose content is almost exclusively a description of the events associated with the judgment (97:5-6; 99:3-5; 100:1-6; 100:10-13; 102:1-3; 104:10-11, 12-13; 105:1-2). The characteristic formal features of these passages are the introductory adverbial expression "(And) then" (or "In those days"), the future tense, and a poetic structure—a combination reminiscent of prophetic idiom. Taken together, these passages constitute a scenario for the events of the end time (see below §§1.2; 2.1).

1.1.3.1. The Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17)

The Apocalypse of Weeks is a special instance of a description of the future. Written from the perspective

of Enoch's time, it periodizes history from creation to the eschaton. Its climax is in the three "weeks" in which judgment will be executed. Although the apocalypse foretells certain events, there is little detailed description. The author's purpose is, first, schematic. Human beings are characterized as "righteous and chosen" and "wicked," and their deeds, as "righteousness" and "violence, deceit, and perversion." History and the eschaton are schematized into periods. Second, as in the rest of these chapters, the author asserts that human deeds, good and evil, are subject to inevitable divine judgment. Finally, the structure of the apocalypse provides a time referent for the coming judgment, which elsewhere is mentioned without specific temporal reference.

1.1.4. Revelatory Formulas

Sprinkled through these chapters is a group of brief formulas that characterize as revelation the material that they introduce. They are paralleled in contemporary Jewish literature, in testamentary sections, usually as introductions to forecasts of the future. Most frequent are forms of the verbs "to know" (94:5, 10; 97:2; 98:8, 10, 12; 100:10; 104:7; cf. 91:1, 5, 18, ²*a'mara*, ²*ayde'a* Ⓢ; ([ἐπι]γινώσκω Ⓢ^{CB}) and "to show" (104:7; cf. 91:1, 18,

ܐܪܥܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ), which probably reflect Aram. ערע, חס. Especially noteworthy is the use of the first person singular “I know” and “I know a (this) mystery” (103:2; 104:10, 12).

Related to these last formulas but stronger in their assertion are the occurrences of the oath formula “I swear to you” ([ܐܓܕ] ܕܡܢ ܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ, 98:1, 4, 6; 99:6; 103:1; 104:1). In almost all of these instances, as in the cases cited in the previous paragraph, these formulas introduce information about events in the future or in the heavenly realm, identifying that information as divine revelation of hidden matters. This in turn characterizes the author’s message about the judgment—conveyed in the woes, exhortations, and descriptions of the future—as revealed truth.

1.1.5. Other Forms and Formulas

Rarely occurring in the text but noteworthy are several other forms and formulas well known from canonical and extracanonical sapiential literature. Here all of them introduce material that is associated with human conduct, the judgment, or revelation.

1.1.5.1. Two-Ways Instruction

The two ways of human conduct and their results in life and death, reward and punishment, are the subject of 94:1-6. Here, as in the testamentary section in 91:3e-4, 18-19, the motif is embodied in the form of commands spoken by Enoch to his children or spiritual descendants, the righteous. See Excursus: The Two Ways.

1.1.5.2. A Beatitude

Again using a form at home in wisdom literature, the author pronounces a blessing on those who learn the commandments of God and walk in the paths of his righteousness and do not err with those who err (99:10; cf. 81:4; 82:4). This conduct, described in two-ways categories, will be rewarded in the judgment.

1.1.5.3. “Do Not Say”

The formula “Do not say,” employed, for example, in Sir 16:17-23 and 4Q416 2 3:12-14 in a form that cites an opinion in order to refute it, occurs in 1 Enoch 103:9 and 104:7 in a major section that cites erring opinions about the failure or lack of divine justice in order to refute them with revelation (cf. also 97:7-10; 98:6-8).

1.1.5.4. An Appeal to Contemplate Creation

In chap. 101 the author appeals to the sinners to take a lesson from creation, where God’s judgment is enacted

and revealed. The formula “Contemplate . . . look” occurs in 1 Enoch 2-5 and in similar texts in the wisdom literature (see comm. on 2:1).

1.1.6. Summary

The individual forms and formulas that make up these chapters embody a common message. In the coming judgment, God will recompense the righteous and the sinners according to their deeds. This message is announced as divine revelation. The respective forms and formulas are paralleled in the prophetic and wisdom literatures, where they also embody the judgment theme and where they often have revelatory connotations. For a discussion of the Epistle’s view of the judgment, see below §2.1.

1.2. Literary Structure

Although the document comprises many small units, these have been gathered with considerable literary skill into a unified work with direction and generic shape. As a whole the document imitates the genre of an epistle, and it purports to have been written by Enoch the scribe to his sons and his spiritual descendants in the latter generations (see comm. on 92:1). The superscription identifies the author and the addressees, and the last verse suggests the epistolary greeting, “Peace!”

In content and terminology, the opening chapters parallel the beginning of the Book of the Watchers:

Superscription	92:1	1:1, [2fg]
Enoch’s discourse	93:1a	1:2a
Addressees	93:2a	1:3
Revelatory source	93:2g-i	[1:2c-e]
Apocalypse	Oracle about	
leading to judgment	93:3-10; 91:11-17	judgment 1:3–5:9

Immediately after the superscription, the author introduces the theme of the judgment (92:2-5). The Apocalypse of Weeks provides a temporal reference for this event (93:1-10; 91:11-17). The twin nouns “violence and deceit,” which characterize the generation of the flood (93:4b) and the seventh week (91:11), describe the human condition that calls forth the two judgments in ancient and end times.

This violence and deceit will be the subject of the main part of the Epistle. Together with their polar opposites, righteousness and truth, they constitute the two

ways of human conduct, which are introduced in the double commands in 94:1-3, 4-5. These commands are directed to the double addressees of the Epistle: my children (94:1); and the righteous of the end-time generation (94:3), to whom violence and death have been revealed (94:2). These two groups are those who precede the two judgments mentioned in the Apocalypse of Weeks.

The major part of the Epistle (94:6–104:8) divides into six lengthy discourses of similar structure, in which the author organizes the smaller units described above (see the introduction to each of these discourses):

1. 94:6–96:3
2. 96:4–98:8
3. 98:9–99:10
4. 99:11–100:6
5. 100:7–102:3
6. 102:4–104:8

The discourses and their component parts expound the major themes of the Epistle: the two ways of violence and deceit and of righteousness; God's judgment for both. The accumulation of the woes provides, in effect, a description of the conduct of the sinners. The exhortations are appeals primarily to the faith and steadfastness that will result in divine vindication. One hears occasional warnings not to associate with the sinners. As we have seen, the theme of judgment is an integral part of both forms, but its exposition occurs primarily in separate, descriptive units (§1.1.3).

The individual discourses alternate between addresses to the sinners and to the righteous. In all but the fourth and fifth discourses, this alternation is repeated in two more or less symmetrical parts, the precise nature of which differs among the discourses.

The organization of the six discourses is by no means arbitrary. Each discourse has a major theme. In the first three discourses the theme is governed by the nature of the sins attributed to the wicked: violence and social oppression in the first and second discourses, false teaching in the third discourse. In the fourth and fifth discourses the author emphasizes the judgment rather than the specific deeds to be judged. This emphasis is effected through the predominating use of the descriptions of the judgment (§1.1.3). Taken together, the descriptions in the third, fourth, and fifth discourses (99:4-5; 100:1-4; 100:10-13; 102:1-3) constitute a scenario

that moves from terror to terror: mothers will abandon their young; fathers and sons and brothers will engage in mutual murder; creation will turn against the sinners; God will appear in the company of his heavenly entourage. The emotional pitch of the work rises in the fifth discourse, as the author warns the sinners of their helplessness before a creation that will act as the irresistible agent of God's judgment, and before the divine presence itself.

The sixth discourse brings the theme of judgment to a resounding climax by focusing on theodicy—the problem of whether there is such judgment—and on the most difficult aspect of the problem, viz., an unjust death. Working partly with vastly expanded woes and admonitions, using the oath formula that has occurred previously in a few places, and structuring the whole in the form of a disputation, the author deals with the sad plight and sorry death of the righteous and the prosperity and long life of the sinners. He quotes the respective parties in order to refute them. Not even death can prevent the fulfillment of divine justice.

The negative imperative form of the final address to the sinners in the sixth discourse leads to another negative address (104:9). Here the theme of social oppression that has pervaded the sixth discourse gives way to a concern about the second kind of sin: religious error. Thus this verse forms a transition to the conclusion of the Epistle. The author asserts that he knows two secrets about the end time. Sinners will pervert the truth. The righteous will be given the books of Enoch and the wisdom in them that leads one on the ways of truth. The righteous in turn will be witnesses on these matters to the rest of humanity. The themes struck in the superscription are sounded again. The gift of eschatological wisdom promised in the Apocalypse of Weeks is identified as the contents of the Enochic corpus. The Epistle ends with conscious reference to itself and its salvific function. The shalom greeting frequent in an epistle is identified with the eschatological peace that belongs to those who accept the message of this Epistle.

1.3. The Epistle of Enoch in the Context of the Enochic Corpus

This matter, which has been discussed in the Introduction §3.1.3 and the Excursuses: The Literary Unity of

1–36, etc., and *An Earlier Context and Function for 81:1–82:4*, can be summarized here. The Epistle is the last major component of a text that was composed as an Enochic testament (1–36 + 81:1–82:4 + 83–90 + 91:1–10, 18–19 + 92–105). Within that context, the Epistle serves as the deposit of Enochic ethical and eschatological wisdom, based on his visions of heaven and the rest of the cosmos (chaps. 12–36; 81:1–4), written by the patriarch before his assumption to heaven (81:5–10), and transmitted to Methuselah and his brothers (82:1–4; 91). In the real world of its author it is directed primarily to the righteous of the latter days (82:2b–4; 92:1). In its present form it is bracketed by a brief survey of world history (91:5–10), which parallels the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (93:1–10 + 91:11–17), and by the story of the birth of Noah (chaps. 106–107), which also contains a survey of history that parallels 91:5–10 (106:13–107:1).⁵

1.4. The Epistle's Dependence on Other Parts of 1 Enoch

Although within 1 Enoch the Epistle is an integral literary component of a larger work, it is widely assumed that the Epistle existed at one time as a separate document. The evidence of neither 4QEn^g nor the Chester Beatty Papyrus, however, proves that the Epistle had independent status prior to its incorporation into an Enochic testament (see Introduction §§2.1.2.1; 2.2.4).

What the content of the Epistle does indicate, however, is that at many points it presumes the contents of the *Book of the Watchers* and the testamentary narrative in chaps. 81–92. In summarizing these parallels, I include material from the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, recognizing that its place in the literary history of the Epistle is uncertain.

As noted above (§1.2), the opening lines of the Epistle and the introduction to the *Apocalypse of Weeks* imitate the opening of the *Book of the Watchers*.

The descriptions of the righteous and sinners and the nature of salvation in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and in certain parts of the Epistle closely parallel those in both the oracle in chaps. 1–5 and the description of the eschaton in 10:16–11:2, and they also recall elements in chaps. 81–82. The *Apocalypse* is directed to “the right-

eous and chosen,” the same designations used for the addressees of the oracle. The designation of the eschatological community as “the plant of righteousness” is common to 93:10 and 10:16. Its foil in the *Apocalypse* is a perverse generation (93:9), and this reference and many others in the Epistle to those who alter the truth (see *Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies*) has an exact counterpart in the oracle, which contrasts the unalterable faithfulness of the heavenly bodies and the sinners’ changing of their deeds. The receipt and possession of eschatological wisdom is perhaps the salient characteristic of the righteous and chosen of the end time according to the oracle (5:8) and the *Apocalypse* (93:10), and this wisdom is identified in large part with Enoch’s words according to 82:1–3, 92:1, and 104:12–13. In 91:14 and 105:1–2, as in 10:21–11:2, salvation is extended from the community of the righteous to others in the world, who will become righteous.

References to the theophany as part of the coming judgment (100:4; 102:1–3) recall the oracle (1:3–7, 9; cf. also 91:7–9), and the language of formulas in 101:1–3 is beholden to 1:9 and 2:1–5:4.

Presumed at a number of points in the Epistle are the visions described in chaps. 12–36 and 81:1–4. The fragmentary text at the end of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* refers to Enoch’s unique knowledge of the cosmos (93:11–17). Numerous references to the angelic record of heavenly deeds (see *Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes*) recall Enoch’s inspection of the heavenly tablets (81:1–4). Similarly, in 103:3 Enoch bases his promises of salvation on his viewing of those heavenly tablets (not specifically mentioned in the extant descriptions of Enoch’s visions) on which are written the good things that are prepared for the righteous. See also Enoch’s vision in chaps. 24–25. Within this same context references to Sheol recall the descriptions and even the wording of chap. 22 (see comm. on 102:4–5; 103:5–6), and again Enoch’s revelatory claims presume his visions.

The heavenly books frequently alluded to in the Epistle are often mentioned in the context of human pleas for vindication and the angelic mediators of these pleas. This collocation of ideas is found not in the Enochic visions in chaps. 12–36 but in the account of the angelic intercession in chap. 9 and similar descrip-

5 See VanderKam, “Studies,” 515.

tions in Enoch's dream vision in 89:59-64, 70-71, 76-77; 90:14, 17.

This evidence clarifies several issues. A number of crucial theological ideas in the Epistle have close counterparts in the earlier parts of 1 Enoch. Enoch's authority in the Epistle is based on his claim to have received the visionary revelations described in the earlier part of the corpus. Language and phraseology in the Epistle have been drawn from the earlier part. From this one may draw two conclusions. First, the author of the Epistle knew the earlier parts of the corpus. Second, his allusions presume that his audience knew (about) the accounts of Enoch's visions. The precise relationship between the two sections may, however, be multilayered. I may cite one example. The language of 102:4–103:8 has important parallels in chaps. 22 and 24–25. As the text of chaps. 102–103 stands, it is logically posterior to chaps. 22 and 24–25, for it presupposes the visions that these chapters describe. On the other hand, the visions presuppose an exposition of the problems of theodicy along the lines worked out in chaps. 102–103.

Thus the account of Enoch's visions and the theological expositions in the Epistle complement one another. In its present form, however, the Epistle presumes the Book of the Watchers. If, prior to its incorporation into the Enochic testament, the Epistle was preserved on manuscripts separate from those that contained the visions, it was preserved within a communal context that knew and used the accounts of the visions.

2.0. The Symbolic Universe of the Epistle

The author of the Epistle has created a symbolic universe that depicts the structure of reality in terms of a series of polar opposites.

The first in this series contrasts good and evil and and their human embodiment:

chosen, pious, righteous	sinners, godless, wicked
two plants, two structures	
two ways:	
righteousness	violence, wickedness
truth	falsehood, error, perversity
	to alter, change
wisdom	folly

Humanity is divided into two groups: those chosen by God, who are "pious" or devoted to God, and whose piety is evident in their righteous or upright deeds; the

godless, whose salient feature is their wickedness, which is characterized as "sin." These two categories of humanity are sometimes depicted in collective terms such as two plants or two buildings or structures, which are described especially by means of the following terms. Particularly prominent in the Epistle is the imagery of the two ways. Opposed are the ways of righteous or upright conduct toward others (אֲשֶׁר) and violence (חֲמָסָא), as well as the ways of truth (אֱמֻנָא) and falsehood (שֶׁקֶר) or error (πλάνησις | πλάνη, probably translating טעות). The latter word pair applies mainly to false teaching, and the imagery of erring or straying is especially appropriate to the metaphor of the way or path. The opposites here depicted are faithful adherence to what is right, and "changing" or "altering" or "perverting" the truth. Related to the concepts of truth and error, but also to the conduct that derives from them, are "wisdom," which comes from God, and its opposite, "folly." Although the pairs "righteousness"/"sin" and "truth"/"error" refer primarily to deeds and teaching, respectively, they are closely related. For this author, as for most Jews of his time, what one teaches is primarily how to conduct one's life.

A second set of polar opposites contrasts what *is* with what *ought to be*, and *will be* or what *seems to be* with what *really is*:

<i>present injustice</i>	<i>what one deserves</i>
what now is in a sinful world	what will be after the judgment
evident lack of divine justice	reality of divine justice
what one sees and experiences	what one does not see or
here and now	experience, but exists and is
	happening in heaven

These opposites contrast one's present perception of an unjust world with the reality of divine justice, which will be enacted in the judgment in the as yet unseen future and which is already in the process of happening in the unseen heavenly realm.

One noteworthy signifier of these opposites is the widespread use of the grammatical negative or its logical equivalent. The negative imperative in the exhortations admonishes the righteous to desist from attitudes and emotions that fail to distinguish between the phenomenal and the real. The negative imperative "Say not" rejects as untrue similar verbal expressions of the same lack of discernment by both the righteous and the sinners. Other uses of the negative: *assert* that things are not as they should be, or as they are believed to be;

promise that the fate of the righteous will not be as that of the sinners; *forbid* wrong conduct or criticize it as being not right; *warn* sinners that their expectations will not be fulfilled. Logically related to the use of the grammatical negative are the use of the verb “to be destroyed” or “to perish” (ἀπόλλυμι, translating אָבַד) to designate the annihilation of the sinners who now unjustly prosper, and the adjective “all” to signify the ultimate triumph of divine power and justice in contrast to the present lack of them. Common to this use of the grammatical and logical negative is the explicit contrast between the phenomenal and the real and between right and wrong perceptions of what these are and the explicit criticism of right and wrong actions and attitudes based on these perceptions. The function of the negative is to focus on the *wrong* in order to show what is *right*.

The author of the Epistle depicts reality, then, through a series of contrasts. Essential to these contrasts is a sense of rightness and wrongness. There are a kind of conduct and an ethical teaching that encourage that which is “upright” and “true” and “wise.” The conduct and teaching that differ from these are “perverse, false, and foolish” and “stray” from the way and “change” or “alter” the truth. Alongside the rightness and wrongness of such conduct and teaching are the rightness and wrongness of situations and events that do or do not evidence divine reward and punishment on those who deserve the one or the other. The world as the author experiences it is marked by the absence of such justice and is thus out of joint, wrong, and unwhole. At the same time, the author characterizes as wrongheaded those who perceive this situation as the whole or final picture. Both the complaints of the righteous and the boasting of the sinners err from the truth. Thus the author’s view of reality is paradoxical, literally. Wrongness will be overcome by right and injustice by justice. Indeed, all evidence to the contrary, this is already happening. For this reason the author primarily uses literary forms that embody the paradox: woes on the sinners in spite of the present prosperity and success in wickedness; exhortations that the righteous take courage and rejoice in spite of their present ills.

It remains to place the author and his writing in this symbolic universe. Briefly stated, the author is the true interpreter of reality and the mediator of salvation to those who embrace this interpretation, and his book

(and others like it) is the instrument by which this interpretation and mediation take place.

If reality vacillates between the poles of truth and falsehood, the author discerns truth and falsehood. He understands the commandments of God, the true teaching that expounds them, and the right conduct that constitutes obedience to them, and he perceives their false and perverse counterparts. At the same time he knows that God is just and that complaints or claims to the opposite do not reflect reality.

The basis of the author’s statements about right and wrong are rooted in the claim that he is mediating revelation. The contents of his book are a deposit of tradition that derives from the patriarch Enoch and that was based on his receipt of revelation.

2.1. The Great Judgment According to the Epistle

Thus God will, of necessity, intervene through a great, final judgment that will set right the wrongs that characterize reality as the author and his audience experience it. The centrality of this belief in the coming judgment is evident in the manner in which the author structures the assertion of that belief into the literary forms that constitute the warp and weft of the Epistle (§1.1.1–3). Woes threaten destruction for sins committed against God and the righteous. Exhortations promise the faithful not only vindication but also participation in the destruction of the sinners. Descriptions present vivid vignettes of the event. The theme also recurs in the repeated use of the two-ways imagery (see Excursus: The Two Ways). The absolutely righteous character of this judgment is evident both in the references to the quid pro quo principle of appropriate recompense expressed in the woes (94:6-7; 95:5, 7; 96:6; 98:11-12; 100:7-9) and in the detailed description of the coming reversal of fortunes in chaps. 102–104 (see comm. on 103:3-4, 7-8; 104:1-6).

Two biblical themes help to color the theme of judgment in these chapters. The parallel between the flood and the final judgment, which predominates in other parts of 1 Enoch (cf. chaps. 6–11; 65–67; 85–90; 91:5-9; 106–107) is alluded to in the reference to “the first end”

in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:4). Similarly, traditional holy warfare language describes the participation of the righteous in the judgment (see 95:3; 96:1; and comm. on 95:3).

The Epistle refers to this participation in the judgment in several other ways. The righteous will catalyze the judgment through their prayers (97:5; 99:3), violently eliminate their enemies by the sword (91:12; 98:12), and then hold the punished sinners in contempt (97:1).

In order to describe the judgment, the author has assembled a variety of traditional material on the topic, some parts of it not wholly consonant with others. In heaven the angels record human sins, day by day (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). The heavenly bodies and elements also serve as witnesses (100:10-11). Human prayer leads the angels to bring their written record to God's attention (97:5-6; 99:3; cf. 104:1). The righteous participate in the execution of the judgment, whether as witnesses (93:10) or as wielders of God's sword (see above), but at least some of them are under divine protection during the hurly-burly of the judgment (96:2; 100:5). The human tumult of the last days is also a function of divine judgment, as nations collapse and collide and family life disintegrates (99:3-5; 100:1-3). In the midst of all this, the elements that have witnessed human sin punish it through drought and icy chill (100:11-13). But, most important, the heavenly Judge appears with the divine entourage and metes out justice on the sinners, which judgment throws the cosmos into disarray, engulfing it in the belching flames of divine wrath (100:4; 102:1-3).

Taken together, these passages may present a staged scenario for the judgment: witnesses, recording of deeds, prayer that catalyzes judgment, human tumult (including perhaps the participation of some of the righteous), the involvement of the elements, the final and definitive theophany. Alternatively, it is safer to suppose that the author has heaped up traditional topoi about the judgment to assert the certainty of the event. Only in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which is a discrete piece of tradition (see comm. on 93:1-10; 91:11-17), do we see a clearly delineated set of events: flood (93:4), the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. (93:8), a first judgment in which the righteous serve as witnesses (93:10; 91:11), a righteous judgment by the righteous on "all the

wicked" (91:12), a universal judgment over all the earth (91:14), the judgment of the heavenly watchers (91:15).

As elsewhere in 1 Enoch, the judgment, when fully consummated, will be final. Judgment on the sinners is "destruction" (98:3, 9, 10, 16; 99:1, 9, 16)—whether this means extinction or eternal punishment in the fires of Sheol (103:8). Along with this punishment of individual sinners will be the cosmic removal of all sin and iniquity (99:4; 100:6; cf. explicitly 91:14). The counterpart to the eternal punishment of sinners and total removal of sin will be the ascent of the righteous into the company of the angels (104:4-6). This last passage envisions heaven as the final realm for the reward of the righteous, and in this respect it appears to differ from the Apocalypse of Weeks, which anticipates the purification of an earth that will complement the creation of a new heaven (91:14-17).

Although the body of the Epistle indicates no timetable for the coming of the judgment, its imminence is indicated by the frequent use of the adverb "quickly" (*ταχέως/ταχύ*, *ḥetuna*; 94:1, 6, 7; 95:6; 96:1, 6; 97:10; 98:16) in conjunction with the verb "destroy" or its synonym. The logic of the text, with its appeal to the righteous to stand fast, also requires this interpretation.

3.0. The Historical Setting, Provenance, and Function of the Epistle

At least four factors must qualify any conclusions about the historical setting of the Epistle of Enoch. (1) There is some uncertainty about the literary limits of the text we are discussing: where does it begin and end, and are there any interpolations? (2) Related to the last point is the question of literary levels. To what extent does the text incorporate traditional material that was generated at different times and places? (3) The contents of the woes may be consonant with events in a number of time periods. (4) We know far too little about the specifics of the political, economic, social, and religious history of Judaism in the Greco-Roman period. Acknowledging and expanding on these caveats, one may attempt, nonetheless, to locate the text in its social, religious, and temporal setting, indicating the degree of probability for the conclusions.

3.1. Literary and Interpretive Problems

Most commentators of these chapters treat chaps. 92–105 as a literary unit, composed, perhaps, of traditional materials (notably the Apocalypse of Weeks), but also as the unified literary product of a single author. The discovery of the fragments of 4QEn^g has complicated the issue and led some to reconsider the original order of chaps. 91–94.⁶ The evidence as it relates to the whole of chaps. 92–105 is also problematic, however. The extant fragments of 4QEn^g break off before the beginning of the woes, and the last fragment of 4QEn^c (which ms. includes the Book of the Watchers, the Animal Vision, and the story of Noah's birth) begins only with the very last verse of chap. 104 (§2.1.2.1). Working from this evidence, and on the basis of literary considerations (§3.1.2.2), I believe that the body of the Epistle (94:6–104:8) should be interpreted as an independent composition.⁷

While it is probable that these chapters contain traditional material, their general unity of subject matter and their carefully crafted literary structure suggest that we may interpret the text as the product of a single author, who had investment in and control of his material, as he shaped it for his own purposes.⁸ I assume, therefore, that the author considered both the material he composed and the traditions he transmitted to speak relevantly to his own circumstances.

The specificity of the descriptions of social and religious sins in the woes invites one to take them together as a composite picture of the author's world. Indeed, this specificity would render the indictments pointless if they did not speak to real circumstances. Thus, excepting charges like murder and robbery (which may be rhetorical exaggerations for acts of oppression con-

strued as leading to death or depriving one of one's due), it seems justified to extrapolate from the woes some information about the world of the author and his audience. The term *specificity* must be qualified, however. The original readers of this text would have understood to what acts, precisely, the author made reference. For readers two millennia removed, they fall short of the kind of exact description that would have been required in the court of law to which the author would gladly have appealed. Thus they offer us a view of the author's world, albeit one diffused by a scrim.

3.2. Social, Economic, Political, and Religious Circumstances

Dominating the picture presented by the woes is the charge that the rich and powerful oppress the weak. The rich build their houses "with the bricks and stones of sins" and "not by their own labor" (94:7; 99:12). That is, they use slaves, or pay low wages or withhold them, or build with materials gotten by wrongful means (see comm. on 99:12–14). They hold slaves (98:4; cf. 103:11, 15, and comm. on 103:11b–13) and oppress the peasants, perhaps through high taxation and overwork (103:11–13; cf. 96:5).⁹ They commit physical violence (103:15). They manipulate the legal system, lying in court, rendering unfair verdicts (95:6), taking bribes (94:7), and ignoring the pleas of those who have been wronged (103:14–15). In addition, they parade about in fine clothing, banqueting sumptuously, while ignoring the needs of "the lowly" (96:4). They hoard up "silver and gold," acquired by unjust means (97:8; cf. 103:5).

The general contours of this picture are clear, even if the precise details are not always sharp. The rich exercise abusive power, but over whom? The word "poor"

6 The Aram. ms. (4QEn^g) began before the incipit of the Epistle, but cannot be shown to have contained the body of the Epistle (Nickelsburg, "Books of Enoch at Qumran," 103). In the Gk. papyrus, the subscript "Epistle of Enoch" after the story of Noah's birth seems to indicate that the text is an abstract from a longer text that has this appendix.

7 See Introduction §3.1.2.2 and Excursus: The Literary Unity . . . : Connection with Chapters 91–105. See also Boccardini, *Essene Hypothesis*, 104–13.

8 See, e.g., 99:1, where the author reinterprets an

anti-idolatry polemic to refer to false teaching (comm. on 98:15–99:2).

9 For an excellent discussion of these issues, received too late for integration in this commentary, see Horsley, "Social Relations." For a discussion of land tenure and related issues in Roman Palestine, see Douglas E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen, 1986) 37–91.

never occurs, and “lowly” is used only once (96:5). The author chooses, rather, to emphasize the injustice of the situation: he and his audience, dubbed “the righteous,” suffer unfairly. As we have seen, they include peasants and artisans. Whether they include people of other social classes is uncertain.¹⁰

Alongside this social conflict the author depicts, with equal bitterness, religious conflict between those of his persuasion and others, whose false and deceitful teaching “leads many astray” (see Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). Sometimes this false teaching is embodied in books (98:15).¹¹ Again the contours are clear, if the details are uncertain. False teachers propound interpretations of divine law that the author claims are perverting that law, are tantamount to idolatry, and lead to damnation (99:1-2). It is a time not simply of religious diversity, but also of theological divisiveness. Charges of actual idolatry are hard to place. The passage in 99:7-9 could be describing non-Jews rather than hellenizing Jews. But it attests a concern about the practice of idolatry that is too close for comfort.

3.3. Setting a Time Frame

Several factors suggest, with some probability, that the body of the Epistle was composed after the first third of the second century B.C.E.¹² First, the author knows the Book of the Watchers (see Introduction to chaps. 92-105, §1.4), which sets the terminus post quem ca. 200 B.C.E. (see Introduction §3.1.3.1). Second, he probably composed the text to fit into an Enochic testament that either included the Animal Vision (169-163 B.C.E.; see Introduction to chaps. 85-90, § Date) or predated it by a decade or so (see Introduction §3.1.3.1). Finally, the

author of *Jubilees*, who knows the testamentary form of the Enochic copus, including the Animal Vision (see Introduction §6.2.3.1), indicates no knowledge of the body of the Epistle. A high date for *Jubilees*, near the inception of the Maccabean revolt, again suggests the 160s as a terminus post quem.¹³ A low date for *Jubilees*, in the Hasmonean period, would lower the terminus post quem to the second half of the second century B.C.E.¹⁴

A terminus ante quem is more difficult to set. If the Qumran mss. 4QEn^c and 4QEn^g contained the body of the Epistle, then one could set the terminus in the first half of the first century B.C.E.; however, there is no certain evidence that either of the mss. contained the body of the Epistle (Introduction §2.1).

Suggesting that tensions between the rich and poor had disintegrated considerably since the time of ben Sira (198-175 B.C.E.), Tcherikover dates these chapters to the time of Alexander Janneus (103-76 B.C.E.).¹⁵ His argument is problematic, however. Ben Sira wrote as a member of the aristocracy who pleaded for responsible conduct toward the poor, whereas the author of the Epistle writes as a protagonist of the poor who was deeply sympathetic to their plight. The differences between the two writers' portrayal of rich and poor can be explained, in part, as the result of different perspectives.

Nonetheless, it remains quite possible that the Epistle was composed during the Hasmonean period and that it reflects the kind of conditions described by Tcherikover.¹⁶ Alternatively, one might posit a date that reflects antagonism toward the Herodian house and its aristocratic clients. A more definitive date for the Epistle will require a clear correlation between some of the charges in the Enochic woes and reliable historical data

10 For a discussion of the two-tiered social structure in Greco-Roman Palestine and the various social classes in this structure, see Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1988) 35-49.

11 Cf. 104:9-11, which may not belong to the body of the Epistle; see above, n. 7.

12 On this point I have modified my judgment in *Jewish Literature*, 149-50.

13 For this date see Nickelsburg, “Bible Rewritten,” 101-2.

14 See the discussion of VanderKam's lower date in *ibid.*, 102-3.

15 Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 258-62.

16 *Ibid.*, 254-65.

that pinpoint details in the Epistle uniquely to a particular period.

3.4. Author and Provenance

Data from the Epistle allow us to draw a profile of its author's religious provenance. On the basis of this profile we can make specific comparisons and contrasts with other literature from and about Greco-Roman Palestine. They do not, however, permit us to locate the author in any known religious party or sect. Like the rest of 1 Enoch, the text attests a religious diversity in this period that has yet to be mapped.

Since the author of 94:6–104:8 is the recipient, interpreter, and transmitter of Enochic traditions (Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.4), he must have belonged to a scholarly, if not a broader, religious community that identified with the ancient seer. His appeal to the Enochic visions and his claims to be the recipient of heavenly revelation, as well as his use of prophetic and sapiential idioms and literary forms and his concern to exhort ethical behavior, place him among “the wise,” a term he employs several times in the text (98:9; 99:10; 104:12). Thus he may have been known as *ḥakkīm*, *maškīl*, or *sāpar*. This elite status notwithstanding, he is a powerful and impassioned protagonist for the poor and oppressed.

While the author's preference for the term(s) “righteous (and pious)” rather than “poor” makes it difficult to determine whether his audience comprised only the poor (see above §3.2), the terminology he does employ helps us understand their religious self-identity. They consider themselves to be especially faithful to God and obedient to God's law. The term “the righteous” appears often in the woes and exhortations, and at several points it is coupled with “the pious” (see comm. on 92:3–4). These terms probably have exclusivistic or “sectarian” connotations, since the author pronounces damnation on those who teach contrary interpretations of divine

law (see Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). Paradoxically, he envisions the salvation of non-Israelites who convert to Enoch's teaching (100:6; cf. 91:14; 104:12–105:5). In this respect, his viewpoint is consonant with other strata of the Enochic tradition (see Introduction §4.2.5.8). Central to the author's expectation of a great final judgment is his belief in the resurrection of the righteous and the eternal destruction of the sinners (102:4–104:8). A corollary of this emphasis on the judgment is his assertion that human beings are responsible for their deeds (98:4–5).

This profile overlaps with the viewpoints of various texts of the Greco-Roman period and known Jewish religious groups, but it coincides wholly with none of them. The emphasis on human responsibility parallels Sir 15:11–17:24 (see comm. on 98:4–5) and *Ps. Sol.* 9:4–5. The terms “the righteous” and “the pious,” as well as a belief in resurrection, also appear in the *Psalms of Solomon*,¹⁷ but the apocalyptic environment of the Epistle is very different from the Davidic, restorationist eschatology of the *Psalms*. The use of “the pious” in these and other texts does not indicate that any of their authors belong to a formally organized group known as “the Hasidim.”¹⁸ Josephus's assertions that the Pharisees believed in human free will and in resurrection also parallel the Epistle;¹⁹ however, different from the Pharisees, who believed resurrection of the body, this author speaks of a resurrection of the spirit or soul and an ascent to the company of the angels (comm. on 102:4–5).

3.5. Function

The primary function of this writing is to assert the author's view of reality and its status as revealed truth, and to encourage the righteous and pious—the explicit addressees of the Epistle—to persevere in the conduct that the author construes as right and in the belief that that conduct will find its eschatological reward. The

17 For the occurrences of these terms, see Denis, *Concordance*, 271, 593, s.v. *δίκαιος* and *ὅσιος*. On resurrection in this text, see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 131–34.

18 On the problem of the Hasidim, see Introduction to chaps. 85–90, § Provenance: Possible Relationship to the Qumran Community and “the Hasidim”; and

Nickelsburg, “Social Aspects,” 647–48.

19 For the passages in Josephus, see *J.W.* 2.8.14 §§162–63 and *Ant.* 11.1.3 §§12–15. For a discussion of the Pharisees' belief in resurrection, see Hans Clemens Caesarius Cavallin, *Life After Death* (ConBNT 7/1; Lund: Gleerup, 1974) 141–46; Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*:

formal exhortations make explicit the implications of the cosmology spelled out in the visions in chaps. 17-36, and it is possible that the text as a whole, with its woes and exhortations, served roughly the same function, as the liturgical recitations of the blessings and curses in the Qumran Community Rule (1QS 1-2).²⁰ They reinforce the self-understanding of the righteous and the

pious. Moreover, taken together, the specific references to the sinners' punishment in the woes, the vivid descriptions of the judgment, and the claims that the righteous will participate in the judgment of the sinners suggest that the Epistle served a cathartic function for an audience that perceived itself as severely and unjustly victimized by its enemies.

Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? (2 vols.; EtB, n.s. 21; Paris: Gabalda, 1993) 1:213-15. For a discussion of the texts in Josephus, see Gerhard Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille* (WUNT 12; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1971) 11-23.

20 On the liturgical character of 1QS 1-2, see Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 167-70. See also comm. on 5:5-9.

- 1 Written by Enoch the scribe (this complete sign of wisdom^a) (who is) praised by all men
and a leader of the whole earth, to all my sons who will dwell upon the earth, and to the
last generations who will observe^b truth and peace.
- 2 Let not your spirit be troubled^a because of the times;
for the Great Holy One^b has appointed days for everything.
- 3 The righteous one^a will arise from sleep;^b
he will arise and walk in the paths^c of righteousness,^d
and all his path and his journey (will be) in piety^e and eternal mercy.
- 4 And he (God) will be merciful^a to the righteous one,^b
and to him^c he will give eternal truth;
and (to him) he will give authority,
and he will judge^d in piety and in righteousness;
and he will walk in eternal light.^e
- 5 Sin will be destroyed in darkness^a forever;
and it will not be seen^b from that day forever.

- 1a *zataṣəḥfa ʿemhēnok saḥafī (saḥafa a) zekwellu (ze om. y; zakwellu tT⁹; zakwello mqu) teʾmerta ṭebab ʿg | zataṣəḥfa ʿemhēnok maṣḥaf saḥafa ʿenka hēnok zakwello teʾmerta watemherta ṭebab* (“The book that was written by Enoch—Enoch indeed wrote this complete sign and teaching of wisdom”) *g.* Milik reconstructs 4QEn⁸ 1 2:22 (*Enoch*, 260–62): *ברא ייחב למתנושלח ברה* (“That which he wrote and gave to Meth[uselah, his son . . .]”). For the remainder of the verse, 4QEn⁸ 1 2:23–24 has only *לדררא אחררא* [. . .] *לדררא אחררא* (“[the w]isest of men and chos[en . . .] to the latter generations (and) to all . . . [”]). The text was obviously not the same as ʿ and cannot be reconstructed with any certainty.
- b *ʿella yegabberu | waʿiʿella yegabberu* (“and those who will not observe”) *bcdlvxya.*
- 2a 4QEn⁸ 1 2:25 (Milik, *Enoch*, 260) evidently differed somewhat from ʿ. Milik reconstructs: *אל תתון ברהשתא אנתון ורוחכון* (“ . . . Do not b[e] in distress, yo[u and your spirit . . .]”), but this is uncertain.
- b *qedduṣ waʿabiy* (“the Holy and Great One”) *gqT⁹,elaʿ.* On the title see comm. on 1:3c–4.
- 3a *ṣādeq qtu,β | ṣedq* (“righteousness”) *m.*
- b “his sleep” *mT⁹ 6281.*

- c “path” *β.*
- d The righteous one righteousness] “Wisdom will arise, and righteousness will walk” (*wayetnaṣṣā ʿṭebab wayaḥalleṣedq*) *g.*
- e “his piety” *m.*
- 4a + forever *m.*
- b *laṣādeq* | “to righteousness” (*laṣedq*) *gq.*
- c *walotu* | “and in him” (*wabotu*) *g.*
- d *wayekwēnnen tT⁹ 6281* | “and he will be” (*wayekawwen*) *gmqu,β* (cf. v 3c and 91:17 ʿ) + *waretʿ wa* (“in truth and”) *q.*
- e *wayaḥawwer baberhān zalaʿālam mt* | “and (om. obʿ) eternal light will come” (*wa[om. obʿ]yaḥawwer berhān zalaʿālam*) *β* | “and they will walk in eternal light” (*wayaḥawweru*, etc.) *gqu* and *T⁹* corrupt.
- 5a For *baṣelmat*, *T⁹u,h* read *waṣelmat* (“and darkness”), which is taken as a second subject of “will be destroyed,” which, however, is *sg.* (*tethagwal*) in all mss.; but see n. b.
- b A pl. form of this verb is read by *u,i*, according to Charles (*Eth. Enoch*, 194 n. 11), but by *q*, according to Knibb (*Enoch*, 1:348). The pl. would be consonant with the second subject mentioned in n. a above.

■ 1 The superscription of the book identifies the author and addressees of the work and provides a brief designation of its contents.¹ My comments must be qualified, however, by the discrepancies between the ʿ text and the very fragmentary ʒ (see nn. a and b).

The initial word, “What was written” (*zataṣəḥfa*), could reflect a finite verb preceded by a relative pronoun (די כתיב), a participle (כתיב), or, conceivably, a noun designating a writing or book (כתב or ספר). For Enoch as a scribe, see Introduction §5.2.4.1. Here the title is logi-

1 On the placement of 92:1, see Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91–93.

cally connected with his function as author of the book. Enoch is also designated as *makwannen* of all the earth. While the primary meaning of this Ethiopic word is “judge,” it can also translate words for “ruler,” “leader,” and “guide.”² This seems the more likely meaning here in view of 105:1, where the noun *marāhi* (“leaders” = ἡγούμενοι)³ designates the (spiritual) descendants of Enoch in their role as transmitters of his books.

The term *te'merta tebab* could translate σημείον σοφίας (“sign of wisdom”) or δῆλωσις σοφίας (“revelation [or ‘teaching’] of wisdom”).⁴ On this work as “wisdom,” see 82:2-3, 104:12, 105:1, and Introduction §4.2.5. The reference to its completeness could mean that it contains all wisdom (cf. 93:10, “sevenfold wisdom and knowledge”) or that the whole book is wisdom.

The double addressees—Enoch’s sons and the latter generations—correspond to a similar double audience indicated in 81:6; 82:1, 2; and 94:1, 3. In its fictive setting the book is given to Enoch’s sons; however, the real author’s viewpoint is that of one who lives in the latter days, and his contemporaries are the real addressees—the ones who live in the seventh or ninth week (93:10; 91:14). On the specific term אחרים לדריא, cf. CD 1:12, where the latter generations (דורות אחרונים) are the object of God’s revelation about his judgment on the wicked. The word pair “righteousness and peace” is rare in 1 Enoch. It occurs in 94:4 after reference to the generation to whom the paths of violence and death will be revealed (94:2); cf. also 105:2 (“truth” and “peace”). See comm. on 94:3-5b.

These chapters, then, are introduced as a revelation of wisdom that Enoch directs to his children and to the righteous of the end time. Parallels between this verse and the conclusion (104:12–105:2) hint at the continuity between Enoch as teacher and guide and the parallel function of the righteous, who will make use of his revelation.

According to 100:6 and the subscript that appears after chap. 107 in the papyrus of these chapters, this

work is designated as an ἐπιστολή or “letter.” The language of 92:1 may support this: the word *’emhēnok* (“from Enoch”) indicating the author, with the addressees prefaced by the preposition ἵ (“to”).⁵ While there is no typical greeting in this verse, it may be hinted at in the word “peace.” The final reference to “peace” in 105:2 may also be taken as a greeting.⁶

The reference to Enoch and to the latter generations as addressees may be an imitation of the superscription in 1:1-2.

■ 2-5 These verses introduce the Epistle by epitomizing its message. The righteous can take comfort during the present evil time because the sovereign God has fixed the times—both those of trouble and those of salvation. Verses 3-5 briefly anticipate the latter. The community of the righteous will appear and receive authority to participate in the coming judgment (vv 3-4). Then sin and the evils that result from it will be finally eliminated (v 5).

The timetable for this scenario is spelled out in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which follows immediately, and 104:12–105:2 serves as a reprise that brings the Epistle full circle.

The introduction has an a-b-b'-a' structure. Of the “days” appointed by God (v 2), the last will be the “day” on which sin is destroyed (v 5). Verses 3 and 4 constitute two parallel units describing the rise of the righteous community. Verses 4 and 5 are linked by the contrasting words “light” and “darkness.”

■ 2 This is the first of many exhortations in the Epistle and follows the form (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1.2): an introductory formula of encouragement; reference to the present troubles of the righteous, the reason for the encouragement. The original Aramaic wording of the introductory formula is uncertain (see n. a). As formulated, Ⲙ has no precise parallel in the Epistle. The Ethiopic verb (*’itehzan*, “be grieved”) could translate Gk. ἀδημονέω (“be troubled”), ἀθυμέω (“be discouraged”), or λυπέομαι (“be sorrowful”). In the last

2 See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 857, who lists such words as ἄρχων, ἡγούμενος, ἡγεμών.

3 See *ibid.*, 164.

4 For *te'mert* as a translation of δῆλωσις, see Lev 8:8. For the meaning “teaching” here, see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:222.

5 For the use of מן and ה in Aramaic epistolography,

see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Aramaic Epistolography,” in *idem*, *A Wandering Aramean* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 189–90.

6 On this greeting see *ibid.*, 194.

instance, the formula is paralleled by the exhortation in 102:5a, especially with its reference to the “souls” of the righteous. A similar formulation occurs in John 14:1 (μὴ παρασέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία, “Let not your heart be troubled”). With its use of the negative imperative, the present exhortation expresses the paradox of this author’s message: the righteous live in grief; but in view of the coming judgment, they can be admonished not to grieve. This tension between present and future is also expressed in the parallelism between lines a and b. Although the times (pl.) seem to be grounds for grief, God has set the days (pl.) for everything. God’s sovereignty is indicated in several ways. It is stressed in the title “the Great Holy One” (see comm. on 1:3c-4), which also occurs in the Epistle in 97:6; 98:6; 104:9. It is implied in the verb *wahaba* (lit. “has given” = Aram. ܐܬܬܝܒ). For this use of “give” to describe God’s sovereign determination of matters, cf. 98:4. Here God is the Lord of the whole of history and of the times in which all things happen. This a common and basic apocalyptic notion. Cf. 1QS 4:18-19 (see comm. on 92:5 below) and 4Q180 1:1: פֶּשֶׁר עַל הַקְּצִים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֵל (“Commentary on the periods that God made”).⁷ For another similar formulation cf. Acts 1:7: οὐχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶν γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ πατήρ ἔθετο ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ (“It is not for you to know the times and the seasons that the Father has set in his own authority”). Although Luke and our author disagree on one’s ability to know the times, they agree that God in his sovereignty disposes the times. Verses 3-4 and v 5 indicate the content of the good times to come and explicate the reason for the comfort here offered to the righteous.

■ 3-4 A series of words and expressions indicates the parallelism between these two verses: “the righteous one,” “walk,” “righteousness and goodness,” “mercy/be merciful.” The first problem of interpretation is the identification of “the righteous one.” Does it mean God or a particular righteous person, or is it used collectively of the righteous (pl.)? In view of v 4 the first meaning is

eliminated. The sovereign God is not given authority. The use of “the righteous one” (sg.) in a collective or typological sense is documented in Wisdom 2-5, which also refers to his authority to judge,⁸ and a similar usage occurs in 1 Enoch 38:2 of the Chosen One/son of man. The Epistle, however, uses the plural almost exclusively. The exception is 91:10, a passage that is probably dependent on the present one. There the singular is interpreted in a collective sense. While it is unlikely that that verse is original to the Epistle, it appears to reflect an early interpretation of this verse and of 93:10, where the plural is employed (see Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91-93). The collective or typological interpretation of this passage is accepted by Dillmann, Martin, and Charles,⁹ and it is borne out by other considerations that I shall discuss.

A second problem is the meaning of the terminology in v 3a. To “rise from sleep” could be a metaphor for the resurrection. Cf. Dan 12:2 and Isa 26:19.¹⁰ Since lines b and c refer to the conduct of “the righteous one,” however, it is more likely that the author speaks here of an awakening to wisdom and the righteous life that flows from it. Because of this awakening the persons in question can be called “the righteous one.” This interpretation is borne out by 93:10, which describes the constituting of the community of the chosen righteous ones, to whom wisdom is given. The same event is referred to in 91:10, which has been formulated on the basis of the present passage. Thus, when this author wishes to describe briefly the events of the end time, he refers to the awakening of the righteous community (hence the sg.). A similar focus will appear in 104:12-13. For the use of resurrection language to describe salvation, one may compare the Qumran *Hodayot*, 1QH 11(3):19-23 and 19(11):10-14 in particular.¹¹ In 1 Enoch 93:10 nothing specific is said about the state of the righ-

7 See the discussion of Milik, *Enoch*, 248-57.

8 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 58-68.

9 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 293; Martin, *Hénoch*, 241; Charles, *Enoch*, 224.

10 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 17.

11 Ibid., 152-56.

teous before their reception of wisdom, except that they live in a perverse generation. In the Animal Vision the imagery of blindness and the opening of the eyes is employed (89:74; 90:6-7). This parallels the metaphor of the present passage. The end time is marked by a religious or spiritual lethargy that is overcome by the revelation that the author presents. For a similar, later use of the sleep/awakening metaphor, cf. Eph 5:14, which quotes an unnamed source:¹²

ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων	Awake, O sleeper
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν	and arise from the dead;
καὶ ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ Χριστός	and the Christ will shine on you.

The last line is paralleled in v 4e below. Cf. also 1 Thess 5:1-10.

The language of the way or path of righteousness anticipates the imagery of the two ways in 94:1-5 and thus immediately strikes the strong ethical note that dominates the Epistle. The word pair “righteousness/piety” (*sedq/hirut*), which recurs in v 4, presumes the double title “the righteous and pious,” which appears in 102:4, 103:9, and 104:12. Mercy is here a quality of the righteous rather than that which they receive, as it is in v 4 (cf. 1:8; 5:6).

Verse 4 is a longer parallel strophe to v 3. Lines a, b, and c reverse the emphasis of v 3 by making the righteous one the object of God’s action (v 2b). Here, as in 1:8 and 5:6, the righteous one is the recipient of God’s mercy, which is basic to all that follows. The double use of the verb “give” (*yehub*) emphasizes God’s sovereignty and recalls the same verb in 92:2b. The righteous one is first the recipient of “eternal truth” or “eternal righteousness.” If the former meaning of קשטא is intended here (see comm. on 93:1-3a), the reference is to the righteous one’s obtaining wisdom (93:10). If the latter meaning is intended, the passage speaks of right conduct as a gift of God. In either case it is connected with the mercy mentioned in line a. The adjective “eternal” is repeated in line e and anticipates the permanency men-

tioned explicitly in v 5. The authority (*šeltān*) given to the righteous is most likely the authority to execute judgment (cf. 91:11 and esp. 96:1 [“you will have authority (*šeltān*)”] and 91:12, where the verb “to give” appears in a similar context). This supports the reading “judge” in the next line.

In lines d and e the subject changes from God to the righteous one. His piety and righteousness are reflected in the manner in which he executes judgment. Implied are the expressions “witnesses of righteousness” and “righteous judgment” in 93:10; 91:12. In line e the imagery of the path (v 3) is connected with the idea of theophanic light (cf. 1:8; 5:6, 7; and comm. on 108:11-13). The eternal light here anticipates the reference to the same at the end of the eschatological scenario in 91:16. For a close parallel to the present formulation, cf. Ps 89:14 (15) and Isa 2:5.

■ 5 The final and complete elimination of sin and evil is a topos in 1 Enoch. Cf. 10:16, 20, 22. More important, in 91:17 it is also mentioned as the last event in the eschatological scenario, in a formulation close enough to the present verse to assume a literary connection: “from then on, forever, it will not be mentioned” (*ʿemheyya ʾitetbahhal ʾeska ʿālam*); cf. “it will not be seen from that day for ever” (*ʾitetraʾay . . . ʾemyeʾeti ʿelat ʾeska ʿālam*). The time of the end of evil has been fixed by God (cf. v 2), and this idea is closely paralleled in 1QS 4:18-19: ואל ברוי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו נתן קץ להיות עולה ובמועד פקודה ישמידנה לעד ואז תצא לנצח אמת תבל (“And God in the mysteries of his wisdom and in his glorious wisdom has set (lit. ‘given’) an end for the existence of perversity, and at the time of the visitation he will destroy it forever. And then truth will come forth in the world”). The contrast of light and darkness in the present verse marks sharply the opposition of sin and righteousness that runs throughout the Epistle.

12 For citations of this text, see Michael E. Stone and John Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah Parts 1-2* (SBLIT 18; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 76-81.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 After this Enoch took up his discourse, saying,^a
 2 "Concerning the sons of righteousness,
 and concerning the chosen of eternity,
 and concerning the plant of truth,^a
 these things I say to you
 and I make known to you, my sons,
 I myself, Enoch.^b
 The vision of heaven was shown to me,
 and from the words of the watchers and holy ones I have learned everything,
 and in the heavenly tablets I read everything and I understood."^c

THE APOCALYPSE

- 3 And Enoch took up his discourse and said,^a
 "I was born the seventh in the first week,
 and until my time righteousness endured.^b
 4 After me there will arise a second week,
 in which deceit and violence will spring up,^a
 and in it will be the first end,
 and in it a man will be saved.
 And after <that, at its conclusion>,^b iniquity will increase,
 and ■ law will be made^c for sinners.
 5 After this <there will arise ■ third week,
 and at its conclusion>^a ■ man will be chosen ■■ the plant of righteous judgment,
 and after him^b will go forth the plant of righteousness forever and ever.^c
 6 After this <there will arise a fourth week,
 and at its conclusion>,^a visions of the holy and righteous will be seen;
 and ■ covenant for all generations and ■ tabernacle will be made^b in it.^c
 7 After this <there will arise ■ fifth week
 and at its conclusion>,^a <the temple of the glorious kingdom>^b will be built forever.
 8 After this <there will arise a sixth week
 and>^a all who live in it will become blind,
 and the hearts of all will stray from wisdom;
 and in it a man will ascend.^b
 And at its conclusion,^c the temple of the kingdom will be burned with fire;
 and in it the whole race of the chosen^d root will be dispersed.
 9 After this, in the seventh week, there will arise ■ perverse generation,
 and many will be its deeds,
 and all its deeds will be perverse.
 10 And at its conclusion, the chosen will be chosen,
 ■■ witnesses of righteousness^a from the eternal plant of righteousness,
 to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge.^b
 91:11 And they will uproot the foundations of violence,
 and the structure of deceit in it,
 to execute judgment.^a
 12 After this there will arise^a an eighth week of righteousness,^b
 in which a sword will be given^c to all the righteous,^d
 to execute righteous judgment^e on all the wicked,^f
 and they will be delivered into their hands.^g
 13 And at its conclusion, they will acquire possessions in righteousness;^a
 and the temple of the kingdom of the Great One^b will be built in the greatness of its
 glory^c
 for all the generations of eternity.^d
 14 After this there will arise a ninth week,
 in which righteous law will be revealed^a to all the sons of the whole earth;^b
 and all the deeds of wickedness^c will vanish from the whole earth and descend to the
 eternal pit,^d
 and all humankind will look to the path of eternal righteousness.^e

- 15 After this, in the tenth week, the seventh part, (will be) the eternal judgment;
and it will be executed on the watchers of the eternal heaven,
<and a fixed time of the great judgment will be rendered in the midst of the holy
ones>.^a
- 16 And the first heaven will pass away^a in it,
and a new heaven will appear;
and all the powers of the heavens will shine forever with sevenfold (brightness).^b
- 17 After this there will be many weeks without number forever,
in which they will do piety and righteousness,^a
and from then on sin will never again be mentioned.”

1a “And after this, it came to pass that Enoch began to speak from the books, and Enoch said . . .” (*wa'emdeh-
raze kona hēnok wa'aḥaza yetnāggar 'emašāheft wayebē
hēnok* Ⓢ Ull | “And after this (corrupt T⁹), it came to
pass that Enoch was speaking from, etc.” (*wa'emdeh-
raze* [*wa'emderaze wa T⁹*] *kona hēnok* [*hēnok kona m*] *yetnāggar
'em-*, etc.) Ⓢ T⁹ m 1768 2080 | “And after this (om.
'after' u; transpose 'this' q) Enoch also transmitted (+
'this' q) (and) spoke ('and Enoch began to speak' g |
om. verb u) from, etc.” (*wa'emdeh-
raze* [*wa'emze u*]
*wa'emdeh-
ra q*] *wahabani* [+ze q] *hēnok yetnāggar*
[*wa'aḥazani hēnok yetnāggar g* | om. *yetnāggar u*] *'em-*, etc.
Ⓢ gqu. Following Klaus Koch (“Sabbatstruktur der
Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse
[I Hen 93:1-10; 93:11-17] und das Ringen um die alt-
testamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israeliten-
tum,” *ZNW* 96 [1983],” 408), I reconstruct 4QEn^s
(Milik, *Enoch*, 263): ומן בחרה הוה נסב חן נגד מלתא אמר.
For the general considerations that lead to this recon-
struction and to the preference of this over Ⓢ, see
comm. on 93:1-3a. The original shape of the Ⓢ text and
the origin of it are difficult to determine. Eg. Ⓢ Ull
(*'aḥaza*, lit. “seize”) may reflect a corruption of ἀνα-
λαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν εἰπεῖν, read as ἀναλαβὼν παρὰ
βιβλίων.

2a Concerning the sons ----- truth] following Ⓢ: *ba'enta
weluda šedq waba'enta heruyāna 'ālam waba'enta takla ret'
gmt⁹ |
----- takla šedq q | ----- takla šedq waret' β | 4QEn^s 1
3:19-20 (Milik, *Enoch*, 263) is too fragmented to recon-
struct with certainty. The lacuna before וּמִן נִצְבַּת 'צבחה requires a longer reading than Ⓢ. Milik recon-
structs: דִּי סִלְקוּ מִן (“who have grown up] from”; *Enoch*,
263-65; so also Koch, “Sabbatstruktur,” 408). This
reconstruction (perhaps better with the verb צמח) has
no support in Ⓢ, however, and the extant מן corre-
sponds to one of the three occurrences of *ba'enta* in Ⓢ.
Cf. Beyer (*Texte*, 627) for “in Bezug auf” (“referring to”)
as a possible meaning for מן. The long reading (“of
righteousness and truth”) in Ⓢ appears to be conflate;*

for the reading of Ⓢ (“the plant of truth”), see comm.
on 93:1-3a.

- b I, myself, Enoch ---- me] וְאֵנֹכְיָא חֲנוּךְ אֲחֹי 4QEn^s 1
3:20-21 (Milik, *Enoch*, 264) | “I, myself, Enoch, accord-
ing to what was shown to me” (*'ana we'etu hēnok baza
'astar'ayani*) Ⓢ. *baza*, reflecting Gk. ἐν ᾧ, may be a ditto-
graph of εὐωχ, curiously paralleling the alleged haplog-
raphy in 1 Pet 3:19 (ἐν ᾧ καὶ <εὐωχ>; see E. G. Selwyn,
The First Epistle of St. Peter [2d ed.; London: Macmillan,
1947] 197-98).
- c The original text of 93:2h-j is uncertain. Ⓢ reads
“according to what was shown to me in the heavenly
vision, and (what) I know from the word of the holy
angels and understand from the heavenly tablets” (*baza
'astar'ayani 'emrā'eya samāy wa'emqāla qeddusān malā'ekt
'a'marku wa'emšafsa samāy labawku | 4QEn^s 1 3:21-22
(Milik, *Enoch*, 264) reads וְאֵנֹכְיָא וְקִדְשִׁין וְכָדִישִׁין . . . וּמִן
מִן בַּחֲרָה הוה נסב חן נגד מלתא אמר . . . כלל קרנית ואחורונת
[. . . and from] the word of the watchers and holy ones I
have learned everything [. . . every]thing [I have] read
[and understood]”). As other passages indicate (see
Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones), “holy angels”
is probably a translation of Aram. “watchers and holy
ones.” By analogy with 1:2 (on which see comm. on
93:1-3a), I have taken up a double reference to “every-
thing” and accepted Milik’s restoration, “and I under-
stood.”*
- 3a Again, by analogy with 1:2-3, I accept the reading of
4QEn^s 1 3:2-3 (Milik, *Enoch*, 264): נסב חנוך מלתא ואמר
| *wa'aḥaza 'enka ('enza) yetnāggar hēnok 'emašāheft wayebē*
(“and Enoch began to read from the books and said”) Ⓢ.
See n. a on v 1.
- b and ---- endured] On this meaning of 4QEn^s 1 3:24:
(וְעַד עַלִּי), see Milik, *Enoch*, 265, note on lines 22-24 |
The reading is reflected in Ⓢ (see Milik, *Enoch*, 82):
ῶα σωσι, which probably translates καὶ ἕως ἐτί μου |
*'eska 'ama kwennanē wašedq ta'äggaša (ta'äggašo 'enka
wayemasse' g*) (“while judgment and righteousness still
endured [+ therefore, and there will come g]”) Ⓢ.

- 4a a second week ---- spring up] Translation follows 4QEn^s 1 3:24-25 (Milik, *Enoch*, 264): שבוע תנין די בה | שקרא והמסא 'צמחן | "in the second week great evil and deceit will spring up" (*bakāPet sanbat 'abiy 'ekuy wagwehlut baqwalat*) \mathfrak{C} . 'abiy 'ekuy wagwehlut probably reflects Aram. רבה חמסא ושקרא. In addition to a transposition of the two nouns, the *dalet* in דבה* (for this form see 4QEn^s 1 4:15; Milik, *Enoch*, 266) was read as a *reš*.
- b And ---- conclusion] I emend \mathfrak{C} , *wa* [om. mqt] 'emdeh^{ra} tafaššama ("and after it is completed"), to *wa'emdeh^{raze} batafšāmētā*, in keeping with the usage in 93:5, 6, 7, 8, 10; 91:13. One expects the event recorded to take place in the week, not after it. See, however, VanderKam ("Studies," 519), who retains the reading as it stands.
- c For the emendation of *yegabber* ("he will make") to *yegabbar* ("will be made," q,n Ull) in keeping with the nominative form of the noun, cf. v 6 and Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 195 n. 4.
- 5a The original wording of the beginning of vv 5, 6, 7, 8 is uncertain. In each case \mathfrak{C} reads, "and after this, in the nth week, at its conclusion" (this latter phrase occurs near the end of v 8). In vv 5 and 7, however, where \mathfrak{C} is extant, it reads, "And after this, there will be (נאפופע) an nth week," and the same formula appears to have been present in v 4, where \mathfrak{C} reads "in the nth week," but where \mathfrak{A} placed the week as subject of a verb and then added "in which. . . ." The verb "arise" occurs in \mathfrak{C} of v 4, and the extant wording of \mathfrak{A} indicates that the week is the subject of this verb. The verb occurs again in \mathfrak{C} of v 9, where the generation in the week is subject of the verb. I also find it the most plausible reconstruction of v 12. On the basis of this evidence, I have emended the introductory formulas in vv 5, 6, 7, 8, and I have reconstructed the beginning of v 12. See also Koch, "Sabbatstruktur," 408.
- b *wa'emdeh^{re}hu* \mathfrak{C} mtT⁹,β | "and after this" (*wa'emdeh^{raze}*) q | om. and ---- righteousness g, due to hmt. (*sedq*). Here, and throughout, for stylistic reasons I drop "and" at the beginning of the announcement of a new week," taking "after this/that" as a sufficient indication of the transition from the description of the previous week.
- c *la'ālama 'ālam* mqtT⁹ | *la'ālam* u,β | *zala'ālam* g, Ull.
- 6a On this emendation see n. a on v 5.
- b *yegabbar* | *yegabber* ("he will make") q. Cf. n. c on v 5.
- c In keeping with the idiom of the apocalypse (cf. vv 4, 8, 11, 14), I follow \mathfrak{C} (2πα1 β2Τε) rather than \mathfrak{C} *lomū* ("for them"), which may well be a corruption of *bomū* ("in them" = ביה for בהן).
- 7a Emending \mathfrak{C} , "And after this there will be a fifth week, and at its conclusion"; see v 5 n. a.
- b *beta sebhat wamangešt* ("the house of glory and kingdom") \mathfrak{C} , emended following \mathfrak{A} of v 13 (see below, v 13 n. b).
- 8a On this emendation, see v 5 n. a.
- b *ya'āreg be'si* | "a man will ascend on high" (CENAANA-ΛΑΗΒΑΝΕ ΝΟΥΡΟΥΜΕ ΕΠΙΧΙΣΕ) \mathfrak{C} .
- c "And at the close of the week" \mathfrak{C} .
- d *heruy* g,β | *hayl* ("mighty") qmtu.
- 10a Translation follows 4QEn^s 1 4:12 (Milik, *Enoch*, 265): קשט | יתחרון בן חירין | לשהד' קשט *yetharray(u)* (*yet'aššay[u]* dy[blopxya'b']) *heruyān šādeqān* q,abefhix (cf. 1:1 [Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 196 n. 17]) / *heruyān wašādeqān* en / *heruyāna šedq* g,dloya'b' ("the righteous chosen / the chosen and righteous / the chosen of righteousness will be chosen [rewarded]") \mathfrak{C} . The single noun in \mathfrak{A} is probably correct, given the double occurrence of "righteousness" in the next line. The double nouns in \mathfrak{C} may derive from the reading of g,dloya'b', itself reflecting the omission of "as witness of" (\mathfrak{A}). On this fuller reading of \mathfrak{A} , see comm. on 93:9-10; 91:11.
- b sevenfold -- knowledge] Following 4QEn^s 1 4:13 (Milik, *Enoch*, 265): שבעה פנעמין חכמה ומדע | *sab'ātu mak'ebitata temhert lakwellu fetrata zī'ahu* ("sevenfold wisdom concerning all his creation") \mathfrak{C} . The prepositional phrase, missing in \mathfrak{A} , was probably added when 91:11-17 was displaced and the present verse was juxtaposed with 93:11-14, which lists a variety of heavenly and cosmic secrets that can add up to the number seven. See comm. on 93:11-14.
- 91:11
- a Translation follows 4QEn^s 1 4:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 265): ולחן עקרין אשי חמסא ועבר שקרא בה למעבר נדין. In 4QEn^s this verse follows immediately after 93:10 and immediately before 91:12. Corresponding to it is \mathfrak{C} 91:11, which, however, Charles has left in its position in chap. 91, although he has moved 91:12-17 to their original and proper place in chap. 93 (*APOT* 2:264-65) | The \mathfrak{C} form of 91:11 is longer than \mathfrak{A} and has probably been modified to fit its secondary context: "And then the roots of iniquity will be cut off, and sinners will perish by the sword; some of the blasphemers they will be cut off in every place; and those who plan violence and those who commit blasphemy will perish by the sword" (*wa'emennēhu yetgazzamu 'ašrāwa 'amaqā wahāte'an yethagwalu basayf, 'emenna serufān yetgazzamu bakwellu makān wa'ella yehēlleyewwo lagef, wa'ella yegabberewwā lašerfat yethagwalu bamatbaht*). On the displacement of the whole of these verses, see comm. on 91:10, 11-17.
- 12a יקים 4QEn^s 1 4:15 | *tekawwen* ("there will be") \mathfrak{C} . Cf. \mathfrak{C} of 93:[4], 5, 7 | + *kāPet* ("another") \mathfrak{C} , a gloss.
- b See 4QEn^s 1 4:15 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266 n. e-e). Milik's restoration agrees with \mathfrak{C} *'enta šedq*.
- c in ---- given] דבה תתירון חרבן 4QEn^s 1 4:15 | *wayet-wahhab lati sayf* ("And a sword will be given to it") \mathfrak{C} . *lati* is probably corrupt for *bati* ("in it").
- d לכול קשיטין 4QEn^s 1 4:16 | om. \mathfrak{C} , but see g.

- e *kama yetgabbat kwennanē sedq* (“that righteous judgment might be executed”) ㊥ | למעבר דין {דינא} קשוט (“to execute righteous judgment {the judgment}”) 4QEn^s 1 4:16 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266).
- f כול רשעין 4QEn^s 1 4:16 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | “On those who do iniquity” (*ʿemʿella yegaffēʿu*) ㊥.
- g ויתיהבון בידהון 4QEn^s 1 4:17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | “And the sinners will be delivered into the hands of the righteous” (*wayetmēṭṭawru ḥāṭeʿān baʿedawihomu lašādeqān*) ㊥.
- 13a For נכסין (“possessions”) of 4QEn^s 1 4:17 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266), ㊥ has *ʾabyāta* (“houses”) | For בקשוט of ㊥, ㊥ has *ʿemšedqa zīʾahomu* (“because of their righteousness”).
- b ודיכל [מלכות] רבא 4QEn^s 1 4:18 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | “the house of the great king” (*bēt laneguš ʿabiy*) ㊥.
- c ברבות זוה 4QEn^s 1 4:18 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | “in glory” (*baseḥbat*) ㊥.
- d לכול דרי עלמין 4QEn^s 1 4:18 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | “forever” (*ʿeska laʿālam*) ㊥.
- 14a there ----- revealed] “in the ninth week, in it righteous judgment will be revealed” (*basanbat tāseʿ bāti kwennanē sedq tethaššat*) ㊥ | Milik (*Enoch*, 266, followed by Koch, “Sabbatstruktur,” 410) reconstructs 4QEn^s 1 4:19: שבוע השעי וקשוט ודין קשוט בה יתגלא (“a ninth week, and right[eousness and righteous] j[udgment] will be revealed [in it]”). For “and righteousness” there is nothing corresponding in ㊥. Nor is the tip of the *dalet* as certain as Milik suggests. My reconstruction is: . . . קנום רבנה דין קשוט. . . For the verb “to arise” see vv 4, 9, 12. For “in which” see vv 4, 14. The latter has the form דבה.
- b לכל בני ארעא כלה 4QEn^s 1 4:20 | “to all the world” (*lakwellu ʿālam*) ㊥.
- c וכול עבדרי רשעיא | וכל ד[ו]ערי רשעיא (“all the doers of iniquity”) 4QEn^s 1 4:20 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266–67). The lacuna makes a decision between “doers” (Milik) and “deeds” (㊥) less than certain; so also Koch, “Sabbatstruktur,” 410.
- d and descend - - - pit] “And the world will be written down for destruction” (*wayeššahḥaf laḥagwela ʿālam*) ㊥ | וירמון לבור עלם (as above) 4QEn^s 1 4:21. An evident Greek confusion between κατάγω (= ㊥) and καταγράφω (= ㊥) produced the present ㊥ text, which led Charles (*APOT* 2:264) then to place the next line earlier in the text (at the end of the eighth week), so that the conversion of humanity precedes the destruction of the world.
- e to ---- righteousness] קשט עלמא 4QEn^s 1 4:22 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | ㊥ om. “eternal,” and mss. vacillate between “path” and “paths.” Only q has *sedq*. Others read *ret* (“truth”).
- 15a The original text of v 15 is uncertain. ㊥ has basically two readings: a long and a short one. The long reading, found in tT⁹ 2080,β, includes “and it will ----- heaven,” although the precise wording of the sentence varies among the mss. Given the general reliability of the ms. combination t,β, and the corroboration of T⁹ and 2080, I take this line to be original to ㊥ and to have dropped from α-t by hmt. In the last line, ㊥ mss. vary between the verb *baqala* (“to recompense” or “avenge”) mu 1768, and *baqwala* (“to spring from”) gtT⁹ 2080 6281,β. The latter verb is the more difficult in the context, but it is so difficult as to be unlikely (see, however, Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:220). For details on the many variants in the text and possible translations, see *ibid.* 4QEn^s 1 4:22-23 helps some. Extant is: בנה דין עלמא וקץ דינא (“. . . i]n it the eternal judgment and the time of the great judgment[. . .]”). The lacuna that follows does not permit the double lines of the long ㊥ reading; however, double reference to the judgment may indicate that a line has dropped out of 4QEn^s by hmt., and it also suggests that the reading of the short ㊥ text (“the great eternal judgment”) is wrong. It also indicates that “great” cannot modify “eternal heaven,” as it does in the long text of ㊥ (“and it will be executed on the watchers, and the great eternal heaven will spring from the midst of [or ‘from all of’] the angels”). My heavily reconstructed text suggests parallelism between “watchers” in the second line (*teguḥān*) and “angels” (*malāʾekt*), behind which I see “holy ones” (cf. 93:2). Thus I break the double expression into two lines, as in 12:2.
- 16a יעברון 4QEn^s 1 4:24 (Milik, *Enoch*, 266) | “will pass away and vanish” (*yewadde wayahallef*) ㊥. For this combination of synonymous verbs, cf. 94:1 ㊥.
- b The exact text of this line is uncertain. For *barha* (“shine”), 4QEn^s 1 4:25 has וינחון (“rise”) and perhaps before it another synonymous verb. For *laʿālam* (“forever”), ㊥ has לכל עלמין (“for all eternity”).
- 17a The text of this line is uncertain. ㊥ reads: *baḥirut(kemu q) wabasedq yekawwenu* (“they will be in [your q] piety and in righteousness”), a rather weak expression, which leads me to incorporate the verb in ㊥ (“rise”), “they will do”) 4QEn^s 1 4:26 (so also Koch, “Sabbatstruktur,” 410), with which word this column of the ms. breaks off.

Introduction

The Apocalypse of Weeks is a summary of human history from creation to the eschaton that its author, “Enoch,” claims to have copied from the heavenly tablets at the end of his tour of the cosmos (cf. 81:1-4). This historical summary, which divides history into ten “weeks,” is clearly a discrete unit within the Enochic Epistle. The displacement of part of the Apocalypse in the Ethiopic version has led, however, to considerable debate about its origin and its correct location in the corpus.

Text

In all MSS. of \mathfrak{C} , the account of the first seven weeks is located in chap. 93, as vv 1-10, while the account of the last three weeks has been detached and moved into chap. 91, as vv 11-17. That these two sections were originally joined to one another was recognized by some of the earliest commentators on the text and is confirmed by one Aramaic Qumran ms. (4QEn^g). For a possible rationale for the displacement, see Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91–93. The extant part of the Epistle in the Chester Beatty Papyrus begins several chapters after the Apocalypse; however, this section is attested in a Coptic version (\mathfrak{C}), on a single leaf of a sixth–seventh-century codex that preserves only 93:3-8 (see Introduction §2.4).

Contents and Genre

The account of the first seven weeks sketches events up to the choosing of the elect (93:3-10), while the summary of the last three weeks depicts a series of three judgments that precede the many weeks without end that will continue through eternity (91:11-17). In all ten weeks except the fourth and fifth, the description of the respective week is governed by statements about the religious or ethical character of the people living at that time and/or about the judgment that befalls these people. These statements function variously as the

subject of the main verb, the main verb itself, or the predicate or object of that verb. In other words, religious and ethical character, divine judgment in response to it, and a new situation resulting from this judgment have been so structured into this apocalypse as to constitute its essence. See chart on p. 439.

A close reading of these data indicates that the seventh week is crucial to the structure and chronology of the Apocalypse. Weeks 2, 6, 7 create a paradigm according to which the wicked are judged and the righteous saved (weeks 1, 3, 4, 5 require no such judgment). Although weeks 8–10 stress (final) judgment and assert the ultimate triumph of righteousness, differently from weeks 2, 6, and 7, they *presume* rather than stress the wickedness that is judged. Logically this makes weeks 8–10 dependent on weeks 1–7. Specifically, week 8 is dependent on week 7, and the judgment of the wicked of week 7 is fully executed in week 8. This complementarity of the two sets of weeks is also evident in weeks 8–10 in the progressive obliteration of wickedness and the progression toward a state of complete righteousness that parallels week 1. At the end, the newly created cosmos returns to God’s original intention.¹

The author announces his theme in his introduction in words that are recapitulated in his description of week 7. He writes concerning: the sons of *righteousness* and the *chosen of eternity* from the *plant of truth* (93:3). In the seventh week, the *righteous* will be *chosen*, as *true* witnesses of the *eternal plant of righteousness* (93:10). The end of the seventh week is crucial, because at this time the community of the elect are chosen and given “sevenfold wisdom and knowledge.” Armed with this revelation, they will execute judgment by uprooting the counterstructure of violence and deceit (חמסא, שקרא, 91:11). As the repetition of this word pair in 93:4 and 91:11 indicates, they are a pithy summary of the evils that God judges. Already in the Bible, it is violence (חמס) that characterizes the prediluvian world (Gen 6:11). In the eighth week the sword of the righteous is appropriate judgment for the violence that has recurred in the seventh week. Deceit is the false teaching that is opposed to the seven-

1 See also VanderKam, “Studies,” 518–21. Some of his observations about the symmetry of the Apocalypse are more persuasive than others.

Week	Character	Judgment of Wicked	Righteous Saved	New Situation
1	righteousness	[no judgment necessary]		
2	deceit, violence	first consummation	a man saved	
	iniquity	(law for sinners)		
3	plant of righteous	[no judgment necessary]		
	judgment, plant of			
	righteousness			
4	Sinai, law,	[no sin mentioned to be		
	tabernacle)	judged]		
5	(temple)	[no sin mentioned to be		
		judged]		
6	blind stray from wisdom	temple burned, exile	a man ascends	
7	perverse generation		elect chosen	
8	righteousness	uproot violence, deceit;		possessions,
		wicked judged		new temple
9		great judgment, wicked		all humanity
		vanish into the pit		becomes righteous
10		eternal judgment:		new heaven,
		vengeance on angels		many righteous weeks,
				no more sin

fold revelation granted in the seventh week, and the author considers it sufficiently important to retroject it into the prediluvian world of the second week. In the context of the Epistle as a whole, violence and deceit summarize the sins described at length in the woes (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.0).

This text belongs to an apocalyptic literary genre, whose purpose is to track history from some point in the past to the time of the real author, who stands at the threshold of the eschaton. It may be properly designated as an apocalypse, because revelation is central to its author's self-understanding. As the introduction asserts, Enoch took his message from the heavenly tablets (93:2; cf. 81:1-4). He wrote it down in primordial times (82:1-4), and now it is part of the sevenfold wisdom and knowledge possessed by the eschatological community. Other examples of the genre include Daniel 8; 10–12; 1 Enoch 85–90; 2 Baruch 56–71.²

Schematization of History

The Apocalypse's schematization of history has numerous parallels in Jewish literature. Collins summarizes the evidence:

The division of history into ten periods . . . is common in the *Sibylline Oracles* and is a major structuring element in *Sib. Or.* 1 and 2 and *Sib. Or.* 4. It is found partially in the Melchizedek scroll from Qumran, and Milik cites two fragments of a "commentary on the (book of) periods created by God" (4Q180 and 181), where there are ten weeks from Noah to Abraham. Multiples of seven also figure prominently in eschatological texts. Already in 1 Enoch 10:12 the Watchers are bound under the earth for seventy generations. *T. Levi* 16:1 says that the descendants of Levi will err for seventy weeks, but claims to have learned this from the book of *Enoch*. In Daniel 9 the seventy weeks

2 On the genre of Jewish apocalypses, see John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," in idem, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14; Missoula,

Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979); and on historical reviews, *ibid.*, 30–36.

of years are tied to the prophecy of Jeremiah (Jer 25:11-12 and 29:10). In the Animal Apocalypse in 1 Enoch 85-90, the "sheep" (Israel) are also subjected to seventy shepherds in the period after the exile. The ten jubilees of 11QMelchizedek are also equivalent to seventy weeks of years. In the "pesher on the periods" (4Q180-181) Azazel and the angels lead Israel astray for seventy weeks.³

Thus the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks stands in a firmly established and broad apocalyptic tradition of structuring history using the numbers seven and ten.

That these periods are engraved on heavenly tablets (93:3; cf. 4Q180 1:3; 1QH 9[1]:23-25) emphasizes the orderliness of God's creation and disposition of history and strongly suggests that these periods are, in some sense, quantitatively equal.⁴ Charles disputes this notion on the grounds that any multiple of years that fits the first weeks places the eschaton far beyond the author's time. He argues, instead, that the weeks are periods of unequal length, each marked by some great event.⁵ One wonders, then, why the author employed the concept of "weeks" and did not just designate them as "periods."

That the eschaton might be far into the future is also problematic, because it would seem to provide scarce comfort for the troubled people to whom it is directed.⁶ This commonsense approach to apocalyptic literature is disputed, however, by Doeve, who argues that the Apocalypse of Weeks envisions ten "weeks," each four hundred years long. The time from the composition of the Apocalypse at the end of the seventh week to the great final judgment should equal the time from the exodus to

the composition of the text (i.e., three "weeks").⁷ Koch takes the same approach.⁸ Deftly juggling a variety of traditional chronologies and with a minimum of emendation, he is able to fit all of the events of the first seven weeks into periods of 490 years and arrive at a date in the Maccabean period, specifically 164 B.C.E. In addition, he places this chronology into the broader framework of contemporary cultic calendrical speculation.⁹

While this approach seems to be much more faithful to the implied order of the text's 10 x 7 structure, it leaves the question of the eschatological future open. Did the author really envision the great judgment taking place in what we call the Middle Ages? Perhaps. One needs to remember that the Apocalypse speaks of three judgments. It is the first of these, which will take place at the end of the seventh week and, arguably, the beginning of the eighth week, that is most relevant for the author's audience. With deceit and violence overthrown and the wicked judged by the righteous, the immediate problem of the author's time has been solved. If the author is really dependent on theoretical numerical speculation, a date for the final judgment in the distant future seems to be an inevitable conclusion of his method.¹⁰

Date

The composition of the Apocalypse is dated to the first third of the second century B.C.E. A terminus ante quem ca. 50 B.C.E. is provided by 4QEn⁸, but the reference to the Apocalypse in *Jub.* 4:18 pushes that terminus back to

3 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 50. For a critique of Milik's identification of 4Q180 and 4Q181 as copies of the same work, see Devorah Dimant, "The 'Pesher on the Periods' (4Q180) and (4Q181)," *IOS* 9 (1979) 77-102.

4 See, e.g., Hoffmann, *Henoch*, 791-96; Dillmann, *Henoch*, 293-94.

5 Charles, *Enoch*, 228-29.

6 See Lars Hartman ("The Functions of Some So-Called Apocalyptic Timetables," *NTS* 22 [1975-76] 11-13), who rightly understands the practical value of those apocalyptic reviews of history that place the author's time at the threshold of the judgment and the new age.

7 J. W. Doeve, "Parousieverzögerung," *NedTT* 17 (1962-63) 33-36.

8 Klaus Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1 Hen 93:1-10; 91:11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum," *ZNW* 95 (1983) 403-30.

9 Idem, "Sabbat, Sabbatjahr und Weltenjahr: Die apokalyptische Konstruktion der Zeit," *Ars Semeiotica* 29 (1997) 69-86.

10 This speculative concern need not conflict with the observations of Hartman ("Functions"), if one allows that the Apocalypse also posits a judgment in the seventh/eighth week(s) to deal with immediate existential problems.

125 B.C.E. or 168 B.C.E., depending on one's dating of *Jubilees* (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §3.3). Dexinger places it after the Maccabean revolt, to which he finds reference in 91:12.¹¹ VanderKam sees the seventh week as the time of composition, and places this armed vengeance in the eschatological future.¹² This allows one to find a time of composition in conjunction with the reform movements that preceded the Maccabean revolt, while allowing a militant act of judgment to follow in the imminent future. A date shortly before the Maccabean revolt would not clash greatly with Koch's chronology.

Provenance

Although the precise provenance of the Apocalypse cannot be determined, it can be related to known Jewish texts and one known community. It was composed in circles associated with the name of Enoch and is either an epitome of the Animal Vision or a source for it. It was also honored by the author of *Jubilees* and was either copied at Qumran or brought there on at least one MS.¹³

Especially noteworthy is the author's focus on the election of the righteous in the end time and their receipt of revelation (93:10). In both respects, the Apocalypse is paralleled by the introduction to the corpus (1:1, 8; 5:<6>, 7, the righteous and chosen; 5:8, their receipt of wisdom). These similarities may indicate that the Apocalypse was inserted to provide an early form of the corpus with a time frame for its eschatology. The author of the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71) also uses the word pair “righteous and chosen” as its chief designation for his audience. Outside the Enochic circle, the designation “the chosen,” the term “the eternal plant,” and the notion of eschatological revelation appear in a variety of sectarian texts from Qumran, most of which indicate no immediate connection with the Enochic literature. Thus we may locate the author of the Apocalypse in the Enochic wing of a group of reform

movements that arose in the (late) Hellenistic period, and we may see the community at Qumran and various of those who joined it as heirs of this tradition. The Parables, on the other hand, represent a branch of this Enochic tradition that developed later and apart from Qumran.

■ **93:1-3a** These verses introduce the Apocalypse of Weeks, summarizing its contents, explicating the source of the revelation, and tying the Apocalypse to its narrative context.

The narrative connection is evident in the use of the past tense in both v 1 and v 3a. Although this passage is separated from chaps. 81–82 and 91 by the superscription and exhortation in chap. 92, the adverbial formula “and after this” and the perfect tenses in vv 1 and 3a indicate that Enoch's recitation of the Apocalypse is part of the narrative sequence begun in chap. 81.

The passage as a whole imitates the introduction to the corpus (1:1-3).¹⁴ For the formula “he took up his discourse and said” (for the Aramaic see n. a to vv 1, 3), cf. 1:2 and 3, and see comm. on 1:2-3. Verse 2abc is a tristich that summarizes the contents of the Apocalypse by means of three construct formations that balance the tristich that describes the triple source of Enoch's revelation (v 2hij). The Apocalypse concerns the righteous community, especially the community of the end time.

“Righteousness” (*sedq*, ܣܕܩ) is perhaps the key concept in the Apocalypse (see Introduction to this section, § Contents and Genre), just as “the righteous” are central to the Epistle as a whole. The term “sons of righteousness” (*weluda sedq*, ܠܕܢܐܝܝܐ ܣܕܩ) occurs nowhere else in the Apocalypse. The Aramaic term probably stood in 105:2, where it has been translated “sons of truth” (*weluda ret*), reflecting the translation of ܣܕܩ by ἀλήθεια. The normal designation in the Epistle is “the righteous” (οἱ δίκαιοι). Here the construct form has been employed, in part, as one balanced member of a triad. Moreover, although it means in effect “the righteous,” it may also reflect the double expression “my

11 Dexinger, *Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 137–40.

12 VanderKam, “Studies,” 521–23.

13 The argument by Jeanie P. Thorndike (“The Apocalypse of Weeks and the Qumran Sect,” *RevQ* 3 [1961] 163–84) that this Apocalypse is “a secret history of the Qumran sect” is too speculative to be persuasive.

14 See VanderKam, “Studies,” 516–17.

sons . . . those who observe righteousness|my children . . . O righteous” in 92:1; 94:1, 3. This parallelism in the latter passages sees a continuity between Enoch’s children and the righteous of the end of days, who are his spiritual descendants (see comm. on 92:1). The term “sons of righteousness” (בני־צדק) occurs in Qumran in 1QS 3:20 and 22 at the beginning of the two-ways instruction (cf. 1 Enoch 94:1-4) in contrast to the “sons of perversity” (בני־עול).

The election of Israel and its end-time counterpart is mentioned three times in the Apocalypse (vv 5, 8, 10). Here they are designated by the second construct form, “the chosen ones of eternity” (*heruyāna ‘ālam* = בחרִי בְּעוֹלָמִין). The expression has no precise parallel in 1 Enoch or in the rest of our literature. It could mean that they have been chosen to inherit eternal life or, more likely, that the community is viewed as lasting to eternity (cf. 93:5, 10). Less likely, it denotes an election that precedes creation (cf. Eph 1:4 and, less explicitly, 1QS 3:15-16; see comm. on 93:9-10; 91:11).

The nation of Israel, from whom the community springs, is designated as a “plant” in vv 5 and 10. The expression נִצְבָּת צִבְחָא is noteworthy. 93:10 speaks of נִצְבָּת קִשְׁטָא עִלְמָא. The noun יִצְבָּא (lit. “firmness”) is not attested elsewhere, although the verb יִצַּב and the adjective צִבְחָא occur. They are related to נָצַב, “to plant,” and the pair here make an alliterative construct form and a consistent image, “the firmly established plant.” Cf. ̣ Ps 37:35, אֵילִן יִצִּיב (“a firmly planted oak”). Perhaps the expression is used here not only to make a consistent image, but to allow for a triad of constructs in which קִשְׁטָא is not repeated.

The triadic expression in these verses combines, then, in poetic form the various expressions used in the Apocalypse to designate the nation and the community. The content of the Apocalypse concerns the eternal community of the chosen that has come forth from the firmly rooted plant of Israel.

Verse 2def continues further the narrative style begun in chaps. 81-82 and 91. The tristichal form before and after these lines suggests that here too we have three poetic lines. The style of introductory for-

mula here is paralleled in 82:1, where a triple expression refers to Enoch’s transmission of revelation. The single expression (“I say”) occurs in 91:3. Precisely the same double expression as here occurs in 94:10. In 1QapGen 5:9 this formula introduces Enoch’s command that Methuselah tell Lamech that Noah is his son (וכען לכתא וליך אנה מחיה . . . ואתה אמר . . . and now to you I say . . . and to you I make known”). In the translation, I have taken the expression אנה הוא חנוך (̣ *ana we’etu hēnok*) to mean “I myself Enoch.” It could also be translated “I am Enoch.” Such a formula of identification occurs frequently in epiphany scenes (cf., e.g., Tob 12:15; Luke 1:19; Rev 1:17). Whether it could have had that meaning in the Aramaic text of 4QEn⁸ is uncertain because of the fragmentary state of the ms. Whether it may have had such a meaning in an earlier form of the tradition is equally uncertain. For such a meaning of the expression, cf. the Mani Codex 58:8-9 (ἐγώ εἰμι Ἐνωχ ὁ δίκαιος, “I am Enoch, the righteous one”), where it is quoted of “Enoch in his Apocalypse.”¹⁵ Such a translation in the present text or tradition would function to establish Enoch’s credentials as a revealer—something that he does in the next tristich.

The original text of v 2hij cannot be determined with certainty due to the discrepancies between ̣ and ̡ and the fragmentary nature of the latter. Nonetheless, the contents of the tristich are clear. Enoch refers to the threefold source of his revelation: his vision of heaven, the words of the angels, and the contents of the heavenly tablets. This triad is paralleled in part both in 1:2-3 (the vision of the Holy One and of heaven; the words of the watchers and the holy ones that he heard; and knowing what he saw) and in 81:1-2, a tristich that uses, as here, the three verbs “see,” “read,” and “know” to describe how he views the heavenly tablets. Enoch is here referring back to chap. 81, and the appeal to the heavenly tablets—in which were written all the deeds of humanity (81:2)—is appropriate in an introduction to this historical apocalypse. Enoch’s knowledge of the future is based on his familiarity with the heavenly record of human deeds.

The meaning of the first two lines of the tristich here is less certain. He may be using the language of 1:2-3 to

15 See Ron Cameron and Arthur J. Dewey, eds. and trans., *The Cologne Mani Codex* (SBLT 15; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979) 44-45.

describe how he has seen in heaven the words of the angels inscribed in the heavenly tablets (cf. 103:2, n. a). A broader frame of reference may be indicated, however, by the rest of the Epistle, where Enoch refers to the process of angelic intercession in heaven and in general presumes knowledge of events in that sphere. Furthermore, the verses that now follow the Apocalypse of Weeks proper (93:11–14) allude to Enoch's visions of the cosmos. That Enoch may here be alluding to his tour of the cosmos is suggested by the expression "I have learned everything" (אָנאָה כָּלָא יָדַעְתָּ, 4QEn^a 1 3:22). This same expression occurs in 2 *Enoch* 40:1–2, where it refers to all the knowledge that Enoch gained during his journeys and that he now conveys to his children previous to his ascent to God. A parallel expression occurs in Wis 7:17, where Solomon refers to his knowledge of the cosmos. See further comm. on 93:11–14.

Verses 1–3a as a whole appear to have been modeled on 1:2–3: a double occurrence of the formulaic "and he took up his discourse and said" encloses reference to the elect and a triple use of a preposition with the content of the vision as its object—as well as a triple appeal to the source of revelation. The clear parallels between 1:2–3 and the Balaam oracles indicate that 1:2–3 is the earlier form of this introductory material. Thus, like chaps. 1–5, the Epistle begins with a superscription (92:1), a description of what is to come, and an appeal to revelation.

■ **3bc** The first week—with the shortest description in the Apocalypse—concludes with the time of Enoch. Different from weeks 2–8, with their formulaic "at its conclusion," and like the tenth week, reference is here made to the seventh part. According to the Sethite genealogy (Gen 5:1–24), Enoch was the seventh patriarch from Adam.¹⁶ The significance of his position in the genealogy is not lost in the tradition, as is evident from 1 *Enoch* 37:1 and Jude 14. That Enoch's period as a whole is here seen as a time of righteousness is indicated not only by the expression עַד עָלַי ("until my time"),¹⁷ but also by v 4, which attributes the beginning of evil to the second week after Enoch. Thus Enoch and his time epitomize the quality of קִשְׁטָא, which is celebrated throughout the Apocalypse. It is noteworthy, to say the least, that this author sees the period through Enoch as one of

righteousness. For one thing, it contradicts the biblical record, which speaks not only of the sin of the first parents but also of the violence of the Cainites (Genesis 3–4). For this author, however, real evil begins with the deeds of the "sons of God" and the giants; following perhaps the biblical sequence, he believes this began to happen after the disappearance of Enoch. The idea, however, is not to be taken for granted. According to 106:13 the sin of the angels began already in the time of Jared, Enoch's father, and Wis 4:10–15 attributes Enoch's premature "death" to the evil from the midst of which he was removed, lest he should sin. The pattern in v 4, possibly v 5, and in vv 8, 9–10 may suggest that a similar idea lay behind the placing of Enoch in the first week.

■ **4** The second week marks the beginning of real evil, here called "deceit and violence" (שִׁקְרָא וְחַמְסָא). The noun חַמְסָא is also used in Gen 6:11 and 13 of the evil that precipitated the flood. Cf. also 1 *Enoch* 91:5. The use of the word pair "deceit/violence" is significant, since it recurs in 91:11, in the description of the seventh week. The two nouns are opposites of those virtues implied in the noun קִשְׁטָא, which is so dear to this author—viz., truth and righteousness. Moreover, within the context of the Epistle, deceit and violence are a pithy summary of the false teaching and social sins that characterize the activity of the sinners (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.0). The use of the verb צַמַּח (צִמְיָח, *baqualat*), "to spring up" or "sprout," suggests that evil is here thought of as a plant that is the counterpart to "the plant of righteousness" mentioned in v 5. The idea is expressed in Deut 29:18. The idea of good and evil plants that are counterparts of one another appears in Matt 7:17–20 and is analogous to the idea of the structures of good and evil, which appears also in this Apocalypse (see comm. on 93:9–11).

The parallelism between the second and seventh weeks continues in the term "the first end," which reflects a typology between the flood and the judgment, of which we hear more in the eighth, ninth, and tenth

16 See VanderKam, *Enoch*, 23–28.

17 For this meaning of עַד עָלַי, see Milik, *Enoch*, 265.

weeks. For this typology in the Enochic corpus, cf. also 10:1-3; 10:16–11:2; and chap. 91. It recurs explicitly in the Son of Man passage in Matt 24:36-44 and Luke 17:26-27.

That Noah the righteous one is saved from the judgment of violence is biblical. 10:3 and 17 imply the typology of the salvation of Noah and the righteous of the end time (see comm. on 10:2), and here the typology extends the parallelism between the second week and the seventh weeks, in which the elect will again be chosen. The idea that “a man” is saved in an unrighteous time recurs in v 8 and is probably implied in v 5 (see comm.). See also comm. on v 3.

The end of the second week does not coincide with “the first end,” as we might expect it to do. This may indicate that the author had in mind a time scheme that made it necessary for him to extend the period further. On the other hand, he may wish to make as explicit as possible the clash between God’s judgment of sin and the continuation of sin after that judgment.

The statement that iniquity increased after the flood probably has its basis in Gen 8:21.¹⁸ The idea, however, is a constant in some apocalyptic traditions. It occurs in the Animal Vision (89:11) and *Jub.* 7:20-29, both of which are related to this text, and in *4 Ezra* 3:12, in a review of history that is part of a pessimistic assessment of the human condition as a whole. Verses 4-5 speak of a “covenant” or a “law” being made for sinners. The Eth. *šer‘at* could translate either *διαθήκη* or *νόμος*.¹⁹ In either case the reference is to Genesis 8–9.²⁰ In *Jub.* 7:27-29 the biblical law against the shedding of blood is a response to the sins of the sons of Noah, which have been prompted by the seductions of the demons.²¹ Whether this viewpoint is an exposition of 1 Enoch or contains a tradition on which Enoch depends, it provides an interpretive key for the present passage. Different from Gen 9:1-7, the author of this apocalypse sees the law against the shedding of blood as a response to

the violence that increased after the flood. The sin of the postdiluvian age is here called *‘amadā* (“iniquity”). In 91:11 this noun appears to reproduce Aram. ܐܡܕܐ (“violence”), in which case we are justified in seeing in the present verse a continuity between the terminology describing the prediluvian sin and that of the postdiluvian age.

■ 5 According to this verse, the violence of the postdiluvian period continued to the close of the third week, when Abraham was chosen as patriarch. That Abraham’s call in Ur involved his turning from paganism, and specifically idolatry, is documented in such sources as *Jubilees* 11–12 and *Apocalypse of Abraham* 1–2.²² Two factors indicate that this idea is present here: the parallelism between this verse and vv 4 and 8, where “a man” is saved in a wicked time; and especially the typology between Abraham’s election and the election of the chosen in the seventh week (93:10). Thus in the postdiluvian period, marked by violence (ܐܡܕܐ), Abraham is chosen to begin the process of instilling in the world the righteousness (ܐܝܫܬܐ) that had been lost with the removal of Enoch at the end of the first week.

Excursus: The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature

The designation of Israel as God’s plant (variously a flower, small plant, shrub, vine, or tree) is natural enough in the literature of a people like Israel whose life is largely bound up in agriculture. The metaphor is easily extended to include several related ideas. A plant is rooted in the ground, in this case, the land of Israel.²³ It is the embodiment of life. The root-plant-branch connection expresses continuity. Plants bear fruit. Plants can be uprooted, but they can also be tenaciously permanent.

Biblical texts that anticipate or look back on Israel’s exile employ the image to describe: how God planted the plant; how it has been cut down; and how

18 Reese, “Geschichte,” 74 n. 29.

19 See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 244.

20 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 295.

21 Dexinger, *Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 124.

22 George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Abraham the Convert,” in Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, eds., *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998) 151–67.

23 This point is emphasized by Patrick A. Tiller, “The Eternal Planting in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 312–35. On the imagery in general see Shozo Fujita, “The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” *JSJ* 7 (1976) 30–45; and Helmer Ringgren, “עץ,” *TDOT* 9 (1998) 387–94.

new growth will spring from its stump or roots (Isa 6:13; Jer 1:10; Ps 80:9-19 [8-18]; Isa 11:1 of the Davidic dynasty). Isaiah 5:1-7 emphasizes Israel's failure to bear good fruit and God's intent to destroy the vineyard (cf. Jer 2:21). For Third Isaiah the image offers hope. The people will again be established in the land and bring forth the righteousness that God desires (Isa 60:21; 61:1-3).

In 1 Enoch the image appears in three contexts. In the Book of the Watchers, Noah the righteous one is the source of the plant that will last forever (10:3). He is the prototype of the plant of righteousness and truth that will escape the final judgment and constitute the nucleus of an eschatological community that will eventually embrace the whole human race (10:16-17, 20-21). As the context of these verses indicates, this new human race is located on a new and fertile earth from which sin and pollution have been removed. The contrast between lines 1-2 and 3-4 of v 16 emphasizes righteousness as the fruit brought forth by the new humanity. In 84:6 Noah is again the plant that will bear the seed that is a new human race. In the Apocalypse of Weeks the plant is mentioned four times (93:2, 5, 8, 10). The plant is historical Israel, whose source is Abraham, rather than humanity derived from Noah. Abraham is himself chosen as the plant, from which comes "the eternal plant of righteousness" (v 5). Even though "the race of the chosen root" is dispersed because of its sins (v 8), in the end time God will again chose the eschatological community of the elect from the eternal plant of righteousness, that is, from Israel (93:10), and will give them the wisdom and understanding that engenders the righteous life. They appear to be the community that possesses and abides by Enochic law (see comm. on 93:9-10; 91:11). Striking throughout the Apocalypse is the notion that Israel will endure—according to v 3, because it is a firmly rooted plant.

In *Jub.* 1:16, 16:26, 21:24, and 36:6 the plant is historical Israel, explicitly connected with Abraham; it is characterized by righteousness and will thus endure forever.²⁴ Several texts from Qumran apply the plant imagery to themselves, the righteous, eternal Israel that already stands in communion with the angels (1QS 8:5; 11:7-9; 1QH 14(6):15; 16(8):6; CD 1:7-8).²⁵

Jewish literature from ca. 100 C.E., like the biblical texts connected with the exile, employs the metaphor of the plant to refer to Israel's election, punishment, but eventual restoration. In *4 Ezra* 5:23 "vine" is one image for Israel in a context where the seer puzzles over the disparity between Israel's fate at the hands

of the Romans and its status as the one people whom God has chosen from the nations. In *2 Baruch* 36-37 Israel is the vine that will endure when the forest of the nations is destroyed. The vine image recurs several times in the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, a text that worries about the future of Israel, but doggedly asserts the ongoing validity of the covenant (18:10; 23:12; 28:4).

Several NT texts employ the plant imagery with old connotations but unique Christian nuances. The Synoptic parable of the vineyard draws on Isaiah 5, but identifies the irresponsible husbandmen as the Jerusalem authorities responsible for Jesus' death (Mark 12:1-12 || Matt 21:33-46 || Luke 20:9-19). The idea that God's plants must bear good fruit appears in the parable of trees that is ascribed both to John the Baptist and to Jesus (Matt 3:8-10 || Luke 3:8-9; Matt 7:16-20 || Luke 6:43-44; Matt 12:33-34). Luke takes up the motif in a short parable unique to his Gospel (13:6-9). The Fourth Gospel carries the christianizing of the metaphor to its logical conclusion, applying the image of the vine to Jesus and his followers. He alone gives life to the branches so that they can bear good fruit (15:1-11). Paul, the Israelite who anguishes over his own people, gives the metaphor a peculiar twist. Israel is the cultivated olive tree into which the branches of the Gentile wild olive tree are grafted (Rom 11:1-24). The context, like Pseudo-Philo, is concerned about the future of the covenant (Rom 9:1-13).

Abraham, the patriarch, is the plant (the root in v 8) that engenders Israel, the everlasting plant of righteousness. That he is "chosen" is an unusual notion in the literature of this period. In the Bible his election is mentioned only in Neh 9:7. *Jubilees* 12:19, which speaks of Abraham having chosen God, may presuppose the idea. Later the idea occurs in *4 Ezra* 3:13 and *Apocalypse of Abraham* 14. As the close parallelism between this verse and v 10 indicates, Abraham's election is a function of his status as patriarch. In 10:1-3 and 16 Noah is designated as the righteous plant, from whom comes the righteous plant forever (but note the Abrahamic language in 10:16; see comm. on 10:16c-17). For the author of this Apocalypse, the postdiluvian violence was so great that there can be no continuity between Noah and his descendants. Also different from chap. 10, this text

24 For a discussion see Tiller, "Planting," 323-24.

25 For an extensive discussion see *ibid.*, 324-34.

focuses on Israel rather than on the more nondescript righteous.

Problematic in this context is Aram. ܩܫܬ ܕܝܢ (*kwen-nanē sedq*). In 91:12 it surely means “righteous judgment” (see comm. on 91:11-13). Dillmann accepts this meaning here: Abraham is progenitor of the race in which God will reveal his righteous judgment—in an uneschatological sense.²⁶ Reese cites 2 *Bar.* 57:2, according to which the coming judgment was one of the things revealed to Abraham.²⁷ More plausible is Dexinger’s translation, “rechte Satzung” (“righteous law”).²⁸ He derives this interpretation especially from the Qumran Scrolls, where משפטן צדק is used of the communal regulations. See 1QS 4:4 and CD 20:30-31, where the plural appears, and 1QS 9:17, where משפט צדק occurs in parallelism with דעת אמת (“true knowledge”).²⁹ Although Dexinger bases his discussion on the unproven assumption that Aram. ܩܫܬ ܕܝܢ is necessarily equivalent to Heb. משפט,³⁰ evidence not cited by him supports the suggested interpretation here. A marriage contract from Murabbaʿat (Mur 20 ar) states “[yo]u shall be my wife according to the law of M[oses] (אתן תהיו לי לאנתה כדן מושה). This same cliché is reflected in much earlier form in Tob 7:13, also of a marriage contract: κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν γεγραμμένην ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μώσεως “according to the statute written in the book of Moses”; cf. Tob 7:14). The term ܩܫܬ ܕܝܢ (מעבדן) (ποιεῖν κρίσιν ἀληθίνην, Athos MS. 18) occurs in 4QTL^{vi} ar 2 9, but it is not clear whether it refers to the execution of righteous judgment or to the enactment of a true statute.³¹ The term may also stand behind 1 Enoch 61:9, where *kwen-nanē sedq* is parallel to *nagara* (“word”). In what sense Abraham is here associated with the Torah is uncertain, since the Sinaitic legislation is given later. One might think of the commandment of circumcision. On the other hand, *Jub.* 12:25-27 associates Abraham with the books of his fathers, which he studies. The present passage may presume a tradition that Abraham was familiar with at least part of the Torah. Such a retrojection of the giving of

law would be consonant with the attribution to Abraham of the elect status that properly belongs to Israel. In any case the association of righteous law with Abraham is part of the parallelism of this verse with 93:10, which speaks of the wisdom that is received by the chosen, and it anticipates the righteous law that will be revealed to all in the ninth week (91:14). Thus in Abraham are the beginnings of the chosen plant of righteousness, which is the proper subject of the Apocalypse according to 93:2.

■ 6 The fourth week concludes with the time of the exodus and the Sinai theophany. The “holy and righteous” are surely the angels (cf. 39:4-5), although the expression is unusual. The author may be alluding to an exposition of Exod 24:9-11 that described a vision of the heavenly court like 1 Enoch 14 or Daniel 7. Or he could presume the version of the exodus story found in *Jub.* 48:13.

According to *Jubilees*, angels were involved in the exodus events as a whole. Perhaps the author is referring to the whole of the exodus and the Sinai events. Line c appears to refer to the eternal covenant (*šerʿat latewleda tewled*; cf. *šerʿata ʿenta laʿālam*, τὴν αἰωνίαν διαθήκην, 99:2), although the translation “law” is not excluded (see comm. on 93:4). This is the only explicit reference to the Mosaic covenant/Torah in the whole Enochic corpus. Mention of the tabernacle (*ʿaṣad* = σκηνή) is consonant with the references to the sanctuary in 93:7, 8; 91:13.

■ 7 The author bypasses the conquest, the period of the judges, and the reigns of Saul and David. The end of the fifth week is signaled by the building of the Solomonic Temple. That this is the only event mentioned in this very brief description of the week indicates, again, the author’s great interest in the sanctuary. The precise title of the temple in the original Aramaic of this verse is not certain. The full form of the title appears in 91:13: “the temple of the kingdom of the Great One.” God’s kingdom appears also to have been mentioned here. Reference to “glory,” mentioned also in 91:13, here is an allusion to the presence of the divine *kabôd* in the Solomonic Temple (1 Kgs 8:11). The association of

26 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 295.

27 Reese, “Geschichte,” 74.

28 Dexinger, *Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 178.

29 Ibid., 158-63.

30 Ibid., 150-63.

31 For the Greek text see Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the*

Greek Text (PVTG 1/2; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 25. For the Aramaic fragment, see DJD 22:30-32.

“glory” with the title “the Great One” in 1 Enoch 103:1 and 104:1 may indicate that “glory” functions here in the place of the title “the Great One” found in 91:13. That the temple is said to have been built “forever” is odd in view of its destruction, mentioned in the next verse, where the adverb “forever” is lacking. In v 13 the more intensified expression “for all the generations of eternity” occurs with reference to the eschatological temple. Perhaps the author is thinking here of the temple as an institution. The idea would parallel the description of Abraham as the plant from whom comes the eternal plant, in which is inherent the eschatological community.³²

■ 8 After descriptions of three weeks that mention only the conclusions of the weeks, in which positive events take place (vv 5, 6, 7), the author presents a longer description of an evil week. Different from the postdiluvian period (v 4e), the emphasis is not on violence but on apostasy—described as blindness and straying from wisdom. On the blindness of the preexilic period, see 89:15. The straying (*yetrašaʿ*, doubtless translating *πλανᾶω*; see comm. on 98:15–99:1) and the blindness refer most likely to idolatry (see comm. on 99:1). In view of the language of straying and of wisdom in chaps. 98–99, it appears that the author is here emphasizing the “deceit” half of the word pair in 93:4 and 91:11. The formulation indicates that the pre-exilic age anticipates the sin of the seventh week (93:9). The double occurrence of “all” indicates massive apostasy, as in v 9. The reference to the ascent of Elijah picks up the motif of the salvation of the lone righteous one in 93:4, 5, and, applied to the group, in 93:10. The second half of the verse deals with the punishment of the sins of the people at the end of the week. Of the burning of the temple we also hear in 89:66. The genitive, “race of the chosen root,” could mean the “race, that is, the chosen root,” or the “race that sprang from the chosen root,” that is, from Abraham. For the latter image, cf. Isa 11:1. In either case the passage alludes to v 5.

■ 93:9-10; 91:11 The description of the seventh week is the longest in the Apocalypse. The period of time begins with the exile, and according to general and correct consensus it concludes with the author’s own time, when his community becomes the recipients of “seven-fold wisdom and knowledge.”³³ Verse 9 mentions neither the return nor the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel.³⁴ The silence is striking and significant in view of the explicit references to the destruction of the temple and the exile in v 8, the construction of the tabernacle and the Solomonic Temple in vv 6 and 7, and the eschatological temple in 91:13. Moreover, in place of a reference to return, restoration, and rebuilding, the author speaks of the appearance of a “perverse generation” (*tewled ʿelut*). This expression is used in the C of Deut 32:5 to describe idolatrous Israel (cf. 32:15-18). Here the perverse generation undertakes to do many things, but in spite of this, all its undertakings are perverse.³⁵ This viewpoint constitutes a wholesale condemnation of the return, the restoration, the rebuilding of the temple, and the events of the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The evaluation is paralleled in 89:73-75: the food on the altar is polluted, and all the sheep are blind. Cf. also CD 1:3-9, which omits reference to the return.³⁶ The language of this verse is also paralleled in 1 Enoch 99:2, which speaks of those “who pervert the eternal covenant,” and in 104:10, which refers to those who “pervert many” through their lies. Similarly, 5:4 indicts those who have “changed your deeds,” an expression used in the Targumim of Deut 32:5 to describe the perverse generation. In the present passage the perversity is described as “deceit” and “violence” (*שְׁקֵרָה, חִמּוּסָה*, 91:11). The former expression is an antonym for the wisdom of the author’s community, and it suggests that all the religious acts of the post-exilic period are apostasy.

Verse 10 is the heart of the Apocalypse. It describes the event toward which this pithy recital of history has been moving—the election of the chosen and their

32 See Reese, “Geschichte,” 76.

33 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 296; Martin, *Hénoch*, 244; Charles, *Enoch*, 231; the exceptions are Dexinger (see comm. on vv 12-13) and perhaps Reese, *Geschichte*, 78.

34 See Reese, “Geschichte,” 77.

35 Ibid.

36 On the relationship of this text to the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks, see Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening.

receipt of full wisdom and knowledge. As a comparison with 93:5 indicates, this event parallels the election of Abraham and the establishment in him of the people of God. The author does not speak of an election from eternity, that is, of predestination. The elect are chosen at the end of the seventh week. At this time they are defined as the newly constituted people of God. As Abraham had been chosen from the Gentiles to be the progenitor of “the eternal plant of righteousness,” the elect are now chosen from that plant. The idea of the chosen as a group within Israel closely parallels Third Isaiah.³⁷

The elect are chosen, first of all, to be the recipients of wisdom and knowledge. In the context of the Epistle, this means a particular understanding of the divine law, other esoteric information about the cosmos, and the eschatological message of the coming judgment. See Introduction §4.1.3.2. All of this wisdom and knowledge is essential for salvation. But the elect are not chosen simply to be the recipients of the salvation granted through this wisdom and knowledge; they are chosen for a mission, viz., to be witnesses of righteousness. The function of their testimony is to uproot violence and deceit and thus to execute divine judgment. That is, **קשט** as righteousness and truth will destroy its counterparts, violence and deceit. The term “witnesses of righteousness” implies the expression “righteous judgment,” which will appear in v 12.

For this author, violent deeds and deceit constitute together a single edifice that stands under divine judgment. This architectural image occurs also in 91:5; 94:6; 99:12. Parallel language in the Qumran Scrolls may well indicate that this author sees his community as a building that stands counterposed to this structure of deceit (see Excursus: The Image of the Plant in Israelite Literature). Furthermore, the parallels may suggest that the author sees as part of the structure of deceit the Jerusalem temple, to which he is opposed.

Precisely how the chosen will uproot the evil structure and execute judgment is not said. Different from v 12 and its description of the eighth week, here no

mention is made of the sword of judgment being given to the righteous. To the contrary, violence and deceit are overcome by the witness of the chosen. For a parallel in which the righteous community is depicted both as a building and as the executor of judgment, see 1QS 8:4-10.³⁸

■ **91:12-13** For the first time in the Apocalypse we hear of a “week of righteousness.” This characterization appears to pertain to the fact that in this week “all the righteous” will “execute righteous judgment” on “all the wicked,” and moreover, that the temple will reach its eschatological fulfillment.

The image of divine judgment as a sword is frequent already in the Bible (cf., e.g., Isa 34:6; Ezek 30:24; Jer 47:6). The implication is that God uses the sword(s) of human agent(s) to bring punishment by violent death (cf., e.g., Judg 7:20, “a sword for the Lord and for Gideon”). For the image of God “giving” a sword to his people, cf. 1 Enoch 90:19, the section in the Animal Vision that corresponds to this one. The inclusive term “all the righteous” may designate the full complement of God’s people as their ranks have been increased through the activity of the chosen in the seventh week. It is complementary to “all the wicked” on whom they will execute judgment. Different from 93:5 and 91:14, **דן קשט** here denotes “righteous judgment.” For the idea of God’s righteous judgment(s), cf. *Ps. Sol.* 2:15; 3:3; 4:8; and passim. For the idiom **עבר דין מן** (“to exact judgment from”), cf. 1QapGen 20:14. The term “the wicked” (**רשעין**) corresponds to **ʿella yegafēu** (“those who do violence”), which in turn very possibly translates a form of **ἀδικία/ἀδικέω**.³⁹ The root **רשע** appears again in v 14. Who “all the wicked” are is uncertain. Verse 14 indicates that in the ninth week there is still either wickedness or wicked persons to be exterminated. At the very least, 91:12 states that the righteous will destroy all the wicked with whom they have any contact. Verse 12d employs an expression that recurs in 95:3 and 98:12 to denote the militant activity of the righteous as they execute divine judgment on their enemies by means of violent death (with the sword). On the origins of this militant ideol-

37 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 20.

38 On the relationship of this text to the Apocalypse of Weeks, see Excursus: Traditions about a Religious Awakening.

39 See the passages cited by Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1212-13.

ogy, see comm. on 95:3. In view of the stereotyped usage of this terminology, Dexinger's identification of this activity with the Maccabean wars seems unwarranted.⁴⁰ The present passage can be a prediction rather than a description.

That the righteous "will acquire possessions in righteousness" (יִקְנִין נְכֹסִין בְּקִשְׁוּת) is a foil to the sinners who acquire silver, gold, and possessions not in righteousness (97:8; cf. 94:7), as well as a reversal of the present circumstances of the righteous, who are oppressed by the rich sinners (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.0). The noun נְכֹסִין occurs frequently in 1QapGen 20–22 to denote the possessions, and sometimes more specifically the herds, of Abraham, Lot, and the people of Sodom. An Aramaic "IOU" (Mur 18 ar 8) has the parallel expression נְכֹסִי וְדִי אֶקְנֶה ("my possessions and whatever I acquire").⁴¹ The conclusion of the eighth week will also be marked by the building of the eschatological temple. Hopes for the building of the eschatological temple and the New Jerusalem (the two cannot be easily separated) are expressed already in Third Isaiah (56:7–8; 60; 65:17–25) and in literature that is based on this prophet's word (cf., e.g., Tob 13:9–18; Revelation 21–22; cf. also *Sib. Or.* 3:702–31; 2 *Bar.* 4:2–7; 4 *Ezra* 10). The idea, however, appears to be lacking in the eschatological vision of the Animal Vision (90:28–29). The connection here between the acquiring of possessions and the rebuilding of the temple in its glory is probably a reflex of Isa 60:5–11 and Hag 2:6–9, which speak of the flow of wealth to Jerusalem and of the glory and splendor of the eschatological city. Here we see the culmination of the apocalypticist's accumulated references to the Israelite sanctuaries: the temple of the glorious kingdom is built forever; the temple of the kingdom is burned; the temple of the kingdom of the Great One will be built in the greatness of its glory for all the generations of eternity. Here the language that describes the temple, its significance, and its duration has been intensified beyond any of the previous references to the sanctuary. The formulation is superlative and has a ring of finality, as do other passages that use the expression "all the generations of eternity" (cf. 10:22; 103:4; 103:8; 104:5).

■ 14 In the ninth week, the righteousness realized in the seventh and eighth weeks is extended over "the whole earth." The double usage of אֲרֵעָא כּוֹלָהּ is significant. The cliché דִּין קִשְׁוּת in line b could mean "righteous judgment," as it does in v 12. For the manifestation of God's (righteous) judgment (to all the earth), cf. *Ps. Sol.* 2:17–18; 8:8. Here, however, it is more likely that "righteous law" is meant, as it is in v 5.⁴² This interpretation is consonant with the explicit reference to the conversion of humanity in line d. God's righteous law will be revealed to all of humanity. The process begun in the seventh week is brought to its completion. The conversion of the human race is a topos in the Enochic corpus. It forms the culmination of the eschatological scenario in chap. 10; cf. v 21, "all the sons of men will become righteous." Similarly the Animal Vision describes the human race returning to its primordial pristine state (90:37–38; note the repetition of "all"). A biblical basis for this idea can be found in the oracles of Third Isaiah in contexts that speak of the new temple (cf. 56:7–8; chap. 60; 66:18–24). With the revelation of God's law to all humanity, all the deeds (or doers) of wickedness will be removed from the whole earth. Again this parallels 10:20 and 22, with its repetition of "all sins . . . all impurity . . . all lawlessness . . . all the earth will be cleansed." The materializing of sins as something that can be cast into Sheol is unusual, but appears to be related to the idea expressed in 97:6 and chap. 10 (cf. also 1QS 4:19–23). Another possibility of interpretation is presented in 91:9, which appears to be based on this passage. There "all the idols of the nations . . . and the towers (i.e., temples) they will remove (*wad'a* as here) from all the earth and they will be cast (*gadafa* = יִרְבֹּץ here) into the fiery . . . eternal judgment." If that verse accurately reflects the original meaning of this passage, we have: revelation of God's truth; the destruction of idols; and finally the conversion of "all humanity," who, acting upon the revelation of the righteous law, obey it by "looking to the path of eternal righteousness" (cf. 99:10). If with Milik we trans-

40 Dexinger, *Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 136–39.

41 See Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Manual*, 138–39.

42 Dexinger, *Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 141.

late with the common expression “workers of iniquity,” we may find a parallel to this passage in Ps 6:9 (8), quoted, for example, in Matt 7:23.⁴³

Neither chap. 10 nor chap. 90 indicates by what means the conversion of the human race will take place. Both internal and external evidence provide a hint of how the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks expected that the righteous law would be revealed to the sons of the whole earth. Analogy provides the internal evidence. The chosen of the seventh week were witnesses of righteousness, and the uprooting of deceit and violence means the growth of the community of the righteous to include “all the righteous” mentioned in the eighth week. It seems likely that the author expected these righteous to reveal the law to the rest of humanity. We may think here of the mission of the Servant in Isaiah 49, who will be “a light to the nations” (49:6). Supporting this interpretation and explicating it more precisely are several passages in the Epistle. According to 100:6, “the sons of the earth will contemplate these words of this epistle, and they will recognize that their wealth cannot save them when iniquity collapses.” Moreover, in 104:12–105:2, the righteous and pious receive the books of Enoch, and they “testify to the sons of earth in their wisdom,” so that they will walk in the paths of righteousness. In any case, through the seventh, eighth, and ninth weeks, God’s judgment takes place on earth, righteousness prevails, and sin is removed. This prepares us for the completion of the process in the tenth week.

■ 15-16 The precise wording of this verse is uncertain due to the fragmentary condition of *A*, and its evident

disagreement with *C*. Nonetheless, the thrust of its content is clear. The conclusion of the tenth week—here called its “seventh part” (cf. v 3)—will see the judgment of the rebel watchers, whose sin initiated the violence that followed the righteous time in which Enoch lived. It is uncertain whether reference to “the watchers of the eternal heaven” was in the original text. It appears to conflict with the “passing away of the first heaven” mentioned in v 16. In any case the judgment of the watchers, who came from heaven, parallels the judgments that took place on earth in the seventh and eighth weeks. Thus as the earth was renewed by the end of the ninth week, the tenth week sees the appearance of a new heaven to complement the new earth (cf. Isaiah 65–66).⁴⁴ Verse 16c reflects the idea in Isa 30:26, and the renewal of the luminaries at the time of the new creation is expected in such passages as 1 Enoch 72:1 and *Jub.* 1:29. In the present context this renewal of the luminaries may be related to the judgment of the watchers. Given the association of stars and angels (see comm. on 18:12-16), the renewal of the luminaries makes up for the deficiency caused by the fall of the watchers.

■ 17 The apocalypse concludes with a prospect toward the time after the tenth. Eternity is endless time. In this time piety and righteousness will flourish permanently, because sin will have been permanently eradicated. The word pair *hirut* and *sedq* (“goodness” and “righteousness”), which appear relatively frequently in the Epistle and in chaps. 81 and 91, make their only appearance in the Apocalypse of Weeks in this verse.

43 For the terms ἐργαζόμενοι, ποιοῦντες τὴν ἀνομίαν, and ἀδικίαν, see James E. Davidson, “Anomia and the Question of an Antinomian Polemic in Matthew,” *JBL* 104 (1985) 621–26.

44 Dexinger, *Zehnwochenapokalypse*, 142.

- 11 a
For who is there of all the sons of men who is able to hear the words^b of the Holy One
and not be terrified;
and who is able to think his thoughts?
12 And who is there of all men who is able to look ^א all the works of heaven,^d
..... ?a
Or to see a soul or ^א spirit
and is able to tell?^b
Or to ascend and see all their ends,
and to consider them or make (something) like them?
13 Or who is there of all men who is able to know what is the width and length of the
earth;^a
and to whom has the size^b of all them been shown?
14 And who is there of all men who is able to know the length of the heavens,
and what is their height and upon what they are founded?
And what is the number of the stars,
and where all the luminaries rest?^a

11a On the section missing between the end of the Apocalypse of Weeks and 93:11-14, see comm. 4QEn^s 1 5:14 (Milik, *Enoch*, 269) is too fragmented to determine its full content, but there appears to have been at least one more verse similar to those that follow in vv 11-14 (ה' יכרע מה) ("... who is able to know what ...").

b Reading *qalo* ("word, voice") of ^א as a translation reflecting Aram. מנלן (4QEn^s 1 5:16, Milik, *Enoch*, 269).

c For Aram. און מנו הוא כול אנשא (4QEn^s 1 5:17; Milik, *Enoch*, 269), ^א has *wamannu* ("and who"). The fuller formula is attested in 93:11a ^א, here in ^א, and in vv 13a and 14a ^א and ^א. The ^א of v 12 does not appear to have had room for it and thus agrees there with ^א.

d *samāy*, which some ^א mss. read wrongly as *šannāy* ("beautiful").

12a The original text at this point is uncertain. The ^א mss. appear to attest the following as their archetype: *wamannu zayekel naššerota lakwellu megbara samāy (šannāy) mT⁹, dfp^{mss} | šannāy samāy c) wament we'etu zayekel 'a'merot (naššerot) gm | om. lakwellu - - - - naššerot q by hmt.) samāy wament we'etu zayekel 'a'merot (om.*

*samāy*² - - - 'a'merot² β by hmt.) *gebra samāy* ("And who [is there] who is able to look at all the works of heaven [the beautiful works mT⁹, dfp^{mss} | the works of the beautiful heaven c], and what is it that is able to know [look at gm | om. all - - - look at q, by hmt.] the heaven, and what is it that is able to know [om. the heaven - - - know β by hmt.] the works of heaven?"). There appear to be two double readings of the last line of v 11 reproduced in my translation, although it is uncertain which wording is correct. ^א is not preserved for this part of the line. 4QEn^s 1 5:17-18 does not have room for the three lines, and the preserved section of line 18 suggests a reference to the cornerstone or pillars of the earth. See comm. on vv 11-12a.

b 4QEn^s 1 5:19 (Milik, *Enoch*, 270): למחב למתניה ("to return to [tell]").

13a *rahbā wanuḥā* ^א | אורכה ופתי'ה די ארעא כולה (the length and width of the whole earth") 4QEn^s 1 5:21 (Milik, *Enoch*, 270).

b + וצורה (+ "and its shape") 4QEn^s 1 5:22 (Milik, *Enoch*, 270-71).

14a 4QEn^s 1 5:23 (Milik, *Enoch*, 270) appears not to have had this line.

■ 11-14 The interpretive problem created by these verses has long been recognized by scholars. In the text of ^א, they stand immediately after the prediction that in the seventh week the chosen will receive sevenfold wisdom and knowledge "about all his creation," and in that context they explicate the content of that wisdom and

knowledge.¹ Nonetheless, it is generally recognized that the verses allude to the content of some of Enoch's visions, and most commentators suggest that the verses have been drawn from another context in the book (perhaps the Book of the Luminaries) and appended here as a gloss on 93:10.² Whether they would have been inter-

1 See Martin, *Hénoch*, 245; Charles, *Enoch*, 231, and the other commentators cited by them.

2 Martin and Charles, loc. cit.; Dillmann, *Henoch*, 297; Stone, "Lists," 423-26.

polated between the descriptions of the seventh and eighth weeks, or inserted here when the description of the eighth to tenth weeks was displaced to chap. 91, is not clear.

The discovery of the Aramaic fragments requires us to revise this hypothesis. Although 4QEn⁸ is fragmentary, several facts are clear from the manuscript.³

(a) The section corresponding to 93:11-14 followed the Apocalypse in its entirety. It was neither placed between the seventh and eighth weeks, nor was it added when these were displaced. (b) In *Ä* the passage as we have it in *Æ* was preceded by some thirteen lines, now lost, which join it to the end of the Apocalypse of Weeks. (c) In *Ä*, as in *Æ*, the passage is followed immediately by 94:1.

In order to illuminate the literary function of the passage in light of these circumstances, we must look first at its contents. The allusion to Enoch's visions is clear. In 14:24–16:3 Enoch—who has been quaking at the sight of the enthroned Deity—hears God's voice (see esp. 15:1 and cf. 93:11). In his journeys in chaps. 17–19 and 21–32, he sees the extent of the earth, although it is not said that he has learned its measurements (93:13). In chaps. 18, 32, and 72–82 he is taken through the heavens, and in chap. 18 and in 33:2, he sees the foundations of the firmament. According to 33:3-4 he has learned the number of the stars, and in chaps. 72–82 he perceives the movements of the luminaries (93:11, 14). In chap. 22 he views the repository of the souls of the dead (93:12).

As Stone has demonstrated, the present passage stands in a tradition that extends from biblical wisdom texts to the late apocalypses, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.⁴ The earlier texts are lists of cosmic phenomena that are beyond human ken. According to *2 Baruch* 59 these same phenomena were revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai. In the early wisdom texts, the interrogative form is rhetorical and ironic and stresses the limits of human knowledge of the creation and ways of God. In a text such as Wis 9:13-18, the form is qualified: Who can

know these things, unless God enlightens him? That God does enlighten the seer or sage is the assertion of some of the apocalyptic tradition (denied, however, by *4 Ezra*), and it is in this tradition that the present passage fits. To the repeated question in the present passage, "who is there of all (the sons of) men who is able . . ." the implied answer is: "Enoch!" Expressed here is the same paradoxical fact observed in chap. 14 (see comm. on 14:8-23). As the holy God permits the seer, mortal though he is, access to his throne room, so he grants the seer a vision of what is beyond his human capacity to know—the workings of his universe.

The wording of 93:11 parallels that of Deut 4:33:

Who is there of all the sons of men who is able to hear the words of the Holy One and not be terrified?	Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking . . . and still live?
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The uniqueness of the revelation of the Torah to Israel is paralleled by the uniqueness of Enoch's revelation of the divine throne room and the cosmos. That the author may here be reflecting Deuteronomy is consonant with other allusions to that book in the Epistle, and it supports the hypothesis that the Epistle, at least, is presented as a testamentary revelation parallel to that of Moses and of at least equal importance for one's life and salvation (see Introduction § 5.1.1.4). Both *2 Baruch* 59 and *LAB* 19.10 state that Moses received revelations of the cosmos. This may indicate that they know traditions that reflect the Enochic corpus and its use of Deuteronomy.

Our understanding of the literary function of this passage in its present context is helped considerably by a comparison of this context with *2 Enoch* 33–44. The similarities come together and are close enough to indicate that the latter book knows something like the present Enochic corpus preserved in *1 Enoch*.⁵

3 See Excursus: The Original Order of Chapters 91–93.

4 Stone, "Lists," 415–52.

5 For a broader comparison see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 185–88.

	<i>2 Enoch</i>	<i>1 Enoch</i>
Command to instruct sons	33:6-9 36:1-2	81:5-9
Prediction of events to judgment	34-35	91:5-9; 93:1-10; 91:11-17
Summon the family	38:3	91:1
I have heard (and seen) God	39:1-7	93:11
I know all things	40:1-2	93:2
I saw judgment, punishment	40:12-13	(93:12)
Blessings, curses/exhortations, threats	44-63	94-105

In *2 Enoch* the various components form a coherent whole. Enoch sees the heavenly vision and hears God's words. He is sent back to earth to instruct his children. In their presence he refers to what he has seen and heard, and on the basis of this (including his journeys through the spheres earlier in the book), he admonishes his sons to obey God in order that they may be blessed rather than experience the curse that falls on the disobedient. The same dynamics appear to be at work in *1 Enoch*. The seer ascends to heaven and receives visions. He is sent back to earth to instruct his sons. Gathering them, he refers to what he has seen and heard (93:2) and he issues ethical admonitions, citing the promises of eternal life to the obedient and faithful and the threats against the sinners. Within this context, the present passage may have functioned like the corresponding elements in *2 Enoch*. Whatever the literary history of chaps. 91-93, the verbs "hear," "look at," "see,"

"have been shown" in 93:11-14 recall the same verbs in 93:2 and also 81:1-2. Thus the author or editor of this section refers back to the tradition of Enoch's visions, recorded in the Book of the Watchers, but also to the reference to Enoch's heavenly ascent in 93:2. The question, "who . . . is able to . . ." has already been answered in the present context. 93:2 and 93:11-14—both addressed to Enoch's children—relate to one another just as "I have seen, I know all things," and "What man has seen" explicitly relate to one another in *2 Enoch*. The relationship is not as explicit in the present texts of *1 Enoch* as it is in *2 Enoch*, which is not surprising in view of the tendencies of traditions to become polished and explicit. Nonetheless, the \mathfrak{C} form of the text is deceptive. There the present passage begins with 93:11. In \mathfrak{A} , however, some thirteen lines preceded that form of the text preserved in the \mathfrak{C} . Milik assumes that the whole of these lines contained a longer form of the text preserved in vv 11-14.⁶ While this is possible, the evidence from *2 Enoch* suggests that at least some of these lines constituted a transition between the Apocalypse of Weeks and our passage, including perhaps a repetition of ideas in 93:2, just as 91:18-19 picks up 91:3-4 after the digression of the Apocalypse and 94:1-5 does the same after 92:1-93:14. If this surmise is correct, then the present passage is not an erratic block dropped into the present context.

6 Milik, *Enoch*, 270.

- 1 And now I say to you, my children:
Love righteousness and walk in it;
for the paths^a of righteousness are worthy of acceptance,^b
but the paths of iniquity will quickly^c be destroyed and vanish.
- 2 And to certain men of a generation the paths of violence and death will be revealed;
and they will keep away from them,
and they will not follow them.
- 3 And now I say to you, O righteous:
Walk not in the paths^a of evil,^b nor in the paths of death;
approach them not, lest you be destroyed.
- 4 But seek^a and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life;
and walk in the paths^b of peace,
that you may live and prosper.
- 5 Hold fast the thought of your heart,
and do not ~~erase~~ my word from your heart.
For I know that sinners will tempt men to do harm to wisdom;
and no place will be found for her,
and none of the temptation will diminish.

1a	"works" (<i>megbārāta</i>) u.	4a	^ʾ <i>allā feqedu</i> <i>kama</i> ^ʾ <i>ella yefaqqudu</i> ^ʾ <i>ekuya</i> ("as those who seek evil") g.
b	are - - acceptance] <i>yedallu yetwakkafewwo(mu)</i> t(u,β) "are worthy and acceptable" (<i>yedallu wayetwakkaf(u)</i> gq (mT ⁹).	b	"path" (<i>fenota</i>) mT ⁹ .ip ¹ na'.
c	Om. q.		
3a	"path" (<i>fenot[a]</i>) q,β-bx.		
b	+ "and violence" (<i>wagef</i> ^c) β. Cf. 91:19.		

■ 94:1-5 This is the longest and most elaborate of the three pieces of two-ways instruction (91:3-4; 91:18-19; 94:1-5) that bracket the historical reviews in chaps. 91 and 93 (cf. also Excursus: The Literary Unity of 1-36). Its symmetrical structure comprises two parallel strophes.

A. Address	v 1a	v 3a
B. Admonition	v 1bcd	vv 3b-5b
C. Prediction	v 2	v 5cde

The double address to "my children" and to "the righteous" (vv 1a, 3a) corresponds to the double audience envisioned for Enoch's books in 82:1-2 and 92:1. In the first strophe (vv 1b-d) Enoch admonishes his children to walk in the right paths and concludes with a prediction about a future generation that will avoid the evil paths that will be revealed to them. In the second strophe (v 2) he admonishes the righteous of this generation, as he had his sons. The concluding prediction underscores the admonition and provides a transition to the body of the

Epistle, which is, in effect, a description of the sinful and violent ways of the latter generations.

Excursus: The Two Ways

From at least the sixth century on in Israel, the image of the two ways served as a common metaphor for presenting ethical admonition. One's life was depicted as walking on a path or on multiple paths. One could walk on a good path, or good paths, or on an evil path or evil paths. One's deeds were one's way(s) (cf. already the Elohist in Gen 6:12).

The imagery runs like a thread through Proverbs 1-8.¹ By its very nature, the binary image presents a polarized view of human life and behavior. One speaks of what is right in contrast to what is wrong, or vice versa, although a given passage may refer explicitly to only one or the other path or set of paths. The character of the path(s) is indicated by the nouns or adjectives attached to them. They may be described with reference to the one who traverses them ("the wicked," "the righteous," רשעים, צדיקים,

1 Prov 1:15-19; 2:7-20; 3:6, 17, 23; 4:11-19, 26-27; 5:6-8, 21; 7:25-27; 8:2, 9, 20.

e.g., 4:14-19) or by the quality that attaches to the behavior they comprise ("evil," "uprightness," רע, ישר, e.g., 2:12-13). From start to finish, one walks on many paths. Yet as a whole it is one path. The two ways provide a comprehensive metaphor that is variously elaborated. One "walks" or "runs" on the way (1:15-16, רץ, הלך), but one may also "stumble" (4:12, 19, כשל). One can "enter" or "avoid" and "pass by" a path (4:14-15, פָּרַע, בּוֹא, עָבַר). One can "incline toward" (יָשַׁע, נָטָה) and "turn aside" (סוּר) or "stray" (תָּעָה) from or toward one or the other of the paths (4:27; 7:25). A good path is straight (4:25, יָשָׁר). A path always leads somewhere—in this case to life or to Sheol and death (2:18-19; 5:56; 7:27). Finally, the imagery is associated with instruction. This is obvious not only by the context and explicit nature of the admonition (e.g., 4:10), but also by the imagery of light and darkness. The righteous can see where they are going, while the wicked stumble in darkness (4:18-19).

The imagery of the two ways becomes associated with the Mosaic Torah as that Torah comes to dominate the religious life of Israel. In Deut 30:15-30 the ways of life and death are related to obedience or disobedience to God's commandments (for reference to "the way," see v 16), with "life" and "death" summarizing the covenantal blessings and curses already spelled out in chaps. 28–29.² The imagery with reference to the Torah is a leitmotif in Psalm 119. At the beginning of the Book of Tobit, its hero offers this programmatic statement, "I, Tobit, walked in the paths of truth and righteousness all the days of my life" (1:3). He explicates this by reference to his observance of the Torah and contrasts his behavior with that of his apostate compatriots in the northern kingdom (1:4-9). The two-ways imagery recurs in his testamentary instruction to Tobiah (4:5-6, 10, 19). These

poetic units, which closely parallel the two-ways instruction in the Epistle of Enoch, explicate the notion of action and consequence: good deeds bring life and deliver from death. In addition, the author narrativizes the idea of walking on a path in his account of Tobiah's journey from Nineveh to Ecbatana (cf. 5:21-22).

Several important turns in the use of the two-ways image are signaled in the Qumran Community Rule (1QS 3:15–4:26).³ (1) The two-ways imagery structures a kind of catechetical instruction about right and wrong conduct, employing a literary form that accords with the Deuteronomic covenantal formula.⁴ (2) The two ways are associated with two angels who represent the cosmic powers of good and evil and who serve as guides along the right and wrong paths. (3) This cosmic dualism provides a theoretical framework for the exclusivistic worldview that governs the Community Rule. Walking on the right way involves observance of the community's revealed interpretation of the Torah. (4) Lists of temporal and eternal rewards and eternal punishments spell out the consequences of human behavior. A similar exclusivistic use occurs in CD 1:10–2:14 (esp. 1:10-15; 2:6).

The two-ways imagery structures formal ethical instruction also in *Didache* 1–6, *Barnabas* 18–20, the *Doctrina Apostolorum* 1–5, the *Mandates of the Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Testament of Asher*.⁵ In *Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Testament of Asher*, the two ways are associated with the two angels. A version of this instruction may also stand behind *Wisdom* 1–5, perhaps *Sir* 15:11–17:24,⁶ and quite probably *Gal* 5:16–6:8 and *Romans* 6–8.⁷ A literalizing of the ways and their ends in a pair of gates leading to eternal life and eternal destruction appears in *Matt* 7:13-14 and *T. Abr.* 11–12 A; 8–9 B, and seems to be presumed in *Rom* 6:20-23.⁸

2 For an ironic use of the imagery of this passage explicated with reference to the "ways" of life and death, cf. *Jer* 20:8. Cf. also the explicit references to the ways of life and death in *Tg. Yer.* Deut 30:15.

3 For a summary discussion see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 156–59. On the relationship of this text to a possible Jewish archetype, see idem, "Seeking the Origins of the Two-Ways Tradition in Jewish and Christian Ethical Texts," in Benjamin W. Wright, ed., *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (Scholars Press Homage Series 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999) 95–108.

4 Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary*, 99–109.

5 See Jean-Paul Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du 'Manuel de Discipline,'" *RB* 59 (1952)

219–38; 60 (1953) 41–82; Robert A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary; New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965) 134–62; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 156–65.

6 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 167 n. 121.

7 George W. E. Nickelsburg, "The Incarnation: Paul's Solution to the Universal Human predicament," in Birger A. Pearson, ed., *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 350–54.

8 For a detailed discussion of *Matt* 7:13-14, see Wilhelm Michaelis, "ὁδός," *TDNT* 5 (1967) 70–75.

Detailed discussion of the “way” imagery in the NT is beyond the scope of this excursus, except for a couple of points. The terms “the way of righteousness” and “the way of truth” ([ἡ] ὁδὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης/ἀληθείας, Matt 21:32; 2 Pet 2:2, 21) should be studied in light of the technical two-ways usage of that terminology especially in 1 Enoch. The term in Matt 21:32 with reference to John the Baptist and perhaps Jesus (cf. Matt 3:15) may have some of the exclusivistic connotations of the Community Rule. The same may pertain to the absolute usage, “the way,” applied to the early Christian community in Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22.⁹

In 1 Enoch the image of the ways may be presumed in 8:2, although the passage may simply reflect the wording of Gen 6:12. In 1 Enoch 2:1–5:6, however, the heavenly bodies’ adherence to their paths (i.e., their orbits) is contrasted with the disobedience of humans, who have turned aside. The image of the ways is more explicit in the descriptions of the apostasy of Israel and Saul in the Animal Vision (89:32, 44–45, 51). The image occurs principally, however, in the paraenesis of the Epistle. The three passages that frame the predictions in chap. 91 and the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:3–4, 18–19; 94:1–4) find their closest parallels in the testamentary instruction of Tobit cited above (although this is not cosmic knowledge). Other occurrences summarize Enoch’s teaching as “the way of righteousness” and “the way of truth” (99:10; 104:12–105:2; 108:13). Complementing this is the frequent technical use of the verb “to wander” and the noun “error” with reference to sin (on the occurrences of the *πλαν-* group in the Epistle, see Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies). The application of the imagery parallels its function in Deuteronomy 30 and Psalm 119, albeit with 1 Enoch’s ignoring of the Mosaic Torah (Introduction §4.2.5). The book’s apocalyptic worldview notwithstanding, there is no indication that the theology of the two ways is linked here with the notion of two opposing cosmic powers. Nor is there any evidence that the construct of the two ways has been informed by the “catechetical” traditions evidenced in 1QS 3–4 and the parallel texts listed above.

The instruction provides a theoretical framework for the specific admonitions that follow. There are two ways or kinds of ways. The paths of righteousness, which lead to life, involve obedience to God’s commandments (cf. 99:10) as these are expounded by “the wise” (98:9–99:2)

as well as faithful trust that God will vindicate one in spite of present oppression. The exhortations in the chapters that follow, with their appeals to stand fast and their promises of vindication and eternal life, are extensions of the present admonitions to walk in the paths of righteousness and life. The paths of violence and iniquity and evil, which lead to destruction and death, are to be found in the conduct of the sinners, whose actions are described vividly especially in the threats in chaps. 94–102. The “righteous” and “sinners” mentioned here in vv 3a and 5c are, then, the principal characters in the chapters that follow.

This passage serves as an introduction to the chapters that follow and a transition from the Apocalypse of Weeks. The “certain men of a generation” (v 2) correspond to the chosen at the end of the seventh week, to whom wisdom is revealed in the midst of a perverse generation (93:9–10). This wisdom is the path of righteousness mentioned in 91:14 and central to the instruction here. The opposition of violence and deceit and righteousness in the Apocalypse has its counterpart in the ways of righteousness and violence that are set in antithetical parallelism throughout this passage.

Ethical instruction is historically and eschatologically oriented. The addressees are identified not simply as the children of the pseudepigraphic sage, but also as people living during the real author’s historical time, when the events described in chaps. 94–105 were taking place. This time, in turn, is identified in the Apocalypse of Weeks as the beginning of the eschaton.

The instruction in this passage derives mainly from the wisdom tradition. As the parallels in the commentary suggest, there is quite possibly a literary connection with Proverbs 4 and some substantive connection with the wisdom instruction in Tob 4:5–6, 19. Nonetheless, the historical and eschatological orientation of the passage differs from the timeless character of the instruction in Proverbs and Tobit. But it parallels the instruction in such testamentary works as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where instruction is related positively and negatively to predictions of the end time and

9 On the problem of the absolute usage, see *ibid.*, who cites CD 1:13; 2:6, albeit with caution.

the kinds of human behavior attributed to it.¹⁰ The testamentary situation is present here, as the context of chaps. 81–82 and 91 indicates. As in the *Testaments*, one addresses wisdom instruction to one's children during one's last day(s). The evident paraphrase of Deut 30:19 in v 4 is not accidental; the author phrases his instruction in words drawn from the two-ways formulation in Moses' farewell address to Israel.

■ 1 The formula “And now I say to you (my children)” resumes the testamentary situation in 91:3, 18–19 and is repeated in part in v 3 below. It is paralleled by the formula “Hear, O sons; hear, my son” in Prov 4:1, 10. Line b (ʿafqerwā lasedq wabati ʾhoru) is paralleled verbatim in 91:3, where אמת is reflected by the alternative translation “truth” (*ret*^c). The command to love truth or righteousness reflects an internalizing of ethics. Right conduct springs from within, from a proper disposition toward God and what he commands. According to Prov 4:6 one is to “love” wisdom. The command to love “truth” appears in Zech 8:19 (והאמת והשלום אהבו, καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπήσατε, “love truth and peace”; cf. 8:16) and in the testamentary instructions addressed to “my child(ren)” in *T. Reub.* 3:9; *T. Dan* 2:1; 6:8. Love of righteousness leads to right conduct (“walk in it”).

Lines c and d provide the reasons for the commands in line b. The righteous life *commends itself* to be followed.¹¹ The expression “worthy of acceptance” (*yedallu wayetwakkaf*) is idiomatic and occurs in 1 Tim 1:15 and 4:9 (*retu^c wayetwakkafewwo*, ἀποδόχης ἄξιός), where it is formulaic. The antithesis between lines c and d indicates that the reward of life makes the paths of righteousness worthy of acceptance. The quickness or suddenness of destruction is a topos in these chapters (see comm. on 94:6–7) and anticipates this motif in 94:6–7. The line may refer to the ultimate destruction of evil (cf. 92:5). More likely the author uses a metonymy. Those who follow the paths of iniquity will suddenly perish. “Destruction” and “being destroyed” or “perishing” (here the pass.

yethagwal; elsewhere *hagwel* and ἀπόλλυμι, ἀλώλεια) are typical words in these chapters for the damnation that follows or is coincidental with judgment, and the root is a technical term for destruction in two-ways passages—usually opposed to “life” (cf. below v 4).¹²

■ 2 This verse is a negatively formulated version of 93:10. The time is the “perverse generation” of the ninth week. The “certain” (ʿemurān = τινές)¹³ men—unnamed, but known to the author¹⁴—are the elect, chosen in that week. The wisdom and knowledge given to them (93:10) include the revelation of the wickedness of the conduct that characterizes their time. “Wisdom will be given” (93:10) is the equivalent of “will be revealed” (the use of the latter verb here is rare in 1 Enoch). The paths are described here both according to the conduct that characterizes them (“violence,” *gef^c*, perhaps reflecting the same original as ʿamadā in v 1d) and their result (“death”). Death is a technical term connected with the two-ways theology (cf., e.g., Jer 21:8; Prov 14:12; 16:25).¹⁵ Here it anticipates its opposite, “life,” in v 4. The negative image in lines b and c is paralleled in Prov 4:14–15, and the verb “keep away” (*raqha*) anticipates its opposite, “approach” (*qarba*), used negatively in v 3c. Both vv 2 and 3 are paralleled in 91:19. Verse 2 as a whole is paralleled by CD 2:11–13, which also speaks of a pious awakening: “He raised up for himself those called by a name . . . and he made known to them . . . his holy spirit and showed them the truth. . . . But those whom he hated, he led astray” (. . . וידעם שם . . . קריא שם . . . רוח קדשו וחיו אמת . . . ואם אשר שני החטא).

■ 3-5b We have heard the last of “my sons” (but cf. 105:2); the opening formula of 94:1 is directed to “the righteous,” alluded to in v 2, and concerning whom we shall hear much more in the chapters that follow. The two antithetical lines of v 3bc correspond to ideas in vv 1 and 2 (“walk in it|walk not . . . ; keep away|approach not . . .”). The command not to approach the paths of death reflects the prediction in v 2 that the men of the generation will keep away from these paths, thus clarify-

10 See Eckhard von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten* (2 vols.; ALGHJ 13, 18; Leiden: Brill, 1980–85) 1:12–107.

11 See Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972) 28–29. In Koine Greek the expression indicates the recognition that someone or something

has been accorded.

12 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 131–33, on the *Psalms of Solomon*.

13 Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 731.

14 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 305.

15 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 159–65.

ing the identification of “the righteous” with the group in v 2 and employing the testamentary device of predication and exhortation. The content of the command in v 3 closely parallels Prov 4:14-15. The idea of keeping one’s distance recurs in 91:4 (also *ῥitegrabu*) and in 104:6.

Verse 4 is an expanded paraphrase of Deut 30:19 (“and choose life, that you may live,” ובחרת בחיים למען (תחיה)). The verb “seek” (*faqada*) suggests a conflation of Deut 30:19 with Amos 5:4, 6 (“Seek me/YHWH and live”), an understandable conflation in view of the reference in 5:7 to those who “turn *justice* to wormwood and cast down *righteousness* to the earth.” For the paraphrase of other passages in Amos 4–6, see comm. on 96:5-6. The verb “seek” (Heb. בקש, דרש) often denotes prayer or the interpretive process.¹⁶ Its combination here with “choose” suggests the process of ascertaining God’s will and carrying it out. For the remarkable use of “seek” with “righteousness” as its object, cf. 1 Macc 2:29 and Matt 6:33.

The term “an elect life” is unique in the Epistle. Possibly *heywata hērita* is corrupt for *heywata hēta* (“the good [or ‘pious’] life”); cf. comm. on 102:5. As the text stands, however, it employs an odd wordplay between the verb “choose” and the adjective “elect.” One is to choose the life that is characteristic of “the chosen.” One is to live in keeping with one’s calling as the (successors of) the chosen men of the generation (cf. 93:10; 94:2). The imagery of the two ways is implicit in Deut 30:19 (cf. “I have set before you life and death . . .” with Jer 21:8, “Behold I set before you the way of life and the way of death”). The Epistle does not elsewhere identify the good paths as “paths of peace,” although 92:1 and 105:2 may imply the imagery in its promise of peace to those who walk in the paths of truth. Peace is, like life, the blessing of those who walk in the right paths. Thus it is a veritable catchword for the totality of divine blessing, the well-being that belongs to those who are faithful to God’s commandments.¹⁷ Moreover, like Heb. חסד (“loving kindness”), it is a characteristic of the righteous as well as

God (cf. 92:1, “those who observe righteousness and peace”). The language here may be drawn from Prov 3:17, “All her (i.e., Wisdom’s) paths are peace.” “Life” is a technical term for the blessing of those who walk in the good path,¹⁸ and prosperity is a natural synonym. Moreover, the verb *εὐδοκῶ* (Eth. *dalawa* usually translating Heb. צלח) occurs frequently in our literature with *ὁδός* (“way, road”) as its object (cf., e.g., Gen 24:21; Deut 28:29; Tob 4:6, 19; Isa 46:11; see also Tob 5:16, 21 [5:17, 22 LXX]; 11:1, 15 [S] literally of Tobiah’s journey).¹⁹

That one should “hold fast” (*teḥezu*) to wisdom is a recurrent idea (cf. Sir 1:19; 1 Bar 4:1 [κρατέω]). The formulation of the present passage reflects Prov 4:4: “Let your heart hold fast my words; keep my commandments, and live,” (תמך בדברי לבך שמר מצותי וחיה). The antithetical parallelism here indicates that “the thought of your heart” is closely related to “my word.” One is to meditate on “my word,” which is wisdom—as the next verse will indicate. The antithesis between holding fast and erasing parallels the similar antithesis between holding fast and “forsaking” or “forgetting” in 1 Bar 4:1 and Prov 4:4-6, and between “remembering” and “erasing” in Tob 4:19. The possibility of such an eventuality is spelled out in v 5cd, which is causally connected with v 5ab by the conjunction “for” (*esma*).

■ **5cde** Here, as in the previous strophe (and the relationship of v 2 to vv 3-5b), paraenesis and prediction are connected. Enoch’s admonition to hold fast to wisdom (v 5ab) is based on his knowledge that sinners will tempt men to maltreat wisdom (for the same kind of connection, cf. comm. on 104:10).

The author concludes this section with reference to the myth of the descent of Wisdom.²⁰ God sends Wisdom to offer humanity (or Israel in particular) life (Prov 1:20-31; Sir 24:1-29; 1 Bar 3:14–4:4). According to the version of the myth pithily summarized in 1 Enoch 42, Wisdom “found no place to dwell” and returned to heaven—in contrast to Sirach 24 and 1 Baruch 3–4, according to which she made her dwelling in Israel.

16 On the use of the verb with reference to books, see Rodney A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution* (SBLEJL 13; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 112.

17 See Gerhard von Rad, “*εἰρήνη, κτλ.*,” *TDNT* 2 (1964) 402–6.

18 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 159–65.

19 See Wilhelm Michaelis, “*ὁδός, κτλ.*,” *TDNT* 5 (1967) 111.

20 See George W. MacRae, “The Jewish Background of the Gnostic Sophia Myth,” *NovT* 12 (1970) 86–101.

Here the author speaks of doing harm to Wisdom (*yegbaru* . . . *'ekuya* = *κακοποιέω*; cf. Mark 3:4; Luke 6:9). Perhaps the author thinks of the maltreatment of the righteous, thoroughly documented in the following chapters. Alternatively, he may be referring to the abuse of Wisdom by those who follow the unrighteous life in general or those who are false teachers (cf. 98:9–99:2). In either case the present passage speaks of three parties:

Wisdom, the sinners, and men. The author is concerned with the possibility that the sinners will lead others into their own sinful ways. Thus the warning fits the context and its admonitions that “the righteous” avoid the ways of wickedness—a warning echoed in 91:4; 104:6.

A.1 WOES AGAINST THE VIOLENT AND RICH

- 6 Woe to those who build iniquity and violence,
and lay deceit ~~as~~ foundation;
for quickly they will be overthrown,^a
and they will have no peace.
- 7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin;
for from all their foundations they will be overthrown,
and by the sword they will fall.
And those who acquire gold and silver in judgment^a will quickly perish.
- 8 Woe to you, rich, for in your riches you have trusted;
from your riches you will depart,
because you have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.
- 9 You have committed blasphemy and iniquity;
and you have been prepared^a for the day of bloodshed
and the day of^b darkness and the day of^c great judgment.
- 10 Thus I say and make known to you:
He who created you will overturn you;
and for your fall^a there will be no compassion,
and your Creator will rejoice ~~in~~ your destruction.
- 11 And your righteous ones^a in those days will be a reproach to the sinners and the
wicked.
- 95:1 O that my eyes were a <fountain>^a of water,
that I might weep over you;
I would pour out my tears as a cloud of water,
and I would rest from the grief of my heart.
- 2 Who has permitted you to practice hatred and evil?
The judgment will overtake you,^a sinners.

A.2 AN EXHORTATION TO THE RIGHTEOUS

- 3 Fear not the sinners, O righteous;
for the Lord will again deliver them into your hand,
that you may execute^a judgment^b upon them as you desire.

B.1 A SECOND STRING OF WOES

- 4 Woe to you who utter anathemas that you cannot loose;^a
healing will be far from you on account of your sins.
- 5 Woe to you who repay your neighbor with evil;
for you will be repaid according to your deeds.
- 6 Woe to you, lying witnesses, and those who weigh out injustice;
for quickly you will be destroyed.^a
- 7 Woe to you sinners because you persecute the righteous;
for you will be handed over and persecuted because of injustice;
and their^a yoke will be heavy upon you.

B.2 TWO MORE EXHORTATIONS

- 96:1 Be hopeful,^a O righteous;
for quickly the sinners will perish before you,
and you will have authority ~~over~~ them ~~as~~ you desire.
- 2 On the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
your children^a will mount up and ascend^b like eagles,
and higher than the vultures will be your nest;
you will climb up and enter^c the crevices of the earth,
and the clefts of the rock forever,
like conies, before the lawless.

And they will sigh^d because of you^e
and weep like^f sirens.
Fear not, you who have suffered;
for you will receive healing,
and a bright light will shine upon you,
and the voice of rest you will hear from heaven.

- 6a *yetnaššatu* | “it will be overthrown” (*yetnaššat*) q.
7a “and in the judgment” (*wabakwennanē*) T⁹.
9a blasphemy ---- prepared] *lašerfat wala‘amaḏā*
wadelwāna konkemu | *la‘amaḏā wala‘eraft delwāna*
konkemu (“iniquity, and for rest you have been pre-
pared,” a transposition and corruption) T⁹.
b bloodshed -- day of] om. T⁹, hmt.
c darkness -- day of] om. g, hmt.
10a *deqatkemu* | “your murder” (*qatlkemmu*, corrupt) t | “your
righteousness” (*sedqkemmu*, corrupt) T⁹.
11a “your (sg.) righteous ones” (*wašādeqān zī‘aka*) gmqtT⁹ |
“your (pl.) righteous ones” (*wašādeqān zī‘akemu*) β.
95:1
a Text: *dammanā* (“cloud”), which I read as a corruption
in the Aramaic. See reconstruction in comm. on v 1.
2a Lit. “will find you” (*yerakkebakemu*) gmqt, Ull | “may it
(the judgment) find you” (*yerakbakemu*) β.
3a your ---- execute] “their hand, that he may execute”
(*‘edēhomu kama yegbar*) g.
b *kwennanē* | “all” (*kwello*) T⁹.
4a *‘iteftehu* t (according to Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 199 nn.
32–33), β | “cannot be loosed” (*‘iyetfattehu*) m²u 2080 |
“can be loosed” (*yetfattehu*) gm¹qt (?) Knibb, *Enoch*,
1:357) T⁹.
6a *tethagwalu* | “they will be destroyed” (*yethagwalu*) t.
7a *zī‘ahomu* t 1768, β | “its” (*zī‘ahā*, *zī‘ahu*) gmqtT⁹.
96:1
a *tasafawu*. For other occurrences, and the problem of
translation, see comm. on 96:1 | “rejoice” (*tafašhu*) tu.
2a *‘eqwela zī‘akemu* | *‘egwela zī‘ahomu* (“their children”)
2080 | “those who are theirs” (*‘ella zī‘ahomu*, corrupt)
q.
b *wayetnašše‘u* mq, β | “and be overthrown” (*wayetnassatu*)
gtu | “and be revealed” (*wayetkaššatu*) T⁹.
c *watebawwe‘u* | “and they will be brought in” (*wayet-
bawwe‘u*) g.
d *wayen‘eku* | *wayen‘ek*, *wayen‘eka* (sg.) mq, T⁹ | “and they
will bite” (*wayenašseku* g).
e *dibēkemmu* | “because of them” (*[ba.]dibēhomu*) [T⁹]mq).
f *kama* | om. gm¹, thus making “sirens” the subject of
the sentence. See comm. on 96:2.

■ **94:6–96:3** Each of the two complementary parts of this discourse (A, B) consists of a short string of woes (three and four, respectively) that indict mainly social ills and an exhortation that the righteous stand fast as they anticipate executing judgment on the sinners. In the first part (94:6–95:3) the woes (94:6–8) are supplemented by other forms of address to the sinners that strengthen the indictment and spell out how the sinners’ actions will have disastrous consequences in the coming judgment (94:9–95:2). A single exhortation follows (95:3). The whole of this part of the discourse to the sinners is closely paralleled by 99:12–100:4, and both show the influence of Jeremiah (see comm. on 99:12–14). In the second part (95:4–96:3) the woes are followed immediately by an exhortation (96:1) that parallels 95:3. This in turn is expanded by other material addressed to the righteous (including a second exhortation) that emphasizes the security of the righteous during the time of

judgment and their blessed state after it (96:2–3). The literary symmetry of the whole section (woes + expansion; exhortation|woes; exhortation + expansion) introduces the theme of twofold judgment into the body of the Epistle in broad programmatic fashion.

■ **94:6–7** This pair of woes about those who “build,” with the verb used metaphorically in the first woe and literally in the second, is paralleled in 99:12–13. Verse 6 is a tetrastich in which two sets of lines (6ab|6cd) employ internal complementary synonymous parallelism to express indictment and announcement of judgment, respectively. On the idea of evil as a structure, cf. 99:12; 91:5; 91:11; and comm. on 91:11. In its wording v 6 is most closely paralleled by 99:12, which also speaks of a foundation of deceit. For the triad “iniquity, violence, deceit” (*‘amaḏā*, *geḏf*, *gwehlut*), cf. 91:8. Cf. also comm. on 93:4. The quickness or suddenness (*ḡetuna* = ταχύ) of the judgment is a topos in these chapters (see Introduction

to chaps. 92–105, §2.1) and is mentioned in this section also in 94:7; 95:6; 96:1. For a similar metaphorical use of judgment as the overthrowing of a house, cf. 100:6 and Matt 7:26–27. The verb (*našata*) is repeated in 94:7. The expression “they will have no peace” (*ʿalḇomu salām*) is typical of these chapters. It appears elsewhere in the second person plural and translates οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν χαίρειν (98:11, 16; 99:13; 101:3 [cf. 5:4]; 102:3; 103:8). All but twice it stands in parallelism with another expression of judgment. “Peace” (שלום) denotes eschatological blessing (see comm. on 1:8); the present formulation denies this possibility for the sinners and announces their damnation. As phrased, the expression appears to derive from Isa 48:22; 57:21: יהוה לרשעים אומר שלום אמן, οὐκ ἔστιν χαίρειν τοῖς ἀσεβέσι λέγει (εἶπε) κύριος (ὁ θεός) LXX (“there is no peace, says the Lord [God], for the wicked”). Milik sees the expression as an “anti-epistolary” address.¹ However, while the positive form of the address does occur in epistles² and in oral greetings,³ its repetition here (rather than its placement at the end of the Epistle) and the use of the negative formulation in Second Isaiah argue against this interpretation.

In v 7 the author speaks of the building of actual houses (cf. 99:13). The *ἔ* *baḥāṭiʿat* is perhaps best interpreted circumstantially (“by sin”) in consonance with Jer 22:13 בלֹא צֶדֶק . . . בלֹא מִשְׁפָּט; “by unrighteousness, by injustice,” RSV) although a material and metaphorical interpretation (“with [stones and bricks of] sin”; cf. 99:13) cannot be excluded. In either case the author appears to allude to one or several forms of social injustice: slavery or some kind of impressed labor (so 99:13, following Jer 22:13); nonpayment of wages (cf. Jas 5:4 of agricultural laborers) or some other abuse of the employer-employee relationship; the snatching up of land or materials that do not rightfully belong to the builder; ill-gotten riches that make the building of such houses possible, an idea consonant with v 7d and v 8. The last two lines of the tristich describe twofold judgment.

The houses built in sin will be overthrown (cf. v 6) and their builders put to death. Judgment by the sword is mentioned also in the parallel passage in 99:16 immediately before the righteous are mentioned, and in 91:12 and 98:12 with explicit reference to the righteous. In view of this and of the parallel exhortation in 95:3, this seems to be the author’s meaning here.

Verse 7d speaks of accepting bribes or otherwise obtaining money through, for example, judicial confiscations (cf. 97:8). The topic and the word of judgment parallel 95:6, which may speak for its originality here, although in its present form the one-line passage appears to be defective. Charles brackets it as an interpolation.⁴ In context it serves as a transition to v 8.

■ 8 The author’s indictments of the rich and announcements of their judgment are scattered throughout these chapters (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §3.2). As a first statement on the subject, this verse is programmatic and explicit. Here alone in these chapters, they are addressed simply as “the rich” (*ʿabeʿlt*, πλούσιοι; for occurrences of “wealth” [*beʿl* = πλοῦτος], cf. comm. on 96:4). Also explicit are the claims that they trust in their wealth and do not remember God. The motif of trust is implicit in 97:8–10, on which this verse appears to be modeled, and in 100:6. The departure here is the death of the rich, effected by God’s judgment; the formulation is the opposite of 97:10, where the wealth departs from the wealthy. The second line of the tristich, the word of judgment, begins with “and” rather than the typical “for” (*ʿesma*, ὅτι). In this passage, the latter conjunction introduces the final line, which stands in antithetical parallelism to the first line, giving the whole a ringlike structure (a-b-a’). To remember God is a biblical cliché.⁵ Here, however, there appears to be an allusion to Deuteronomy 8, esp. vv 17–18. The rich forget (or deny) God as the source of their wealth, and rather than trusting in God, they find security in what they presume to have acquired by and for themselves (cf. 97:8–10). Not to remember God may also suggest their failure to pay

1 Milik, *Enoch*, 51–52.

2 On the Greek usage of χαίρειν, see Hans Conzelmann, “χαίρειν, κτλ.,” *TDNT* 9 (1974) 360 n. 9. On the Aramaic usage of שָׁלוֹם, see comm. on 92:1.

3 BAGD, 874.

4 Charles, *Enoch*, 235.

5 Otto Michel, “μνησκόμαι,” *TDNT* 4 (1967) 675.

tithes and give alms (cf. Luke 12:21).⁶ Other explicit biblical references to the wealthy trusting in their wealth include Prov 11:28; Pss 49:7 (6); 52:9 (7); Jer 9:23.

■ **9-11** These verses extend the subject of sin and judgment begun in the woes. Verse 9a continues the discourse to the sinners in v 8 and summarizes the indictments in the three woes. To “commit iniquity” (*gabra ʿamaḏā*) is a cliché for sinning, both in these chapters and in parallel literature (see comm. on 91:14, n. 22). It also occurs in the parallel passage in 99:15. Blasphemy is mentioned in 91:7 and 96:7 as one specific sin in a list of more general terms and in 108:6. It is missing in 99:15 and has been added to the tradition here perhaps as an interpretation of v 8. To trust in one’s wealth and deny that God is the giver is to insult God’s majesty.

As in the woes, judgment is the consequence of sin (vv 9b-10). The threefold reference to the day of requital is paralleled in 98:10, but here the threefold repetition of “day of . . .” echoes “the days of your riches” in v 8 and announces a fearful reversal of present prosperity. The bloodshed that will characterize the coming day is mentioned in 99:6 in a closely parallel passage, and it is described in some detail in 100:1-3. The allusion here is probably to the “sword” mentioned in 94:7. “Day of darkness” may be an allusion to biblical passages about the Day of the Lord (cf. Joel 2:2; Amos 5:18-20; Zeph 1:15). In 1 Enoch darkness generally denotes the place of punishment (102:7; 103:8; cf. 10:4-5; 46:6; 62:10; 63:6, 11), as it may here. “The day of great judgment” specifies the function of the coming day. The present expression occurs in these chapters only here and in the parallel passage in 99:15 (cf. 96:8), but on “the great judgment” see the Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1. For this terrible day the sinners are “prepared.” The idea recurs in 98:10; 99:6, as well as in 53:3-5; 54:4-5; 60:6; 66:1, of the judgment, and in 103:3, of the coming good fortune of the righteous. God or his agents prepare these things, and this preparation,

which is already a fact, stresses the inevitability of requital.⁷

Verse 10 reaffirms and expands on v 9. The double formula that introduces v 10a is a solemn affirmation that defines what follows as revelation (see comm. on 93:2). The passage reverses the Deutero-Isaianic juxtaposition of creation and redemption. The double reference to God as Creator underscores the sinners’ subservience to him in spite of their asserted independence of him (v 8). In the tristich that follows v 10a, the first two lines make double reference to 94:6-7: the sinners “fall” and are “overthrown” (here “overturned,” *gaftēʿa*). The first and third lines (v 10bd) are in progressive parallelism. Verses 7c and 10c together parallel 98:12—slaughter by the sword without compassion. On God’s joy over the sinners’ destruction, see also 89:58 and cf. Pss 2:4; 37:13. But contrast Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11. The present passage as a whole is a terrible assertion of the Creator’s inevitable vengeance on those who have defied him.

Verse 11 is problematic for several reasons. It is a single long prose line. Charles thinks the verse is defective.⁸ The form “your righteous ones” is odd. The sudden direct address to the righteous, who are, however, not mentioned by name, breaks into the context of otherwise continuous address to the sinners. Perhaps Ⲉ reflects a mistranslation in the Greek, where the ethical dative *ὑμῖν* was read as a dative of possession. In that case we could restore: “And the righteous, in those days, will be a reproach to you, the sinners and the erring.” That is, not only will God rejoice over their destruction, but the righteous will do so also. Cf. Isa 66:24; Dan 12:2.

■ **95:1-2** In contrast to God’s joy over the sinners’ destruction, the author expresses his grief over them in a lament that is based on Jer 8:23 (9:1) and is paralleled in 2 Bar. 35:2. The emendation of “cloud” to “fountain” (v 1a) in my translation is based on the language of Jeremiah and presumes an Aramaic corruption here of *עֵן* to *עַן*. The following reconstruction of the Aramaic indicates frequent alliteration in the poetic text:⁹

6 See J. Duncan M. Derrett, “The Rich Fool: A Parable of Jesus Concerning Inheritance,” *Heyf* 18 (1977) 143–45.

7 See Walter Grundmann, “ἔτοιμος,” *TDNT* 2 (1964) 705–6.

8 Charles, *Enoch*, 236.

9 On the textual problems see *ibid*; Black, *Enoch*, 297.

מן יחן עיני כעין דמיין ואבכי עלכון
ואשפך דמעני כענן דמיין ואנח מדוויא דלב

The translation of v 2 is uncertain. The initial Ethiopic formula *manu wahabakemmu kama* ("who has given you that . . .") closely parallels the introductory formula to v 1, and it would seem easiest to translate v 2 also as a wish. Since the author cannot be wishing that the sinners practice evil, however, one must emend the verb *tegabberu* ("you do") to *tetgabbaru* ("you become"). But the wish would be inconsonant with the sentiment in v 1, which laments their wickedness. As translated, the verse denies by rhetorical question that sinners have been compelled to sin. They are responsible for their sin, and therefore they can expect the judgment (cf. 98:4). With this final reference, the author summarizes the heart of his discourse to the sinners.

■ ■ The author turns now to address the righteous in this first of the exhortations in the body of the Epistle. As in 96:1 and 97:1, the second and third lines of the tristich specify the sinners' coming judgment as the reason for the exhortation in the first line. The present passage in particular is modeled on biblical exhortations set in the context of holy warfare. God exhorts the prophet or the people not to fear because he will be with them as they do battle with their enemies. He will deliver these enemies "into the hands" of his people so that they can destroy them as they did in the past (Num 21:34; Deut 3:2; Josh 8:1-2; cf. Deut 7:18). They are to treat the enemy "according to" God's commandments (Deut 31:3-6). All these elements recur in the present passage: the exhortation not to fear; the promise to "deliver" the enemy "into your hands"; the allusion to such past activity ("again"); the implicit command to execute judgment. The final element has been changed so that the measure of judgment is not the command of God (Deut 31:5) but the desire of the righteous, an idea that closely parallels Esth 9:5, "So the Jews smote all their enemies with the sword, slaughtering and destroying them, and did *as they pleased* to those who hated them" (RSV). As in the biblical passages, the addressees are the executors of God's judgment against their enemies, and the sword of the Lord is their sword. The sentiment here fits with other passages in the Epistle (see Introduction to chaps.

92-105, §2.1). Although the passage is addressed to the righteous, it continues the thought of the verses addressed to the sinners and specifies the agents of the judgment announced in those verses.

■ 4-7 Again a short string of woes introduces a subsection of 94:6-96:3. The interpretation of v 4 is uncertain. On the one hand, the author may be referring to magical practices for healing purposes,¹⁰ in which case the second line is ironic. This inverse relationship between the two parts of the woe would be paralleled in vv 5, 7. More likely, the author is referring to irreversible vows to do harm to others. On the idiom (here *tāwaggezu gezatāta*) and examples of the practice, cf. 6:5-6 and see comm. on 6:4-6. This interpretation fits well with the other three woes. In this case the reference to healing contrasts with 96:3.

Verse 5 speaks either of repaying good with evil (cf. Prov 17:13) or evil for evil (cf. Prov 20:22; 24:29; Rom 12:17; 1 Pet 3:9). The point of the woe lies in the parallelism between "repay" and "be repaid" (*fadaya*). The principle of judgment is quid pro quo, as in v 7 and, for example, Luke 6:36¹¹ (cf. also 1 Enoch 94:6, 7, 8; 96:6; 97:8, where the form of punishment is appropriate to the nature of the sin). Thus one is requited according to one's deeds. See also 100:7 and cf. Prov 24:12; Ps 62:13 (12); Ps. Sol. 2:16, 34; and such NT judgment contexts as Rom 2:6; 2 Cor 5:10; Rev 20:13. By using this phrase the author ends this verse on the same note as the previous one.

Perversion of justice (v 6) has already been mentioned in 94:7d, also in connection with swift punishment. Further reference to unjust judges occurs in 103:14.

Elements in v 7 are linked internally with one another and externally with the verses that precede and follow it. Within the verse the relationship between sin and judgment is indicated by two antithetical parallels in lines a and b. The sinners will be persecuted in the judgment because of their unjust persecution of the righteous. The formulation recalls v 5 and its double use of another general verb ("requite") and v 6 and its reference to injustice (*amaḏā*). That the sinners must bear the yoke of the righteous may also imply that the legal proceed-

10 Ibid. Cf. Charles, *Enoch*, 237.

11 See Ernst Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the

New Testament," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) 66-81.

ings in v 6 led to slavery (cf. 103:11). The reference to being handed over (*tetmettawu*) also suggests the juridical situation in v 6, and the verb recalls 95:3 (*yāgabbe'omu*, “he will deliver them”) and thus anticipates the parallel exhortation in 96:1. Thus this final woe summarizes and supplements themes in the two previous woes and prepares us for the exhortations.

■ 96:1 As in the previous subsection, the final woe is followed by an exhortation that underscores the certainty of the sinners’ judgment by reference to the participation of the righteous in that judgment. The initial verb in the exhortation, *tasafawu* (“be hopeful”), normally translates Gk. ἐλπίζω, προσδέχομαι, or ὑπομένω (“to hope, to await, to endure”). In these chapters of 1 Enoch, the plural imperative occurs also in 104:4, where the \mathfrak{S}^{CB} text is missing, in 104:2, where \mathfrak{S}^{CB} reads *θαρσεῖτε* (“Be of good courage”), and in 102:4, where the text is corrupt but *θαρσεῖτε* may be the correct reading. Since the verb “to hope” never occurs in the imperative in the Bible, perhaps we should read *θαρσεῖτε* here. Since that verb translates “fear not” ten times in the LXX, this may indicate a closer connection with the parallel exhortation in 95:3 and perhaps also with 97:1, if my restoration is correct. Like 95:7, this verse is a tristich in which line b announces the judgment and line c expands on line b. The typical reference to the quick or sudden judgment (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1) in line b closely parallels the wording of 94:6, forming another bond between the woes and the exhortation. Line b is ambiguous as to the place of the sinners’ destruction. The preposition *’emqedm̃-kemu* is most easily translated “away from the presence of” (= ἀπὸ προσώπου and בֵּין קֶדֶם), but it can also mean “before.” Since line c speaks of the righteous executing judgment, the latter meaning is preferable; cf. also 48:9 for the idea and the idiom. The wording of line c closely parallels the corresponding line in 95:3. Here their authority to execute judgment is mentioned. Cf. 92:4.

■ 2 This verse expands on the good news addressed to

the righteous by describing their security during the time when the sinners are punished. “Day of tribulation” (*‘elata mendabēhomu* = יוֹם צָרָה) is a biblical idiom for a time of personal or national calamity.¹² In Hab 3:16 it refers to the disaster that awaits the prophet’s enemies, and in Zeph 1:15 it is a synonym of “the Day of the Lord.” “Tribulation” is a general eschatological term that describes the time of the end and especially the woes of the wicked.¹³ In the midst of this, the righteous and their children will find security. The thought is paralleled in 100:5, which, together with 100:1–4 and the present passage, finds a prototype in Isa 26:20–21. Using two distichs, the author presents a threefold analogy from the world of nature and the animals. The reference to the eagles is reminiscent of Isa 40:31, although the point is different. The high and inaccessible nest of the vulture and the cliff home of the coney or rock badger¹⁴ symbolize the security of the righteous and their distance from the tribulation that will overtake the wicked. In context the passage is strange because it appears to clash with the notion of judgment in 95:3 and 96:1. God’s judgment of the enemies of the righteous is evidently not coterminous with the judgment inflicted on them by the righteous themselves (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1).

The meaning of the final lines of the verse is uncertain. The translation follows the best mss. More appropriate, however, would be the idea that the sirens, the mythical mourners of antiquity,¹⁵ will weep over the death of the sinners. The text may be corrupt. In either case the reference to figures from Greek myth is noteworthy. Mention of the lament parallels Enoch’s lament in 95:1.

■ 3 This is the first exhortation in the body of the Epistle that envisions the salvation of the righteous. As such it climaxes the present discourse to the righteous and the section 94:6–96:3 as a whole. Different from the previous exhortations, this one has prototypes in Second Isaiah, where announcements of God’s presence (“I am

12 Cf., e.g., 2 Kgs 19:3; Ps 20:2 (1); Sir 3:15. On the related expression “time of trouble” (עַתָּת צָרָה) see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 15.

13 See Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966) 147–63.

14 W. Stewart McCullough, “Rock Badger,” *IDB* 4:102.

For a picture see F. S. Bodenheimer, “Fauna,” *IDB* 2:250.

15 George M. A. Hanfmann and John Richard Thornhill Pollard, “Sirens,” *OCD*, 993; Johannes Zwicker, “Sirenen,” *PW* 2.3 (1929) 288–307.

with you”) and promises of imminent deliverance constitute the grounds for the exhortation “Fear not” (Isa 41:10, 13; 43:1, 5; cf. also 1 Bar 4:5, 21, 27, 30). Even closer are Isa 41:14 and 54:4, where Israel’s present lowly state (as “worm” and “widow”) is contrasted with the coming deliverance. The form of the present exhortation contrasts the present suffering of the righteous—already described in the woes—and the alleviation of that suffering when the fortunes of the righteous are reversed in and after the judgment. This reversal is implied in lines b and d: the righteous will find healing

and rest from their suffering. On the function of the judgment as the reversal of present ills and compensation for them, see comm. 102:4–103:4; 103:5–8. With healing comes the presence of God, here denoted by the theophanic light (see comm. on 5:6) and the voice of God. The rest that this voice offers contrasts with the futile search for that rest mentioned in 103:13. The particular collection of salvific circumstances is reminiscent of 1QS 4:6–8. For a similar usage of the concept of rest, cf. *Jub.* 23:31.¹⁶

16 Volz, *Eschatologie*, 29.

A.1 WOES AGAINST THE RICH

- 96:4 Woe to you, sinners, for your riches make you appear to be righteous,
but your heart convicts you of being sinners;
and this word will be ■ testimony against you,
■ reminder of (your) evil deeds.
- 5 Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
and drink <wine from the krater>,^a
while you tread on the lowly with your might.
- 6 Woe to you who drink water <from every fountain>;^a
for quickly you will be repaid, and cease^b and dry up,
because you have forsaken the fountain of life.
- 7 Woe to you who commit iniquity and deceit and blasphemy;
it will be a reminder against you for evil.
- 8 Woe to you, mighty, who with might oppress the righteous one;
for the day of your destruction will come.
In those days, many good days will come for the righteous
—in the day of your judgment.

A.2 AN EXHORTATION TO THE RIGHTEOUS

- 97:1 <Take courage,>^a O righteous;
for the sinners will become an object of contempt,
and they will be destroyed on the day of iniquity.
- 2 Be it known to you that the Most High remembers your destruction,
and the angels of heaven <make disclosure>^a concerning your destruction.

A.3 TO THE SINNERS: ON THE JUDGMENT

- 3 And what will you do, O sinners,
and where will you flee on that day of judgment;
when you hear the words of the prayer of the righteous?
- 4 You will not be^a like them;
for this word will be ■ testimony against you:^b
"†You have been companions of sinners.†"^c
- 5 In those days, the prayer of the righteous^a will come to the Lord;^b
but to you the days of your judgment will come.
- 6 And all the words of your lawless deeds will be read out before the Great Holy One,
and your face will be put to shame;^a
then he will remove^b all the deeds that partook^c in lawlessness.

B.1 WOES AGAINST THE RICH

- 7 Woe to you, sinners, who are in the midst of the sea and upon the dry land;
the reminder against you is evil.^a
- 8 Woe to you who acquire gold and silver unjustly and say,
"We have become very wealthy,
and we have gotten possessions,
and we have acquired all that we have wished.
- 9 And now let us do what we have wished,^a
for silver we have treasured up in our treasuries,
and many goods in our houses;
and as water they are poured out."^b
- 10 You err!^a
For your wealth will not remain,
but will quickly ascend^b from you;
for you have acquired everything unjustly,
and you will be delivered to a great curse.

B.2 AN OATH TO THE WISE

- 98:1 And **now** I swear to you, the wise, and not the foolish,^a
that you will see many (things)^b upon the earth.
2 For men will put on adornments **as** women,^a
and fair colors more than virgins;
in kingship and majesty and power.
And silver and gold will be among them as food,
and in their houses these will be poured out like water;^b
3 because they have **no** knowledge or understanding.
Thus they will perish, together with all their possessions,^a
and all their splendor and honor;
and for dishonor and slaughter and great destitution,
their spirits will be cast into the fiery furnace.^b

B.3 TWO OATHS TO THE SINNERS: ON RESPONSIBILITY AND THE JUDGMENT

- 4 I swear to you, sinners,^a
that it **was** not ordained^b <for a man>^c to be a slave,
nor was <a decree> given^d for a woman to be a handmaid;
but it happened because of oppression.^e
Thus lawlessness **was** not sent^f upon the earth;^g
but men created it by themselves,^h
and those who do it will come to a great curse.
5 Likewise, neither is a woman created barren;^a
but because of the works of her hands^b she is disgraced with childlessness.^c
6 I swear to you, sinners, by the Great Holy One,
that all^a your evil deeds **are** revealed in heaven,
and^b you will have no unrighteous deed that is hidden.^c
7 Do not suppose to yourself nor say^a in your heart,
that they do not know nor are your unrighteous deeds **known** in heaven,^b
nor **are** they written down^c before the Most High.
8 Henceforth know
that all your unrighteous deeds^a **are** written down day by day,
until the day of your judgment.^b

5a *watesatteyu hayla šerwa naqe* ("and drink the strength of the root of the fountain") **℣**. By consensus, **℣** is corrupt and unclear as it stands. Charles (*Enoch*, 239) sees an allusion to Amos 6:6 and a corruption of יין ("wine") in כּוּמָרִיק ("wine in bowls") to יין כּוּמָרִיק (= **℣**). Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:229) finds a parallel in the previous line and paraphrases **℣** "the best of the water," while admitting that the text's idiom is strange. I presuppose a retroversion of **℣** to: κρατή ρίζης πηγῆς. In this I see an initial Aramaic corruption of יין ("wine") to יין ("fountain") and a secondary corruption of a Greek text that contained either the noun κρατήρ ("krater") or κρατηρίω ("to mix in the krater" or "to drink from the krater"; see LSJ s.v.). This reconstruction brings us close to the wording of Amos 6:6. On the sure parallels to Amos 5 and 6, see comm. on 96:4-8. For another reading that sees an allusion to Ezek 34:18-19, see Uhlig, *Henoch*, 719 n. 5b.

6a from every fountain] *bakwellu gizē* ("all the time") **℣**. Following Charles (*Enoch*, 239), I posit a corruption in

the Semitic original, with יין ("fountain") read as יין or יין ("time").

b be - - cease] *tetfaddayu watetwēddēu*. The first verb is missing in mqt⁹ and appears before "quickly" in g. This suggests an omission by hma. with g reflecting a collation with the verb taken into the text at the wrong place.

97:1

a *ta'amanu* ("have faith" or "believe") **℣**. In the NT, this Ethiopic verb almost always translates Gk. *θαρρέω*, *θαροέω*, the word I translate here. For its use in the impv., cf. 1 Enoch 102:4; 104:2 (q.v. for textual problems); see comm. for parallel passages in OT and NT.
2a *yefjēššehu* ("rejoice") **℣**. As it stands, the text is problematic, even though the idea expressed is paralleled in 94:10. The rejoicing of the angels requires that the verse as a whole refers to the sinners. But because v 1 is addressed to the righteous, v 2 indicates no change of addressee, and v 3 mentions the sinners explicitly, as if they are a new addressee, an emendation is in order.

- Thus I emend *Aram. ׀׀׀׀ (“rejoice”) to ׀׀׀׀ (= translation). For the resultant parallelism, see comm. on v 2.
- 4a ʾitekawwenu mt 2080 6281,β | “you will be” (*tekawwenu*) gquT⁹.
- b ʾesma samāʿta yekawwen dibēkemu zentu nagar t. For ʾesma (“for”), β reads ʾella (“[you] against whom this word will be a testimony”; see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:230). With their omission of the negative in the previous line (see n. a), gqT⁹ read: “You will be like them against whom (‘you against whom’ q) this word will be a testimony” (ʾella samāʿta yekawwenu [yekawwenu samāʿta g] dibēhomu [dibēkemu q] zentu nagar).
- c On a possible corruption in this line, see comm. on 97:3-6.
- 5 5a šādeqān mqtT⁹,β-afhikpvUll | *qeddusān* (“the holy”) g,afhikpv Ull.
- b + “of Spirits” (following chaps. 37–71) t².
- 6a wayethaffar (*wayetwēkkaf*, “will be received”, corrupt n) gaṣṣekemu. The Chester Beatty-Michigan Papyrus of the Epistle (E^{CB}) begins with this line. It reads: κατὰ πρόσωπον [ύ]μῶν (“before your face”), which I emend to καὶ <κατασχυνήσεται> τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν. For the text of the papyrus, see Campbell Bonner, ed., *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1937; repr. Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968). The textual analysis presumed in the notes that follow was published by Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104.”
- b ἀν<α>φελεῖ E^{CB} | *wayaḥaddeg* g¹ (= E^{CB}; cf. Lev 10:17; Num 14:18) | “cast off, be cast off” (*wayegaddef*, *wayet-gaddaf*) gqt,muT⁹,β.
- c τὰ με[τ]ασχόντα E^{CB} | E *zašanʿa* (“founded”) possibly misreading its Greek as a compound of ισχύω.
- 7a μνημόσυνον εἰς ὑμᾶς κακόν E^{CB} | “against whom there is an evil reminder” (ʾella [om. g] *zekeromu ʾekuy dibēkemu*) E.
- 9a καὶ κεκτήμεθα <παν ὃ ἐὰν θελήσωμεν> καὶ πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν θελήσωμεν ποιήσωμεν E^{CB} | “And we have acquired all that we wished, and now let us do what we have planned (‘wished’ q)” (*waʾaṭrayna kwello zafaqadna wayeʾezēni negbar zaḥalayna* [zafaqadna q]) E. For καὶ πᾶν, E presumes καὶ νῦν (“and now”). I have filled out the shorter E^{CB} from E, assuming here an omission—one of many in the papyrus (Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 135). Alternatively, one might read καὶ κεκτήμεθα as a second verb belonging to the previous line (Bonner, *Enoch*, 33) or as a double reading for the previous verb (ἐσχ<ήκ>αμεν). The E verb *ḥalayna* in the majority of mss. indicates cogitation (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 577–78); the reading of q looks harmonistic.
- b for silver ---- out] ὅτι ἀργύριον τεθησαυρίκαμεν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκκέχυται E^{CB} | “for silver we have treasured, and we have filled our treasuries also like water, and many are the husbandmen in our
- houses, and like water it is poured out” (ʾesma berur ʾastagābāʾna wamalāʾna mazāgebtina wakama māy wabezuh ḥarasata ʾabyātina wakama māy yewehēhez) E. I take the first occurrence of *wakama māy* (“and as water”) to be a dittograph. *ḥarāsta* (“husbandmen”) is a corruption of *ḥērāta* (= ἀγαθά).
- 10a πεπλάνησθ<ε> E^{CB} | E *hasatkemu* (“you lie”) is a corruption of *seḥetkemu* (= E^{CB}).
- b γαʾarreg E | <ἀπαναστήσεται> ἀπό . . . E^{CB}, positing an omission by hma. For this verb see Wis 1:5. For other possibilities see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 113 n. 107.
- 98:1
- a οὐχὶ τοῖς ἄφροσι E^{CB} | ʾilaʾabdān gg¹qt (= E^{CB}) | om. ʾi (“not”) muT⁹,β.
- b bezuḥa E | “many lawless deeds you will see upon the earth” (πολ[λὰ ὅ]ψεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀνομίας) E^{CB}. The absence of “lawless deeds” from E and its placement at the end of the sentence in E^{CB} suggest that it is a gloss in the latter, although it could have dropped out of E^{CB} *E^E, and been collated into the archetype of E^{CB}, being then taken into E^{CB} at the wrong place. See comm. on 98:1-3.
- 2a ὅτι κάλ[λος] περιθήσεται ἄνδρες ὡς γυναῖκες E^{CB} | “for you men will put adornments upon you more than women” (ʾesma šena tewaddeyu lāʾlēkemu ʾanlemu ʿedaw fadfāda ʾemʾanest). In this sentence alone E uses second pl. On its use in E^{CB}, see v 3 n. a. In view of the negative in 98:1a, E^{CB} and E (see n. a), an address to the righteous and hence a reference in third pl. to sinners is probably original.
- b ἔσονται δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον [παρ] αὐτοῖς εἰς βρώματα, καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰ[κίαις] αὐτῶν ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκχυθήσονται E^{CB} | “and silver and gold and purple and honor and food will be poured out like water” (*waberur wawarq wamēlat wakebr wamabāleʿt kama māy yetkaʿʾawu*) E.
- 3a Throughout this passage, E has third pl. In this first line E^{CB} has second pl. Thereafter the papyrus is fragmented and contains no verbs or adjectives. On my preference for E see v 1 n. b.
- b into -- furnace] om. mqtT⁹.
- 4a E^{CB} and E have two different texts for vv 4-5. Here I summarize my discussion in “Enoch 97–104,” 113–17 (which benefitted considerably from conversations with John Strugnell in fall 1973). E reads: *maḥalku lakemu ḥāteʾān kama ʾikona dabr gabra waʾiyekawwen waʾiwagr labeʾesit ʿamata kamaze ḥāṭiʾateni ʾitafanawat diba medr ʾallā sabʾ ʾemreʾsomu faṭarewā walamargam ʿābiy yekawwenu ʾella gabrewā. wameknat labeʾesit ʾitaweḥbat ʾallā baʿenta gebrā ʾedawihā temawwet zaʾenbala welud* (“I have sworn to you, sinners, that (or ‘as’) a mountain has not become a slave and a hill does not become a handmaid for a woman, thus sin was not sent upon the earth, but men created it by themselves, and those who

do it will be for a great curse. And barrenness was not given to woman, but because of the works of her hands, she dies without children"). \mathfrak{C}^{CB} has lost the first three lines at the bottom of the page and parts of the lines at the top of the next page. Nonetheless, it indicates a much longer text: . . . [οὕτως ἡ ἀδικία] ἐπὶ τῇ [γῇ] οὐκ ἀπεστάλη ἀλλ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν [ἔκτισαν αὐτήν καὶ εἰς κατάραν] μεγάλην ἀφίξονται οἱ ποιοῦντες [αὐτήν]. καὶ στείρα γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐδόθη ἀλ[λὰ δι]ὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν. [ὅτι οὐχ ὥρίσθη δο[. . .] εἶναι ἐν δούλῃ] ἄνωθεν οὐκ ἐδό[θη] ἀλλὰ ἐκ καταδυναστείας ἐγένετο, <ο> ὕ[τως] οὐδὲ ἡ ἀνομιὰ ἄνωθεν ἐδόθη ἀλλ' ἐκ παραβάσεως. ὁμοίως οὐδὲ στείρα γυνὴ ἐκτίσθη ἀλλ' ἐξ ἰδίων ἀδικημάτων ἐπετιμήθη ἀτεκνίᾳ] ἀτεκνος ἀποθάνειται. The section in braces parallels almost perfectly, line for line, the text before and after it, and when these are placed in parallel columns, they also parallel the text of \mathfrak{C} . Thus a scribe has inserted almost a complete double text just before the last two words of a text that closely parallels \mathfrak{C} . Comparison of the two parts of \mathfrak{C}^{CB} ($\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}}/\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$), with help from \mathfrak{C} , esp. where $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ has been lost, indicates that the two versions reflect variant translations of the Aramaic original. My translation attempts to reach the original through a comparison of all texts.

- b οὐχ ὥρίσθη $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ | \mathfrak{C} *dabr* ("mountain") appears to reflect a Greek corruption of a form of ὀρίζομαι to ὄρος ("mountain").
- c for a man] This is found in neither text. It is furnished to parallel "woman" in the next line.
- d Emending $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ to <β>ουλή . . . οὐκ ἐδό[θη] and reading \mathfrak{C} *wagr* ("hill") as reflecting a Greek corruption of βουλή to βουνός ("hill"). ἄνωθεν ("from above") of $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ has no counterpart in \mathfrak{C} . It may be a gloss or reflect a corruption of ἀνθρώπων posited in the previous line.
- e This line, missing in \mathfrak{C} , parallels the adversative in the next section and may be original.
- f $\text{ʾ}itafanawat$ \mathfrak{C} | "was not given" (οὐδὲ . . . ἐδόθη) \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . It is uncertain whether "sent" and "given" were variant translations of Aram. ܦܢ or stylistic variants.
- g *diba medr* \mathfrak{C} , supported by $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ ἐπὶ τῇ [γῇ]. ἄνωθεν ("from above") may be a paraphrastic expression of the same idea rather than a reflection of a different Aramaic text.
- h This line is attested in \mathfrak{C} and \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ has ἀλλ' ἐκ παραβάσεως ("but from transgression"), perhaps a marginal reading that reflects the corruption of Aram. ܡܢ ܢܦܫܬܗܘܢ (= \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{C}^{CB}) to ܡܢ ܦܫܬܗܘܢ.
- 5a $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$ | \mathfrak{C}^{CB} may reflect a corruption of Aram. ܠܐ ܠܐܢܬܗ ܥܩܪܗ ܐܬܩܢܝܬܐ (= \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{C}^{CB}) to ܠܐ ܠܐܢܬܗ ܥܩܪܗ ܐܬܩܢܝܬܐ (the *lamed* reduplicated and ܐܬܩܢܝܬܐ read as an *ittaphal*, "was given").
- b \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | ἐξ ἰδίων ἀδικημάτων ("because of their own iniquities") may reflect a corruption of Aram. ܡܢ ܥܒܪܝ
- (= \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{C}^{CB}) to ܡܢ ܥܒܪܝ ܝܕܝܗ, with *ιδίων* being a transliteration of ܝܕܝܗ.
- c Translation follows $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{CB}'}$, suggesting that an original Aram. ܡܢ ܥܩܪܗ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ was read by \mathfrak{C}^{CB} * \mathfrak{C}^{E} , as ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ ("ܡܢ" = third fem. sg. impf. of ܡܢ "to perish"; ܡܢ ܡܢ = "childless").
- 6a Om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . It could be an addition (see the fluctuation in \mathfrak{C} and \mathfrak{C}^{CB} ; Nickelsburg, "Enoch 97–104," 149–52), but its presence parallels the absolute negation in the next line. See comm.
- b Om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} .
- c ἀνακακαλυμένα \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | *keduna*, *hebu'a*, two synonymous verbal adjs., \mathfrak{C} , probably a double reading.
- 7a $\text{ʾ}itāmselu$. . . *wa'itebalu* \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{C}^{CB} repeats the verb ὑπολάβητε ("suppose").
- b οὐ γινώσκουσιν οὐδὲ βλέπουσιν οὐδὲ τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑμῶν θεωρεῖται ("they do not know nor do they see, nor are your unrighteous deeds seen") \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | $\text{ʾ}itāammeru wa'iterē$ *yu kwellu hāṭīpat basamay* ("you do not know and you do not see every sin in heaven") \mathfrak{C} . The second pl. of the \mathfrak{C} verbs appears to have derived from reading θεωρεῖται as a second pl. (θεωρεῖτε). οὐδὲ βλέπουσιν, which has no counterpart in \mathfrak{C} , appears to be a double reading for οὐδὲ . . . θεωρεῖται. "Every" looks like an addition from the next verse. "In heaven," missing in \mathfrak{C}^{CB} , parallels "before the Most High" in the next line.
- c + "every day" (*bakwellu 'elat*) \mathfrak{C} , an addition from the next verse. See comm.
- 8a + "that you unrighteously commit" (*zategaffe'u*) \mathfrak{C} except g,n. Whether this is original to the text, or an addition to \mathfrak{C} or its Greek archetype, or a double translation for τὰ ἀδικήματα ὑμῶν is uncertain.
- b $\text{ʾ}eska 'elata$ (+ *mothemu wa m*) *kwenannēkemu* ("until the day of [+ 'your death and' m] your judgment") \mathfrak{C} | μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς > κρίσεως ὑμῶν \mathfrak{C}^{CB} "day of" om. by hmt.

■ **96:4–98:8** Enoch's second discourse is directed against the rich and the mighty. Their prosperity is no sign of divine favor. They are guilty of oppressing the lowly while they themselves enjoy the extravagant bounty of wealth and possessions that they have obtained by unjust means. Therefore they stand under divine indictment. Although they trust in their wealth and possessions to secure their future, their expectations are false, and the divine Judge will exchange their present prosperity and splendor for the poverty and disgrace of Sheol. They are liable for their lawless deeds, and already the heavenly scribes are recording their sin as evidence to be presented on the coming day of judgment.

Unity of subject matter and a symmetrical bipartite structure similar to that in 94:6–96:3 indicate that 96:4–98:8 constitutes a second major section in the body of the Epistle. The section begins with a series of five woes, four of them addressed to the rich and the mighty (96:4-8; A.1). As in the previous section, the woes are followed by an exhortation to the righteous (97:1 + 2; A.2). Before beginning a second set of woes, the author addresses the sinners, referring to the prayer of the righteous that will trigger the judgment and the record of the sinners' deeds that will be read out at the judgment (97:3-6; A.3). The second part of the section begins with two woes, the second of them an extended woe against the rich (97:7-10; B.1). Again these woes are followed by a discourse to the righteous. It is not an exhortation, but an oath (98:1-3) that describes the rich, their actions, and their judgment in terms similar to the immediately preceding woe (B.2). Three considerations indicate that the discourse to the sinners in 98:4-8 belongs to the present section and forms its conclusion (B.3). It comprises two oaths that complement the previous oath, just as that oath was linked to the previous woe. The subject matter of the last oath, that is, heaven's knowledge of the sinners' deeds and the written record of them, corresponds to the subject matter in A.3, which announced that that record would be recited at the judgment. The next set of woes (98:9–99:2) begins a unified section that deals with the religious folly of the sinners and not with the abuse of wealth and power.

■ **96:4** The first woe introduces the topic of the rich sinners by dealing head-on with the problem of theodicy. Within the framework of a Deuteronomic theology, outward prosperity appears to be a blessing for righteousness (cf. 103:5-6), and the life of tribulation, punishment for sin (cf. 103:9-15). As he will do in more detailed fashion in chaps. 103–104, the author contradicts this theory by referring to the coming judgment. The antithetical lines in the first half of the verse contrast outward appearance and inner reality. Material prosperity suggests righteousness, but the heart, which is aware of one's intention and true moral state,¹ convicts the rich of being the sinners that they truly are. The second half of the verse provides the typical reference to the judgment. Through the use of progressive parallelism, the two lines carry the verse to its climax. The knowledge of the heart, which already convicts the sinners, will serve as testimony at the judgment. Together with the heavenly record (cf. 97:4, 6; 98:6-8) and the prayer of the righteous (cf. 99:3), the testimony of the heart will remind God of the sins of the sinners and thus convict them at the judgment.²

■ **5-6** In v 5, as in v 8, the sin of the rich involves their oppression of the lowly and the righteous. Amos 4–6 seems to have been the inspiration for both vv 5 and 6. See also comm. on 94:3-5b. The first two lines of v 5 describe the sinners' overindulgence in expensive food and drink, which is the more culpable because at the same time they deprive the lowly (line c). It is the only passage in the Epistle that defines the objects of oppression by their social status. The passage appears to be based on Amos 5:11; 6:6. Perhaps the "finest of the wheat" (*šebḥa sernāy*; cf. חֶלֶב חִטָּה, Deut 32:14; Pss 81:17 [16]; 147:14) has been exacted from the lowly (cf. Amos 5:11). In view of the imagery in line b, "devour" rather than simply "eat" is a justified translation of the verb *baḥ'a* in line a. As in v 8, the sinners use their "might" (*ḥāyl*) to oppress the lowly. The author will return to the banqueting imagery in 102:9. The word of judgment is uniquely missing in this woe, because it is suspended until the next verse and its closely connected woe.

1 On the heart as the seat of human knowledge, see Aubrey R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (2d ed.; Cardiff: Univer-

sity of Wales Press, 1964) 77–79.

2 Cf. Rom 2:14-16; *Testament of Judah* 20.

Employing a method used in 94:6-7 and 99:12-13, but reversing the order, the author turns from literal meaning to metaphor. The sinners' overindulgence in drink is symbolic of their more basic sin. They have forsaken God, the fountain of life (cf. Ps 36:9-10 [8-9]; Jer 2:13) and have sought nourishment from other "fountains" (cf. Prov 5:15-18). The precise referent is uncertain. Significant, however, is the theme already noted in 94:8: rejection of God the source, and the independent striving for an ersatz. Through the use of water imagery, the author deals with an ultimate—life itself. In a land where agriculture and life rested on the fragile balance of nature, the point would not be lost (cf. Amos 4:7-8). The sinners' sources of "water" (life)—and they themselves—will cease and dry up (cf. Jer 2:13). The death imagery is clear. They will lose the life they have sought apart from God. As in 94:8, their touted independence and self-sufficiency will be shown to have been an illusion. By prefacing the appropriate verbs "cease" and "dry up" with the clause "for quickly you will be repaid" (*ṣetuna tefaddayu*; cf. 95:5), the author supplies the reference to the judgment missing in v 5 and binds the two verses together. On the suddenness of the judgment, see the Introduction to chaps. 92-105, §2.1. In context the adverb is jarring: not a slow leak in a cistern or the gradual drying up of a spring, but sudden dessication, death, and destruction.

■ 7 This verse intrudes as a single woe not addressed to the rich. For the combination "iniquity and deceit" (*ʿamaḏā wagwehlut*), cf. 93:4; 91:11, and for "iniquity and blasphemy," cf. 91:7, 11 (C); 94:9. Line b recalls v 4, but its phrasing most closely approximates 97:7. On the heavenly record as "a reminder," see comm. on 99:3.

■ ■ Here alone in these chapters, the sinners are addressed as "the mighty" (*ḥāylān*). As in v 5 they use their "might" (*ḥāyl*) to oppress the lowly, here called "the righteous one" (the sg. being used typically). The phrasing suggests Amos 5:12. For the day of destruction, see also 98:10 and cf. 99:4. Unique in these chapters is the use of the verb *maš'a* ("come") as a predicate for the day of judgment. In 10:2 its subject is "the end," and in 1:9, the divine appearance for judgment. Perhaps it was suggested by Amos 4:2, which follows a verse that parallels

Amos 5:12. Lines c and d are introduced by an adverbial phrase typical of the prophets, which occurs elsewhere in these chapters (97:5; 99:3, 4, 10; 100:1, 4; 102:1; 105:1). These two lines complement the woe by contrasting the lot of the righteous with that of the sinners. When "the day of your destruction will come," that is, "the day of your judgment" (line d), "many good days will come for the righteous." This same contrast is explicit in chap. 5 between vv 5 and 9 (see comm. on 5:5). Here the coming days for the righteous also contrast with the present time of their oppression, indicating the double reversal constituent in the judgment.

■ 97:1-2 As in the two parts of the first section, here too the woes are followed immediately by an exhortation that announces the sinners' coming judgment (v 1; cf. 95:3; 96:1). Here as there the exhortation underscores the word of judgment spoken in the preceding woes. The restored verb "Take courage" (*ṭarṣēlṭe*) is paralleled in 102:4 and 104:2. If it translates, in turn, "Fear not," the present exhortation is especially close to 95:3, 96:3, and perhaps 96:1 (see comm. on 96:1). For the sinners as an object of contempt (*ṣe'lat*, "dishonor"), cf. 98:3 (B.2) and perhaps 94:11. The idea is paralleled in Dan 12:2 and its prototype in Isa 66:24.³ Line c of v 1 alludes to 96:8 (the sinners' "destruction"). "The day of iniquity" (*ʿelata ʿamaḏā*) occurs only here in 1 Enoch. Charles suggests that it is shorthand for "the day appointed for the judgment of unrighteousness."⁴ Alternatively, the verse may envision judgment ("destruction") to take place when iniquity reaches its high point (cf. Ezek 33:12, בְּיוֹם פִּשְׁעוֹ, "on the day of his transgression").

According to the text as emended, v 2 continues the discourse to the righteous. The catchword "destruction" (*ḥagwel*) contrasts the sinners' coming destruction (v 1) with God's alleviation of the present destruction of the righteous. On this destruction cf. 102:10 and 103:10 with 8:4 and 9:3. The verse is introduced with the solemn formula "Be it known to you" (*ʿemura yekawwen lakemu*), which also occurs in 98:12. This and other occurrences of the verb "to know" are addressed in these chapters to the sinners (98:10; 100:10; 103:7). Like other similar verbs and oath formulas, they underscore that

³ See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 19-20.

⁴ Charles, *Enoch*, 289.

the revealed information about the unseen heavenly world and the unseen future that follows them is true (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, § Revelatory Formula). The two closely parallel lines that assert heaven's knowledge of the destruction of the righteous find their closest parallel in 104:1, which is the author's answer to the complaint of the righteous that their affliction and destruction and cries for help are not heard (103:9-15; see comm. on 103:9–104:6). For other occurrences of this concept of remembering and of the idea of angelic intercession, see comm. on 99:3. The present verse serves as a transition to vv 3-6, where reference to the prayer of the righteous and to the record of the deeds of the sinners implies angelic activity.

■ **3-6** These verses are an artful composition of four strophes arranged in an a-b-a'-b' pattern. The “a” strophes connect the judgment with the prayer of the righteous, and the “b” strophes refer to the testimony against the sinners to be presented at the judgment. The repetition of words and phrases links the strophes to one another and occasionally connects parts of the same strophe. Within the structure of the whole of 96:4–98:8, these verses are the first of two three-part sections. In their immediate context vv 3-6 elaborate on the judgment that has already been announced in the woes and exhortation.

The initial strophe makes an effective beginning to the unit by confronting the sinners with a pair of parallel rhetorical questions. The first will recur in 101:2 and the second in 102:1. The ironic force of the questions becomes evident in line c. The prayer of the righteous will effect the coming of the day of judgment (see comm. on 99:3). The author envisions the rich and the mighty fleeing in fear before the effective power of the words of the weak and lowly righteous whom they have oppressed by might and riches. The use of a rhetorical question implies the answer. The mighty will be unable to help themselves.

The second strophe contrasts the state of the righteous and the sinners on the day of judgment: “You will not be like them” (cf. 104:5). The vindication of the righteous means the indictment of the sinners as sinners. Line b repeats the phraseology of 96:4c, but here the content of the “evil reminder” is given. The “word” of testimony, which complements “the words” of the prayer of the righteous, will indict sinners. Line c looks

like a paraphrase of Prov 28:24: *חבר הוא לאיש משחית* (“he is the companion of a man who destroys”). However, the positing of a simple corruption in the א, ט, or ע allows the emendation “participants in sin(ful things),” a reading supported by the last line of the parallel strophe, v 6c, and especially by the fact that the addressees are themselves called “sinners” (v 3a).

The introductory phrase of the third strophe (v 5) links the events described in this verse with those in the previous verses, as it does in 96:8c. The strophe repeats in part the contents of strophe a: the prayer of the righteous will effect the coming of the judgment. The close relationship between prayer and judgment is evident in the repetition of the words “days” and “will come” and in the chiasmic juxtaposition of “to the Lord” and “to you.” The plural “days of your judgment” does not simply refer to the time of decision making and the rendering of a sentence, but sees the period of punishment as part of the judgment.

The final strophe (v 6) elaborates on the reference to the presenting of testimony in v 4b. The scene is the court of the divine Judge, the presence of the Great Holy One (see comm. on 104:1). The use of the title here emphasizes God's majesty and power as judge (on the title, see comm. on 1:3c-4). On the record of the deeds of the sinners, see comm. on 98:6-8. Reference to “the words” of their deeds links with that noun in vv 3 and 4. The verb “put to shame” (here *ἐπαισχύνομαι*) denotes defeat in court (Isa 41:11-13; 44:9-11; 50:7, *בוש*, Aram. *בהה*). For the longer expression “to put one's face to shame” in such contexts, see 1 Enoch 46:6; 62:10; 63:11, “to fill one's face with shame.” Verse 6c seems to refer to the final removal of sin from the earth (cf. 10:16, 20, 22; 91:14). The expression “all the deeds that partook in lawlessness” (*τὰ πάντα ἔργα τὰ μετασχόντα ἐν ἀνομίᾳ*) parallels the similar expression in v 4c (see comm. above). It is not impossible, however, that the original text spoke of the removal of “the doers of iniquity” (cf. 91:14). For the juxtaposition of “faces filled with shame” and the removal of the wicked from the Judge's presence, cf. 62:10; 63:11.

■ **7** The second part of this discourse begins with two woes of unequal length (97:7-10, B.1). Verse 7 addresses all sinners, wherever they may be—in the sea or on land. The double expression “sea and dry land” (*θάλασσα καὶ ἡγῆρα*, *יָם וְיַבֶּשֶׁת*) denotes the whole of the earth,

created by God (Ps 95:5; Jonah 1:9) and subject to his activity (Hag 2:6), where human beings live, travel, and do battle (1 Enoch 53:1; Matt 23:15; 1 Macc 8:23, 32).⁵ The phrase suggests that the author has in mind merchants or rich persons accustomed to travel, but the passage is too general to support Milik's contention that the author was "someone used to the maritime voyages of his Greek fellow citizens," who may well have lived in a port city of the Palestinian coast.⁶ For parallels to line b, cf. 96:4, 7. The reference to the heavenly record picks up on the subject matter of the previous verse.

■ 8-10 In contrast to the simple distich in v 7, this second woe is extraordinarily long. The indictment has been expanded by the inclusion of a lengthy quotation (vv 8b-9) that is refuted in an unusually long announcement of the judgment (v 10). The same technique is used in 103:5-8, the only woe in the Epistle longer than this one.

The indictment is twofold. First, the sinners have acquired their wealth by unjust means (v 8a; cf. 94:7). The expression *οὐκ ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης* ("not from righteousness") probably translates Aram. *בְּלֹא קִשְׁטָא* (cf. *Ⲯ* Jer. 22:13; cf. *dl^p bzdq²*, 2 Bar. 13:11). The author does not indicate in what way this acquisition of wealth is unjust. The second indictment is expressed in the words that the author attributes to the rich. Their purpose in accumulating vast wealth and many possessions (note the wording: "with wealth we have become wealthy," "all," "treasured up," "many," "poured out as water") is to secure their future. As in 94:8 they optimistically trust in their riches to provide them with the lifestyle they "desire," which includes the extravagant spending of their wealth and use of their possessions. The phrasing of vv 8b-9 and the general context of the passage suggest another implied indictment. The frequent use of the first person plural and the double reference to "all that we wish" indicate a self-centered point of view that excludes generosity to others—a state of affairs the more

culpable in the presence of the poor (cf. the antithesis in 96:5).

The realia to which the author refers are difficult to determine. Does the reference to "treasuries" suggest homes that are more like palaces than houses (see comm. on 99:12-13)? In what form is the gold and silver? Is it coins, or does the author refer to the practice in the Hellenistic period of acquiring precious metal vessels?⁷

The initial verb in v 10 (*πεπλάνησθε*) labels the attitude of these rich as morally errant (see comm. on 98:15–99:11), and it introduces the announcement of the judgment that will punish the sinners' wrong attitude and behavior and definitively refute their incorrect opinion and expectations. The antithetically parallel verbs in the first distich, with their emphasis on impermanency, are a reversal of the sinners' expectation and confidence that their wealth and possessions are secure and the guarantee and means of their future happiness. The simile of water poured out (v 9) is two-edged and ironic beyond their expectation. They meant it to indicate prolific supply and use (cf. Hos 5:10 and Job 3:24). The author envisions its fulfillment in the sense of irretrievable dissipation and exhaustion. The image of wealth ascending recalls Prov 23:4-5, where acquisition and loss of wealth are contrasted, and it may imply God as the subject of the verb—in contrast to the "we" who acquired the wealth. The adverb "quickly" (*ταχύ*, *fetuna*) may be drawn from Prov 23:5, but it is at home in judgment contexts in the Epistle (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1). Verse 10cd summarizes the point of the pericope, referring back to v 8a (the primary indictment) and concluding with specific reference to the judgment. The verb *παράδιδωμι* ("deliver") is common in connection with human and divine judgment and punishment.⁸ Reference here to this punishment as a curse denotes retribution for disobedience of the divine will (see comm. on 5:5-6). The closest parallel in

5 See also the inscriptions cited by Milik, *Enoch*, 51 n. 1.

6 Ibid., 50.

7 A reference to the collecting of these vessels was suggested to me in correspondence by Andrea Berlin (Nov. 10, 1998). She notes, "Gold and silver plate become far more available in Hellenistic times, and certainly people living in coastal and

southern Palestine, as well as Phoenicia, had the means and the access to acquire such." On the material itself, see Donald Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960) 90–122.

8 Friedrich Büchsel, "δίδωμι, κτλ.," *TDNT* 2 (1964) 169–70.

1 Enoch is 98:4 and the expression “eternal curse” in 5:5-6. For the verb in eschatological contexts, see comm. on 5:5-6.

Verses 8-10 mark an important turning point in a long-lived tradition. Ecclesiastes 6:1-2 and Sir 11:18-19 are early variants of the tradition in the wisdom literature. Both describe the case of the man who acquires wealth and possessions and “everything he desires” (Eccl 6:2) but who does not live to enjoy them. Because of its use of the direct quotation, Sir 11:18-19 is closest to the present passage. As is typical of the wisdom tradition, both passages describe the case as an example of how things are. Since neither passage speaks of ill-gotten riches, neither is critical. Ecclesiastes is sympathetic. This is one of many evils under the sun. Sirach is perhaps cautious. One cannot depend upon wealth (cf. 11:24). A warning against the acquiring of un dependable wealth is explicit in Prov 23:5, cited above, but again the sage makes no moral judgment. All this changes in the present passage, as its wording, form, and context indicate. The author speaks of ill-gotten riches, implies selfish and self-assertive trust in riches (cf. 94:8), and sees their loss as divine judgment for sin—all this in the context of a bitter criticism of the excesses of the rich. This same viewpoint is evident in the story of the rich man in Luke 12:13-34, which shows verbal, formal, and thematic parallels with 1 Enoch 97:8-10 and to a lesser extent with Sir 11:18-19.⁹ The rich man is called a “fool.” He trusts in his riches to secure his future, but he is not “rich to God,” and for these reasons his life is required of him. Although Luke expresses more hope for the salvation of the rich than the author of the Epistle of Enoch does, his viewpoint in general and in this passage in particular is more closely aligned with our author than with the passages in the wisdom tradition. Another variant of the tradition occurs in Jas 4:13-16, where the rich again express wrongly placed confidence in the future rather than respecting what God “wills” (θελήση, contrast θελήσωμεν in vv 8-9 here). The passage is followed by bitter invectives against oppression by the rich and admonitions that the “brethren” await vindication in the coming judgment (5:1-11).¹⁰

■ 98:1-3 The addressees in these verses (B.2) are the

righteous, here designated “the wise.” On this term and the opposition of wise and foolish, see comm. on 98:9. Unlike 97:1b, the discourse is introduced by an oath and does not take the form of an exhortation. On the form and function of the oaths in these chapters, see comm. on 103:1. The present unit is the first of three in a row that are introduced by an oath. The other two are addressed to the sinners (vv 4-8; B.3). This is the only oath in the book that does not introduce material that can readily be understood as controversial in some sense and hence revelatory. Given the other, consistent usage of the oaths in the Epistle, the present oath should probably be understood as introducing the whole of vv 1-3, including the announcement of the judgment (cf. 99:6). The author solemnly assures his readers that in spite of the present prosperity of the sinners (vv 1-2), their doom is sealed (cf. the introductory woe in this discourse, 96:4).

The author’s expression in v 1b is paralleled in Sir 34:11 (31:12 LXX): πολλὰ ἐόρακα (“many things I have seen”). The present passage, however, refers to the many wicked deeds of the sinners, as a Greek glossator has indicated (see n. b), perhaps noting the parallel in 93:9.

The main part of these verses is a reprise of 97:8-10. The extravagant behavior of the rich, described in their speech in 97:8b-9, is recounted here in vv 1c-3a in third person description (also evidence that the addressees are not the wise among the rich mentioned in 100:6). Their many possessions include extraordinary dress and adornment, with men exceeding what is proper and regular for their sex and status. Although the use of simile suggests that the author does not have in mind the critique of transvestitism in Deut 22:5, his sarcasm regarding the impropriety is unmistakable. Verse 2 indicates that the author refers to the rich and powerful in the highest levels of society. In v 2bc the simile in 97:9cd is amplified. Along with the parallelism of food and water are the twin images for consumption (“as food,” βρώματα; “poured out,” ἐκχυθήσονται). Perhaps the food image is double-edged, as suggested for the water image in the comm. on 97:8-10. Cf. the usage of βρώσις (“corrosion”) in Matt 6:19-20. The twin terms “knowledge” and “understanding” (ἐπιστήμη, φρόνησις) will recur in

9 Nickelsburg, “Riches,” 334–36.

10 On the rich in James, see Roy Bowen Ward, “The

Communal Concern of the Epistle of James” (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966).

101:8. Lack of knowledge is a characteristic of idolaters according to 99:7. Here the negative usage recalls the positive usage in v 1, and the two form an *inclusio* around the description. The wise are told about the actions of the foolish. The use of the terminology, which will also form an *inclusio* around the whole of the next discourse (98:9; 99:10), moves beyond actions to the fundamental and ultimate characteristics that determine them. Verse 3a forms a transition between the first and second halves of the present passage. The foolish sinners do not understand the consequences of their actions—the judgment described in v 3b-d.

The description of the extravagant behavior of the rich is followed here, as in 97:8-10, by an announcement of their judgment. As in 97:10 the first two lines speak of the destruction of their possessions, and the last line, of their own eternal punishment. Noteworthy is the explicit reference to the judgment's reversal: dishonor (*ἀτιμία*) for honor (*τιμή*), destitution (*nedēt* = *πτωχεία*) for possessions and splendor (*ὑπάρχοντα*, *δόξα*). The final destruction (*ἀπολεῖσθε*, v 3b) of the rich will be administered to their spirits (*manfas*) in the furnace of Sheol (cf. 100:9; 103:7-8). On the author's anthropology, see comm. on 102:4-5.

■ 4-8 The cause and consequences of sin are the subject matter of B.3. Each of the two units, 98:4-5 and 6-8, is introduced by an oath addressed to the sinners that verifies the certainty of their coming judgment (cf. also 99:6).

■ 4-5 These verses divide into three subunits that parallel one another in form and content:

	<i>Disclaimer</i>	<i>Assertion</i>	<i>Consequence</i>
Example (4bcd)	Slavery was not ordained	but was due to oppression	—
Generalization (4efg)	Lawlessness was not sent	but men created it	and come to a great curse
Example (5)	Barrenness was not created	but because of her deeds	she is disgraced with childlessness

Each subunit begins with a clause that employs a negative predicate which denies that a certain evil is the result of divine decree or a part of the created order. To the contrary (*ἀλλ*, “but”), human actions are the primary cause. According to the third clause in the last two subunits, these human beings are punished by God. This last assertion will be expanded in vv 6-8. The first two subunits move from particular to general: Slavery is caused by oppression (*καταδυναστεία*); all forms of lawless or wicked conduct (*ἀνομία* or *ἀδικία* [cf. v 4, n. a]) are of human making and are therefore subject to divine punishment. Implied is the conclusion: those who practice slavery will be punished. The particular example given in the third subunit differs from that in the first. The evil mentioned in the first clause is the same as the punishment identified in the third clause. Moreover, its presence here is odd in view of the author's anti-Deuteronomic argument in 102:4–104:8 (see comm. on 103:9–104:6). The author is evidently using a common topos to illustrate and undergird the point he has just made—that God punishes sin. Different from the cases cited in 103:9-15, here barrenness does not involve a human agent; it is direct divine intervention.

The choice of verbs in the first clauses may indicate that the author is arguing against some sort of determinism and in favor of freedom of choice. In context, however, the stress is on the liability to divine judgment that follows from human responsibility. Moreover, the example with which he begins his argument is closely related to the broader polemics of the Epistle. Slavery is a specific example of the oppression of the poor by the rich, a central topic in the author's indictment of the sinners. This oppression is mentioned in 96:5 and 8, and may be alluded to in 103:11-12, 99:13, and 94:7.

The precise social setting of the Epistle is too indefinite to determine the specific target of the attack in 98:4. The author may have in mind slave trade in Hellenistic Palestine.¹¹ The language in 103:11-12 suggests, moreover, an inhuman treatment of slaves that was

11 For the relevant data see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:41–42.

12 See Isaac Mendelsohn, “Slavery in the OT,” *IDB* 4:386–87; Walther Zimmerli, “Slavery in the OT,” *IDBSup* 829–30. For a cache of documents relating to the disposition of slaves, see Douglas M. Gropp, “The Samaritan Papyri from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh:

The Slave Sales” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1986), and for a summary see idem, “Slavery,” in Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. Vanderkam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 884–86. For a discussion of slavery as it may relate to the Epistle of Enoch, see Horsley, “Social Relations,” 112–13.

inconsonant with the biblical laws on slavery (Exod 21:2-11; Lev 25:39-46; Deut 15:12-18).¹² Basic to these laws is the recognition that slavery is a less-than-desirable institution—at least the enslavement of Israelites by Israelites. Here the critique is radical: slavery was not part of the divine plan (for the use of *ὀρίζω* [“ordain”] and *βουλή* [“decree”] with reference to God’s foreknowledge and foreordination, cf. Acts 2:23; 4:28). The argument is paralleled in Mark 10:2-9, where Jesus contrasts God’s intention in creation with the concession made to human “hardness of heart” in the Mosaic divorce law. The divinely created institution of marriage should not be annulled by humans. It is uncertain whether the author is here damning all slave masters or whether, following the lead of the biblical laws, he is criticizing the abuses of slavery and radicalizing that critique by an appeal to God’s eternal will and plan. In either case the introductory oath formula is a solemn attestation of the truth of his claims.

The passage serves an important clarifying and corrective function within 1 Enoch as a whole. The myth of the rebel angels notwithstanding (see chaps. 6–11), human beings are responsible for their deeds.¹³ Although these deeds are foreseen and inscribed on heavenly tablets, their perpetrators are liable for them (see comm. on 98:6-8).

A comparison of 1 Enoch 98:4-8 and Sir 15:11–17:24 suggests that these texts reflect a common tradition. Ben Sira denies that God is the cause of sin (15:11-12) and asserts that he has created human beings with freedom of choice and hence the ability to obey his commandments (15:14-17). Thus human actions are subject to review by the all-seeing eyes of God (15:18-19; cf. 1 Enoch 98:6-8). The example of sterility is cited in Sir 16:3, albeit for a purpose different from 1 Enoch 98:5. God’s judgment of sin is exemplified in Sir 16:6-14. The general form and content of 16:17-19 parallels 1 Enoch 98:7-8 (see comm.). A similar sequence recurs in Sirach 17. God created human beings and gave them knowl-

edge and understanding, including his revealed Law (vv 1-14). Their deeds are under the surveillance of God (vv 15, 19-20; see comm. on 98:6-8), who will judge them according to their deeds (v 23). Although the language of Sir 15:11-20 suggests an antideterministic polemic,¹⁴ as in 1 Enoch 98:4-5, this language is subordinate to the overarching interest in human responsibility before the bar of divine justice. Specifically, ben Sira is calling his readers’ attention to the consequences of the good and evil behavior described in his instruction.

■ **6-8** Equitable judgment presupposes accurate knowledge of the deeds to be judged. The allusion to such a record of human deeds in 97:6 (A.3) is here expanded (B.3). If 98:4-5 asserts that human beings are liable for their deeds, vv 6-8 maintain that heaven is aware of these deeds and that an accurate record of them is kept until God exacts judgment.

Verses 6-8 are a unified composition of three tristichs. The first of these (v 6) states the thesis. The second and third (vv 7-8) expand on this by rejecting the alternative (they do not know) and reasserting the thesis. As elsewhere in these chapters, the oath formula introduces and affirms the truth of a piece of revelation about the judgment (see comm. on 103:1-2a). As in 103:1-4 and 104:1-5, it concerns present activity or matters in heaven. For a fuller form of the oath formula, see 103:1. Verse 6b and c state antithetically, in positive and negative grammatical form, that *all* the evil deeds of the sinners are under divine scrutiny. The formula is remarkably similar to Sir 17:15, 19-20; cf. also 1 Enoch 9:5.

Verses 7-8 employ a form found elsewhere in the Epistle: quotation followed by refutation (cf. 97:8-10; 102:6–103:4; 103:5-8). The specific device of prohibition, quotation, and refutation introduced by a revelatory formula occurs in 103:9–104:6 and 104:7-8, which is a paraphrase of the present passage. Striking also is the parallel in Sir 16:17-19, where the negative command, “Do not say, ‘I shall be hidden from the Lord, and who

13 See also Milik (*Enoch*, 53–54), who relies, however, on the corrupt ϵ .

14 On this passage see Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille*, 85–97. For another passage that may stem from older Jewish tradition, see the long reading of the Armenian version of 4 Ezra 8:62, discussed by

Michael E. Stone, “Some Features of the Armenian Version of 4 Ezra,” *Mus* 79 (1966) 395–400.

from on high will remember me?” is followed by the announcement of the theophany and divine judgment (“visitation,” ἐπιβλέψαι, הַבִּיטָה). For other occurrences of the negative imperative to introduce a warning about the judgment, cf. 2 Macc 7:16-19, 34-35. That God “knows” and “sees” human deeds is a frequent assertion in judgment contexts (see comm. on 9:5, 11, nn. 19, 23).

According to vv 7c and 8b, heaven’s knowledge of the sinners’ deeds is recorded by the angels in a book that is kept for the judgment (cf. 104:7-8 and 100:10). The idea is dramatized in 89:68-71 and recurs in many Jewish and early Christian texts (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). For our author this is one of several ways of claiming that the machinery of the great judgment is already in operation. A more radicalized form of the idea occurs in 81:1-2, where the book of human deeds has been inscribed in advance. Yet another way of expressing the present idea is in the concept of human prayer and angelic intercession (see comm. on 99:3). Verses 7c and 8b make their point in climactic form. The sinners deny in principle that heaven has knowledge of their deeds or keeps a record of them. Verse 8b asserts that *all* their deeds are recorded *day by day* as they happen, thus reiterating in stronger form the thesis announced in v 6. The imperative “know” (here, ἐπιγνῶτε) recurs in 98:10, 100:10, and 103:7, and is paralleled by “be it known to you” in 97:2 and 98:12. In all cases it introduces a statement about the judgment or heavenly activity in preparation for it. Together with similar verbs in the indicative, it flags this information as revelation (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, § Revelatory Forms). A similar usage appears in *T. Levi* 4:1 and *T. Jud.* 20:1. Here this function parallels that of the oath in v 6.

The eschatological quality of the author’s revelation is indicated by the adverbial expression “henceforth . . . until” (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν . . . μέχρι). Sins committed “now” are being recorded daily in preparation for and “until” the judgment, and in view of the revelation now transmitted, sinners are liable to that judgment. This same use of ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν occurs in Luke 22:18, 69. The cruciality of the present time as the moment of revelation is further indicated in the use of the simple adverb νῦν (“now”) before

“know” in 98:10, 12; 100:10; cf. 104:8. The preposition “until” adds yet another note of urgency. The last day of the “day by day” recording of the sinners’ deeds will be the “day” of their judgment. While this could mean an individual judgment for each person at the time of his or her death, other indications in the Epistle of a common judgment day (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1) indicate that the present passage envisions the day of judgment taking place in the lifetime of the addressees.

The fact that “hereafter” the sinners are held responsible for this revelation is perhaps an indication that the Epistle is intended for their eyes or ears as well as those of the righteous.

Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes in 1 Enoch and Israelite and Christian Literature

The idea of heavenly books has a long history in the ancient Near East and can be traced back to the texts of ancient Sumer, where one reads about tablets of life and tablets of human destiny.¹⁵ Such heavenly books are also mentioned a few times in the Hebrew Bible. Malachi assures those who fear God that “a book of remembrance” (סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן) has been written in God’s presence (3:16-18). It contains their names, and perhaps their deeds, and will serve as a memorandum on the day of judgment. In a similar vein, Isa 4:2-6 implies a book that will serve as a register of those who will live in the new, glorified Jerusalem. Such a “book of the living” is mentioned in Ps 69:29 (28).¹⁶

Heavenly books, however, play a special role in beliefs about the final judgment, as these are articulated in all the major strata of 1 Enoch except the Book of the Luminaries. They are a graphic way of guaranteeing the reality and inevitability of that judgment. What is already written down in the heavenly courtroom cannot be expunged. In 1 Enoch heavenly books have three kinds of contents. They record: human deeds, notably those of the sinners who oppress the righteous; the names of the righteous; and the rewards of the righteous. These books are often explicitly associated with the angels who are their scribes.

The idea of a book of deeds is probably implied in the earliest stratum of the Book of the Watchers, where God commands Raphael to write an epitaph over Asael’s tomb that records “all the sins” for which

15 Shalom M. Paul, “Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life,” *JANESCU* 5 (1973 = Festschrift T. H. Gaster)

345–46.

16 On these texts see Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 16.

the rebel watcher is responsible (8:8). The content of the heavenly book is here transferred to earth. Chapter 9, however, with its vivid account of angelic intercession, makes no mention of the four holy watchers writing a book; their communication with God is direct and oral. In chaps. 13–14, where Enoch plays the role of an angelic intercessor and messenger, he first writes out on earth the watchers' petition (13:4–7) and then returns from heaven with "the book of the words of truth and the reprimand of the watchers," which is a faithful record of their sentence and doom (14:1).

In a section that appears to preserve a fragment of Enoch's last vision in the Book of the Watchers, the seer reads the heavenly tablets on which are written "all the deeds of men and all the sons of flesh" (81:2).¹⁷ A reference back to this vision appears in the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:2), which claims to be a summary of those books (see comm. on 93:1–3a). The determinism implied in this prewritten account of human deeds is explicit elsewhere in the Enoch corpus only in the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90)—there in the form of a dream that depicts the whole of human history (90:41).

The Animal Vision, however, presents a more dynamic notion of heaven's knowledge of human sin. As Israel's sin escalates near the time of the exile, God commissions seventy angels to shepherd them and then commissions one of the seven archangels to record the shepherds' sins, one by one, as they are committed. The narrator weaves references to this heavenly book of (angelic) misdeeds and to its angelic author through the whole last part of the Vision, depicting him both as scribe and intercessor (89:61–64, 68–71, 76–77; 90:14, 17). The heavenly books then play a central role in the judgment (90:20), although it seems to be implied that God has books containing the sins of all who are condemned.

The conception of the heavenly books is enhanced in the Epistle and runs like a thread through these chapters. The deeds of the sinners are written down "day by day" (98:6–8; 104:7–8). On the day of judgment these deeds will be read out in the presence of God (97:6). In addition, when humans pray for vindication, their prayers are written down as a "memorandum" to be presented to God (99:3; cf. 97:1). In 103:1–4, employing language reminiscent of 81:1–2,

Enoch claims to have seen heavenly tablets that contain a record of the rewards that have been prepared and thus must be given to the righteous who have died. The similarity to 81:1–2 suggests that these books are the counterpart to the books of human sins, containing not only the deeds of the righteous but the rewards that result from these deeds. Finally, angels and books are mentioned together in 104:1. In parallelism Enoch promises the righteous that the angels remind God of them and that their names are written in God's presence. Implied is the angels' role as scribes; explicit is their function as intercessors. The pattern repeats the action in chaps. 89–90. The books here mentioned might be a separate register of the righteous, but the author may simply be referring to the same books mentioned in 103:1–4 (see comm. on 104:1).

The last chapters of 1 Enoch refer briefly to the heavenly books. In the story of Noah's birth, Enoch tells Lamech that he knows certain "mysteries" revealed by the angels and that he has read the orderly record of human history inscribed on the heavenly tablets (106:19–107:1). Chapter 108 mentions the "books of the holy ones" from which the names of sinners will be erased and books in which their punishment is inscribed (108:3, 15). In other books the angels can read about the destiny of the righteous (108:7). Thus books and their scribes are again mentioned together. In the Book of Parables, heavenly books are mentioned only in 47:3, a text that interprets "the books" of Dan 7:10 as "the books of the living."

In Daniel 7 these books belong to the trappings of the heavenly court, where judgment is pronounced on the Seleucid Empire, and they appear to contain a record of the misdeeds of the last beast. Heavenly books are mentioned twice in the last vision of the Book of Daniel. In 10:21 the angel who grants the vision cites "the book of truth"—evidently an account of human history—as the source of his information about the end time. At the end of the vision (12:1–3), Michael and "the book" are juxtaposed in a context that probably draws on a tradition that is also attested in 1 Enoch 104:1–6.¹⁸ The wording of Dan 12:1 also parallels 4QDibHam^a 6:14 and its reference to "the book of the living," which may indicate that the book in Dan 12:1 is the register of the righteous.¹⁹

Other texts cited by Paul ("Heavenly Tablets," 347–48) include Exod 32:32–33; Isa 34:16–17; 65:6; Jer 17:13; 33:30.

17 On the original placement of this fragment, see Excursus: The Literary Unity of 1–36.

18 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 120–22.

19 Ibid., 15–16.

Heavenly books appear elsewhere in contemporary and later Jewish and early Christian literature. In 4Q417 1 1:14-16 Malachi's book of remembrance is paired with a book that contains the punishments that God has ordained against the wicked.²⁰ According to *Jubilees* the halakah in that book was dictated to Moses by angels who read from the heavenly tablets.²¹ The notion emphasizes the eternity and immutability of this Torah. 1QH 1(9):23-26 alludes to the existence of heavenly tablets that contain the ages of creation and the human deeds on which God will render judgment. The opening of heavenly books of deeds (cf. Daniel 7) is mentioned in several apocalypses from ca. 100 C.E. (4 *Ezra* 6:20; 2 *Bar.* 24:1; Rev 20:12-13), and such a book is also mentioned in rabbinic literature (*m. 'Abot* 2:1; 3:17).²² In *Testament of Abraham* 12-13 A, an elaborate judgment scene that draws on motifs from the Egyptian Book of the Dead depicts

two angelic scribes as the keepers of two books containing the records of human sins and righteous deeds.²³ In the counterpart to this scene in *Testament of Abraham* 10-11 B, Enoch is the scribe of human deeds, as he is in *Jub.* 4:23-24. A similar idea seems to be attested in a Christian Coptic text of the fifth century.²⁴ In a particular twist to the juxtaposition of angelic scribes and books of deeds, *T. Jud.* 20:1-5 identifies the human heart as the book associated with the "the angels of truth" and "the angel of deceit" (cf. 1 *Enoch* 96:4).²⁵ Finally, the book of the living or the book of life is also a continuing motif in Jewish and Christian literature (*Jub.* 36:10; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:6-9; 9:3; Luke 10:20; Phil 4:3; Rev 3:5; 13:8; 21:11-12; cf. Heb 12:23).²⁶

- 20 See the discussion by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington in DJD 34 (1999) 162-63.
- 21 See, e.g., *Jub.* 3:31; 6:17, 35; 16:18-29; 18:19; 23:32; 30:19; 31:32; 32:15.
- 22 For other citations see Paul, "Heavenly Tablets," 350-51.
- 23 Nickelsburg, "Eschatology in the Testament of Abraham," 32-40.

- 24 See Pearson, "Apocryphon."
- 25 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 36-37.
- 26 Luke 10:18, with its reference to the fall of Satan, appears to reflect the tradition in Dan 12:1 (cf. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 11-15). Revelation 21 also reflects this tradition (*ibid.*, 38), but adds the motif of opening the books of human deeds (Daniel 7).

A.1 WOES AGAINST THOSE WHO ERR

- 9 Woe to you, fools;
for you will be destroyed because of your folly.
You do not listen to^a the wise;
and good things will not happen to you,
but evils will surround you.^b
- 10 And now know that you have been prepared for^a a day of destruction;
and do not hope to be saved,^b O sinners;
you will depart and die.
<Know> that you have been prepared for^c ■ day of great judgment and^d tribulation
and very great shame^e for your spirits.
- 11 Woe to you, stiff-necked and^a hard of heart,
who do evil and ~~consume~~ blood.
From where do you have good things to eat^b and drink and be satisfied?
From all the good things that the Lord, the Most High, has abundantly provided upon
the earth.
You will have no peace.
- 12 Woe to you who love the deeds of iniquity;
why do you have good hopes for yourselves?^a
Now be it known to you that^b you will be delivered into the hands of the righteous,
and they will cut off your necks,^c
and they will kill you and not spare you.^d
- 13 Woe to you who rejoice over the troubles of the righteous;
your grave will not be dug.^a
- 14 Woe to you who annul^a the words of the righteous;
you will have ■■ hope of salvation.^b
- 15 Woe to those who write lying words and words of error;
they write and lead many astray with their lies when they hear them.^a
You yourselves err;^b
- 16 and you will have no peace but will quickly perish.^a
- 99:1 Woe to you who commit erring acts
and who for false deeds receive honor and glory;^a
you will perish,^b you will have no salvation for good.
- 2 Woe to you who alter the true words
and pervert the eternal covenant
and consider themselves to be without sin;
they will be swallowed up in the earth.^a

A.2 THE RIGHTEOUS ENCOURAGED TO PRAY FOR JUDGMENT

- 3 Then^a be prepared, O righteous, and present^b your petitions as a reminder;
offer them as a testimony before the angels,
that they may bring in the sins of the unrighteous before the Most High as a reminder.
- 4 Then^a the nations^b will be thrown into confusion,
and the families of the nations^c will be unsettled,
on the day of the destruction of iniquity.^d
- 5 At that very time,^a those who are giving birth will bring forth,
and they will sell^b and abandon their young infant;^c
and those who are with child will abort;^d
And those who ■■ nursing will cast off their children,
and they will not return to their infants^e or to their sucklings^f
nor will they spare their beloved ones.^g

B.1 ANOTHER WARNING TO THOSE WHO ERR

- 6 Again I ~~swear~~ to you, sinners,
that sin is prepared for ■ day of ceaseless bloodshed.^a

Those who worship stones^a—

and who ~~carve~~ images of silver and gold^b and wood and stone^c and clay
and worship phantoms and demons and abominations and evil spirits^d and all errors,
not according to knowledge;
no help will you find from them.^e

They will be led astray by the folly of their hearts,
and their eyes will be blinded by the fear of their hearts,^a
and the visions of (your) dreams will lead you astray^b—

You and the false works which you have made and wrought of stone,^a
you will be destroyed together.

B.2 A BEATITUDE ON THOSE WHO LISTEN TO THE WISE

And then^a blessed will be all who listen to the words of the wise,
and learn to do the commandments^b of the Most High;
and walk in the paths of his righteousness,
and do not err with the erring;
for they will be saved.^c

9a οὐ μὴ ἀκούσητε ^{CB} | ʾitesammēʿewwomu t 2080. Other mss. provide evidence of inner-^C corruptions; see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 93.

b τὰ δὲ κακὰ [περιέξει] ὑμᾶς ^{CB}, as restored by Bonner (Enoch, 380), who cites Ps 39(40):13. ^C om. the line by hmt.

10a that --- for] kama delewān ʾantemu la-^C | Bonner (Enoch, 39) restores ^{CB}: ὅτ[ι ἡτοίμασται] ὑμῖν εἰς (“that it is prepared for you for . . .”). See below, n. c; and for the same idiom, where no ^C exists, see 94:9; 99:6.

b σωθῆναι ^{CB} | “to live” (kama tehayyawu) ^C, which employs this same translation in 98:14; 99:1; 103:10.

c γινώσκοντε[ς ὅτι ἡτοίμασ]ται ^{CB} (“knowing that it has been prepared for . . .”). ^C mss. vary. taʾammeru baza tadawalukemu (“you know that you are prepared”) qT⁹ | taʾammeru bēzā (bēta¹) bazatadalawkemu (“you know a ransom [‘house’ t¹] with which you are prepared”) t²/t¹ | tāʾammeru bēzā tadawalukemu (“you know a ransom, you are prepared”) g | ʾitaʾammeru bēzā ʾesma (om. m) tadawalukemu (“you know no ransom, you are prepared”) g¹m.β. The reading of qT⁹ is closest to ^{CB}. In the other mss. baza was corrupted to bēzā (bēta) and then the negative was added to make sense. I emend the participle of ^{CB} to an impv., supposing that ^C read an ambiguous γινώσκετε, which would parallel v 10a.

d + “a day of” (laʿelata) ^C.

e mēndabē waḥašār ʾabiy ^C | στε]ρωχωρίας <καὶ ταλαι-
πωρίας> μείζονος ^{CB}, om. by hmt.

11a οἱ σκληροτράχη[οι καὶ σκληροκ]άρδιο[ι] ^{CB} | “hard of heart” (gezuḥana lebb) ^C. On the restoration by Bonner (Enoch, 39), οἱ σκληροτράχη[λοι τῇ [κ]αρδίᾳ, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 118. Although ^C may be original and ^{CB} expansionistic, see comm.

b ʾemʾaytē ʾantemu teballeʿu bašanāy ^C | πόθ]εν ὑμῖν

ἔσονται ἀγαθὰ ἵνα φάγητε . . .] ^{CB}.

12a διότι ἐλπίδας κα[λὰς ἔχετε ὑμῖ]ν ^{CB}, restored by Bonner, Enoch, 41 | “why do you hope for good things for yourselves” (lament lakemu tesēffawewwo lašanāy) ^C.

b νῦν γνωστὸν ὑμῖν ἔστω ὅτι ^{CB} | “know that” (ʾaʿmeru kama) ^C. See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 106–7.

c wayematteru kesāwedikemu wayegattelukemu ^C | <καὶ ἀποκόψουσιν τοὺς τράχηλους ὑμῶν> καὶ [ἀπο]κτε-
νοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ^{CB}, om. by hma.

d καὶ οὐ μὴ φείσονται [ὑ]μῶν ^{CB} | “and they will have no mercy on you” (waʾiyemehherukemu) ^C, an inner-^C corruption of meḥka (= ^{CB}) to mehra. Cf. also 99:5 n. g; and Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 94 n. 21.

13a ʾesma maqāber ʾiyetkarray (yetraʾʾay gg¹ T⁹ 1768) lakemu (“will be seen” gg¹) ^C | <τάφος> ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ὀρυγῇ | ^{CB} (τογος restored to τάφος by Bonner [Enoch, 40] after ^C).

14a ʾella tebēttelu ^C | “who wish to annul” (οἱ βουλόμενος <ἀκυρῶσαι> [emended from τᾱκραιῶσαι † (“mutilate”) by Bonner, Enoch, 40]) ^{CB}, a gloss that does not admit that they can annul their words.

b σωτηρίας ^{CB}, translated heywat (“life”) in ^C. Cf. v 10 n. b.

15a αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποπλανήσουσιν τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐτῶν (“they write and lead many astray with their lies”) ^{CB} | ʾesma weʿetomu yeṣehhefu hastomu kama yestmeʿu wayeršeʿewwo labāʿed (“for they write their lies so that they hear, and they lead others [= ἄλλους] astray”) ^C. My translation posits as the original Greek text: αὐτοὶ γράφουσιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποπλανήσουσιν τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν ἀκούσωσαν αὐτῶν. In ^{CB} the last four words were lost by hmt. In *^{CB} καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποπλανήσουσιν was lost by hmt. and restored in the wrong place. See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 107–8.

- b πλανᾶσθε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ^{CB} | om. ^E. For the formula cf. 97:10.
- 16a ἀπολείσθῃ ^{CB} | *mota yemawwetu* (lit. “with death they will die”) ^E.
- 99:1
- a καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ψεύδεσιν λαμβάνοντες τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ^{CB} | “and who honor and glorify lying words” (*wanağara ḥasat tesēbbeḥu watākaberu*) ^E.
- b Lit. “you have perished” (ἀπολώλατε) ^{CB} | *tahaqwal-kemu* ^E.
- 2a ἐν τῇ γῇ καταποθήσονται ^{CB} | “they will be trodden down upon the earth” (*diba medr hallawu yetkayyadu* [= καταπατήσονται]) ^E. Here and elsewhere in the woes, the switch between second and third person is attested in all MSS.
- 3a τότε ^{CB} | “In those days” (*baʿemantu mawāʿel*) ^E. The latter expression occurs in 91:8; 97:5; 99:3, 4, 10; 100:1, 4; 102:1; 105:1. Where the text of ^{CB} is preserved, it reads: τότε in 99:3, 4, 10; ἐν αὐτῷ [τῷ και]ρῷ in 99:5; and ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ in 100:4. Perhaps the translator of ^E has employed a biblical cliché to translate the various Greek expressions harmonistically.
- b προέχεσθε ^{CB} | “raise” (*tenšēu*) ^E.
- 4a Text as in v 3 n. a.
- b ᾠζᾱḇ (= τὰ ἔθνη) ^E. | om. ^{CB} See n. c.
- c ᾠζᾱḇ (= τὰ γένη ἔθνων) ^E | om. ^{CB}. The parallelism provided by the ^E readings in these two lines speaks for their originality.
- d ἀδικίας ^{CB} | “sin” (*ḥātīʾat*) ^E.
- 5a ἐν αὐτῷ [τῷ και]ρῷ ^{CB} | “In those days” (*baʿemantu mawāʿel*) ^E.
- b Emending ἐπάσουσιν of ^{CB} to ἐκπράσουσιν; see G. Zuntz, “Enoch on the Last Judgment,” *JTS* 45 (1944) 166. ^E *yemaššētu* (“they will seize”) may then be a corruption of *yēšayyētu* (“they will sell”).
- c [τὸ νήπιον] βρέφος ^{CB}, restored by Bonner, *Enoch*, 43 | “their children” (*daqiqomu*) ^E.
- d ἐκτρώσουσιν ^{CB} restored by M. R. James, cited by Bonner, *Enoch*, 43. I emend *yedehēḥēdu* (“they will fall”) to causative *yādehēḥēdu* (= *^{CB}; see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1114).
- e ἐπὶ τὰ νήπια αὐτῶν ^{CB} | “to them” (*ḥabēhomu*) ^E.
- f οὐ[δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ θηλά]ζοντα ^{CB}, restored by Bonner, *Enoch*, 43 | om. ^E.
- g οὐδὲ μὴ φείσονται[^{CB} | “and they will not have mercy on their beloved ones” (*waʿiyemehēherewomū lafo-qirānihomū*) ^E. For the confusion of *mēḥra* and *mēḥka* (= ^{CB}), see n. d on 98:12.
- 6a That --- bloodshed] *ʿesma laʿelata kēʿwata dam zaʿiya-haddeʾ tadalawat ḥātīʾat* ^E | “that penitence is prepared for the day of the destruction of blood” Tertullian *De idol.* 4 (*quod in diem sanguinis perditiōnis poenitentia parata est*). Charles (*Enoch*, 245) suggests that *poenitentia* is corrupt for *impenitentia* = ἀμετανοησία, of which *ḥātīʾat* (“sin”) is a rough rendering. “Bloodshed” could be reflected in “destruction of blood.” | Text is lost in lacuna of ^{CB}.
- 7a *lapidibus* ^I^{Tert} | *ʿebn* (sg. used collectively?) ^E.
- b ^{CB} | “gold and silver” ^E.
- c ξυλίνας τε [καὶ λιθίνας] ^{CB} supported by *lignas et lapideas* ^I^{Tert} | “and wood” (*wazaʿed*) ^E, om. in *^E by hmt.
- d καὶ λατρεύ[οντες φαν]τάσμασιν καὶ δαιμονί[οις καὶ βδελύγ]μασι καὶ πνεύμασιν πονη[ροῖς] ^{CB}, supported largely by ^I^{Tert}: *et servitis phantasmatis et daemoniis et spiritibus infamibus* (supposing that καὶ βδελύγμασι dropped out of Tertullian’s Greek by hmt.). | “and who worship evil (unclean = βδελύγμασι) spirits and demons” (*waʿella yesaggedu lanafsāt [lamanāfest g¹t] ʿekuyāt/ān [gg¹mqT⁹] [rekusāt/ān β] waʿagānent*) ^E, which seems to evidence displacement and secondary revision; see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 138–39.
- e ευρηται ^{CB}, read as εὑρητε, as presumed by ^I^{Tert} *invenietis* | “will be found” (*yetrakkab*) ^E, presuming εὑρήσεται.
- 8a This line om. in ^{CB} by hmt.
- b καὶ τὰ ὀρ[ά]ματα τῶν ἐνυπνίων <ύμῶν> καταπλανήσουσιν ὑμᾶς ^{CB} | “and in the visions of their dreams they will err and they will fear” (*wabareʿya helmetu bomu yerasseʿu wayefarreḥu*) ^E.
- 9a καὶ ἐλαεργ[ή]σατε ^{CB} | “and they have worshiped stone” (*wasagadu laʿebn*) ^E. See comm.
- 10a Text as in v 3 n. a.
- b τὰς ἐντολάς ^{CB} | “the ways of” (*lafenāwāta*) ^E.
- c *ʿesma ʿemuntu wayedehēḥenu* (“for they also will be saved”) ^E | καὶ σωθήσονται (“and they will be saved”) ^{CB}.

Different from the previous two discourses, here the author focuses on religious perversion (“deceit”) rather than social oppression (“violence”). The theme is developed through the use of contrasting vocabulary: righteous, wise, truth vs. sinners, stiff-necked, fools, error, leading astray, falsehood, lies. The culprits are of two kinds: those who pervert divine law as the author understands it; and the idol makers and idolaters, who lie and go astray in their own way. These two groups are spoken of in much the same vocabulary, but in the two separate sections of this discourse. This bipartite structure is analogous to the structure of the previous two discourses. The author begins with a long string of Woes directed mainly against the perverters of the divine law (98:9–99:2; A.1). The woes are followed by an exhortation to the righteous that they offer petitions to catalyze the judgment. Concerning this judgment we have the first of several descriptions in an ongoing scenario (99:3–5; A.2). Next the idolaters are addressed, picking up on the reference to the nations in 99:4 (99:6–9; B.1). The discourse concludes with a reference to the blessedness of those who will listen to the wise (99:10; B.2). This beatitude forms a reprise of 98:9, and together the two verses bracket the material in between as a single division of the Epistle.

■ **98:9–10** This first woe introduces the section by summarizing its message. The sinners in question are fools who will perish because of their opposition to the wise. The thesis is repeated twice in v 9. In the initial distich they are fools who will perish. Antithetically, in the tristich that follows, they do not listen to the wise and therefore can expect evil things.

The terms “fools” (ἄφρονες; ἄφροσύνη, “folly”) and “the wise” (φρόνιμοι) are drawn from the Israelite wisdom tradition, where they are catchwords for those whose conduct and attitudes in practical, moral, and religious matters are wrong and right, respectively.¹ The fool is so called because he has no insight into divinely revealed wisdom and because his attitude and conduct lead to divine judgment (cf. Wis 3:2; 5:4; also Luke 12:20). The same connotations are present here. As succeeding verses show, the addressees of this section are far from unlearned. Their folly consists of their rejection

of the divine law and the revealed message of the wise. It is folly, moreover, because it will result in their judgment. The term ἄφρων (“fool”) occurs in 1 Enoch only here and in 98:1, and ἄφροσύνη (“folly”) recurs only in 99:8, of idolatry.

“Wisdom” is a catchword for the whole of Enoch’s revealed message (see Introduction §4.2.5.5). The wise (φρόνιμοι) are those who have received and accepted that message (104:12). The present passage indicates that there was an interaction between the wise, who had a message to proclaim, and the fools, who refused to listen to it. A similar interaction is implied in 98:14, where the term “the righteous” (οἱ δίκαιοι) occurs. That the wise put forth their message as revelation is indicated in 99:10, which closely parallels 98:9 and forms the *inclusio* for this section. The verb ἀκούω (“listen”) denotes respectful and obedient listening (cf. 91:3).² In turning their backs on the wise, the fools reject and disobey the divinely revealed message.

The message of judgment, briefly stated in v 9a, is repeated in two antithetically parallel lines (v 9de). The word pair “good/evil” (רע/טוב; Aram. בישתא/טבתא; LXX ἀγαθόν/κακόν, often translated pl. as here) occurs in Deut 30:15 in synonymous parallelism with “life” and “death” as designations of the covenantal blessings and curses and in Jer 32:42 with the same meaning (cf. also Jer 21:10; 39:16; 44:17).³ The term “good” recurs in this section in v 11 of the Creator’s good gifts and in 99:1 of salvation, and it is used in this latter sense in 103:3, 107:1, and perhaps 104:1. The idea of good (things) “coming” (here ἀπαντήσῃ) is also typical (Jer 17:6, בוא יתי, ἔλθῃ; 32:42, מביא, מביא, ἐπάξω; 1 Enoch 107:1, ἦξει).

The announcement of the fools’ judgment is elaborated in v 10 in two partly parallel passages. Both begin with the revelatory formula, “Know” (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1.4) and refer to God’s preparation of the day of judgment (see comm. on 94:9–11). The use of “now” (νῦν) in v 10a emphasizes the urgency of the message, as it does in 98:1, 8, 12; 100:10; 104:8. For the day of judgment as a day of destruction, cf. 96:8 and 99:4. Lines b and c expand on the initial line, using a negative | positive parallelism similar to v 9de. The false hopes of the fools are thrice alluded to in this section

1 George Bertram, “φρόνη,” *TDNT* 9 (1974) 224–28.

2 See BDB, 1034.

3 Walter Grundmann, “ἀγαθός,” *TDNT* 1 (1964) 14.

(cf. 98:12-14). The present verse and v 14 refer to the futility of their expectation that on the day of judgment they will be delivered from divine punishment. The use of *σώζω* and *σωτηρία* to denote such deliverance is common in our literature (see esp. Dan 12:1, *σώζω*, מלם).⁴ The theme of this deliverance is repeated in 99:10, where it is part of a larger antithesis to the present verse. On the departure of the wicked at the judgment, see comm. on 97:3-6. The verb “you will die” (τάπο-θάνετε) reiterates the theme of “destruction” in line a. Verse 10de expands on v 10a by employing triple nomenclature for the day of destruction. For the “day of great judgment” cf. 94:9 (which also uses triple nomenclature together with the verb “to prepare”) and 99:15. On “the day of tribulation” see comm. on 96:2. On the shame of the sinners at the judgment, see comm. on 97:3-6. In the present verse as elsewhere, it is their spirits (*manfas*) that will suffer (cf. 103:7-8 and see comm. on 102:4-5).

■ 11 The sinners are addressed in language that signifies their disobedience of God and stubborn resistance to the divine will.⁵ The term *σκληροτράχηλοι* (“stiff-necked”), which is attested in the Θ^{CB} , occurs in the LXX as a translation of *קשה ערף* (ב) of the Hebrew Bible, where it uniformly designates Israel or, in the wisdom literature, the wicked person (Exod 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13; Prov 29:1; Sir 16:11; 1 Bar 2:30). The expression *σκληροκάριοι* (“hard of heart”), restored in Θ^{CB} on the basis of \mathcal{E} (*gezufāna lebb*), translates *קשה לב* in Ezek 3:7 and *עקש לב* (“perverse of heart”) in Prov 17:20, which refer to the house of Israel and the wicked man, respectively. In Deut 10:16 and Jer 4:4 the noun *σκληροκαρδία* (“hardness of heart”) translates *ערלת לבב* (“uncircumcision of heart”), again with reference to the nation. The twin adjectives “stiff-necked and hard of heart” occur together in our literature only in one ms. of Sir 16:11. But the double idea occurs in Deut 10:16: “Circumcise the foreskin of your heart and stiffen your neck no longer” (מלחם אף ערלת לבבכם וערפכם לא תקשו עוד), *περιτεμείσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε ἔτι*, in 1QS 4:11: “stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart” (קושׁ עורף וכיבוד לב), and in

Acts 7:51: “Stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears” (*σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτνητοι καρδίας καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν*). This usage allows the reconstruction of the double expression in our text; however, its rare occurrence underscores the force of the invective here. Since these terms are used in our literature exclusively of Israel, it is almost certain that our author is here accusing *Jews* of consuming blood. Thus we have a powerful indictment against the transgression of one of the fundamental laws of Judaism. In what way or under what circumstances the addressees of this woe were consuming blood—or were thought to be doing so—is not clear. Passages like *Jub.* 7:27-33 (cf. *Jub.* 6:12-14; 21:6) indicate a similar concern. Perhaps the author is reflecting idiosyncratic views about what may be eaten or under what circumstances it may be eaten. He may be alluding to peculiar laws about slaughtering. The language of lines c and d is reminiscent of the creation theology in Ps 104:10-30, and it may indicate a contrast between the eating of meat and a vegetarianism that is thought to be consonant with the divine dispensation that was in effect in the prediluvian period of the alleged author (cf. 1 Enoch 7:5 and *Jub.* 7:27-34).⁶ On the formula in the final line of the woe, see comm. on 94:6-7.

■ 12-13 Two common characteristics link these verses to one another. Both attribute to the sinners a positive attitude or emotion inappropriately applied: *loving* iniquity, *rejoicing* over misfortune. The last lines complement one another by reference to the sequence: death and burial.

For the idea of loving wickedness cf. Ps 4:3 (2) (קִרְי, “vanity”); Ps 11:5 (חַס, “violence”); Prov 17:19 (שׁשׁ, “transgression”). The linkage with v 13 may indicate that “the deeds of iniquity” (*gebra 'amaḏā*; [ἐργα τῆς ἀδικίας]) are acts of hostility against the righteous, which would explain the reference to the participation of the righteous in the judgment (line c); but see note on line d. The expression “to have good hopes” (here *ἐλπίδας κα[λὰς ἔχετε ὑμῶν*; see no. a) reflects Greek idiom and not necessarily the Aramaic original. Cf. Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 1.4.25 (*ἐλπίδας ἔχων μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ*, “he had great hopes in him”); Plato *Symposium* 193d (*ἐλπίδας μεγίστας παρέχεται*, “he provides us

4 Georg Fohrer and Werner Foerster, “σώζω,” *TDNT* 7 (1971) 975–86, 990–97.

5 Johannes Behm, “καρδία,” *TDNT* 3 (1965) 613–14.

Ps 104:10-30 speaks only of vegetable food with reference to the human race.

with very great hopes"); Plutarch *Brutus* 40 (ἐν ἐλπίσι καλαῖς . . . γενόμενος, "he was in high hopes"). The sinners' great confidence about their future, however, is now revealed to be false (cf. also 97:8-10). With a solemn revelatory introduction (cf. 97:2 and see comm. on 98:9-10), the author announces the sinners' coming judgment. The language is reminiscent especially of 91:12 and 95:3. The expression in 98:12d (see n. c) is unusual. We expect reference to cutting off the *head* (cf. 1 Sam 17:51; 2 Sam 4:7; 20:22; 2 Kgs 10:7; 1 Macc 7:47; 2 Macc 15:30; Jdt 13:8). Perhaps the best biblical parallel is the practice of breaking an animal's neck (Heb. עָרַךְ, Aram. נִקֵּךְ, "smite"). The odd usage here recalls the appellation "stiff-necked" in v 11. The woes may have been associated by catchword, or the author may be saying that the sinners will appropriately be smitten on their stiff necks. Line e stresses the thoroughgoing nature of the slaughter (cf. also 99:5 and perhaps 103:12). The tristich as a whole elaborates on the idea of the righteous executing judgment. Their slaughter of the sinners is an act of judgment that sends them to Sheol, where eternal judgment will be executed.

The troubles (κακά) of the righteous in v 13 are also mentioned in 104:2. The expression denotes any sort of evil or misfortune, in contrast to the blessings they might expect from God (see comm. on 98:9-10). Perhaps these evils have been instigated by the sinners as in 100:8; however, the idiom "rejoice over . . ." suggests that the sinners are responding to troubles that are not of their own making. Cf., e.g., Ps 38:17 (16); Prov 24:17; Mic 7:8. Burial of the dead was of great importance throughout the ancient world. The problem and disgrace of not being buried is central to Sophocles' *Antigone* and plays an important role in the Book of Tobit (1:17-20; 2:3-10; cf. 4:3-4; 14:10-12). It is also mentioned in Jer 14:16; Ps 79:2-3; *Jub.* 23:23; 1 Macc 7:17. The judgment inflicted on the sinners is exacerbated by the disgrace of no burial.

■ **98:14–99:2** After two verses that deal with the relationship between the sinners and the righteous, the author again takes up his indictment of the religious sins of his opponents. These verses are linked to 98:12-13 by the parallel expressions "the troubles of the righteous"

and "the words of the righteous." The sinners are guilty of religious error and perversion—as the righteous understand such.

■ **98:14** The author employs the technical legal terminology for nullifying a covenant or disobeying or disregarding laws and commands.⁷ The verb ἀκυρόω is used in our literature with the following objects: τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ("the word of God," Mark 7:13); διαθήκην ("a will" or "covenant," Gal 3:17); ἐντολάς ("commands" of the emperor, Josephus *Ant.* 18.8.8 §304); ἰσοπολιτεῖαν ("the grant of equal civic rights," Josephus *Ant.* 20.8.9 §183); ψήφισμα ("a statute," Josephus *Ant.* 14.10.8 §216); the contents of Cyrus's decree (1 Esdr 6:32 [31] and Josephus *Ant.* 11.1.3 §17, where it parallels παραβαίνω ["transgress"] and παρακούω ["disobey"], respectively). Against this background the present passage could refer to contracts. In context, however, it is more likely that the sinners are disagreeing with and disregarding the legal interpretations of the righteous, which according to the righteous have the force of divine law. The passage presumes an open conflict between the sinners and the righteous, which has already been referred to in 98:9. Indeed, parallels in wording between 98:9c and 98:14a and between 98:10b and 98:14b indicate that 98:14 is a brief summary of 98:9-10. The parallel is the closer in light of 99:10 (the positive counterpart of 98:9-10), where "listen to the words of the wise" closely approximates "annul the words of the righteous." With all these passages one should cf. 1QpHab 2:2-3: לֹא שָׁמְעוּ לִישׁוּעָא אֱלֹהִי דְּבִרִין מִוֵּרָה דְּצִדְקָה מִפִּי אֱלֹהִי ("[they did] no[t listen to the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness (which came) from the mouth of God"), as it is usually reconstructed—a text that refers to a conflict over law between the true teacher and his lying opponent and his followers.

Excursus: Those Who Lead Many Astray with Their Lies

In the Hebrew Bible the verb נָחַל (once נָחַל, "to wander" or "go astray," often denotes transgression of God's will or, in the *hiphil*, causing people to trans-

7 Johannes Behm, "κυρόω" *TDNT* 3 (1965) 1099–1100; Otto Eger, "Rechtswörter und Rechts-

bilder in den paulinischen Briefen," *ZNW* 18 (1917–18) 88–90.

gress. Most frequently, it refers to idolatry.⁸ In all but two cases, תעה with this figurative meaning is translated in the LXX by the corresponding *πλαν-* group. Similarly, this figurative usage of *πλανάω*, *πλανή*, and *πλάνησις*, known already from secular Greek,⁹ reflects the fact that the LXX uses these words often to expand and paraphrase the MT.¹⁰ A parallel phenomenon occurs in the Targumim, where the verb תעה and the noun טעו are fixed terms for religious error, again usually idolatry (see comm. on 99:7).

The closest biblical parallel to 98:15 is Jer 23:9-40 (cf. 14:13-16), esp. v 32: “Behold, I am against the prophets of lying dreams, says the Lord, they recount them and lead my people astray by their lies and their recklessness” (הנני על־נבאִי חלמות שקר נאִם־יהוה ויספרום) ויחזו אִתְעמי בשקר־יהם ובפחזחום *προφήτας τοὺς προφητεύοντας ἐνύπνια ψευδῇ καὶ διηγούντο αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπλάνησαν τὸν λαὸν μου ἐν τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλάνοις αὐτῶν*). This passage, which parallels v 15 both in vocabulary and syntactical structure, is part of a long indictment of the prophets whose lies are false not only in their content but also because they claim YHWH as their source. The false prophets lead the people astray by making them trust in a message that does not derive from YHWH (23:17). Different from Jeremiah, 1 Enoch 98:15 refers to the recitation of the written word.

In the Qumran literature, the verb תעה and the noun תעה (which is not attested in the Bible) frequently denote sinful conduct (1QS 3:21; 5:4, 11; 11:1; CD 2:13, 17; 3:1, 4, 14; 4:1; 5:20; 12:3). In several contexts they are combined with words for lying and deceit, and there is an explicit juxtaposition between the perpetrator(s) of this lying and deceit, who cause others to go astray, and the protagonist of the truth. In CD 1:10-18 God raises up the Teacher of Righteousness to lead his people in the right way and make known to them what he would do to the last generation, which has departed from the way, following the Man of Mockery, who unleashed the waters of falsehood (מִי־י כֹב) on Israel and led them astray (תעה), departing from the paths of righteousness and removing the bounds that their fathers had established in the inheritance of the Torah. Here the author has amplified the metaphorical implications of תעה, by means of other images relating to the

“ways” (see Excursus: The Two Ways). In 1QH 12(4):5-27 the author, who is the protagonist for the Torah (12[4]:10) and the recipient and teacher of the divinely revealed mysteries (12[4]:5, 27-29), stands in opposition to the interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit (חזוי רמיה, מליצי כֹב, 12[4]:9-10), the prophets of falsehood (נביאי כֹב, 4:16) and seers of error (חזוי תעות, 12[4]:20), who lead the people astray (12[4]:12, 16, 25). In 1QH 10(2):16-19, a hymn closely related to 12(4):5-18,¹¹ the author, “the interpreter of knowledge” (מליץ דעת), who knows God’s marvelous mysteries (10[2]:13), stands in opposition to the “interpreters of error” (מליצי תעות, 10[2]:14) and “the interpreters of smooth things” and “the men of deceit” (אִשֵׁי רמיה, דורשי חלקות, 10[2]:15-16). While reference to Torah instruction and interpretation is not explicit, it is likely in view of the parallels in 12(4):5–13(5):4.

More important are a series of passages in the Qumran Scrolls and the NT that connect those who lead many astray with lying activity. According to 4QpNah 2:8, the interpretation of Nah 3:4 concerns “those of Ephraim who go astray, by whose false teaching, lying tongue, and deceitful lips many go astray”¹² (מתעי אפרים אשר בתלמוד שקרים ולשון כזביהם) (ושפת מרמה יתעו רבים). The context before and after this passage indicates that these seducers of Ephraim are the “facile interpreters” (דורשי־החלקות, 2:2, 4-5; 3:3-8). That their “teaching” and interpretation concerns the Law is most likely. A second passage is 1QpHab 10:9-12: “Interpreted, this concerns the Spouter of Lies who led many astray that he might build his city of vanity with blood and raise a congregation on deceit, causing many thereby to perform a service of vanity for the sake of its glory, and to be pregnant with works of deceit, that their labor might be for nothing” (trans. Vermes) (פֶּשֶׁר הדבר על משיף) הכֹב אשר התעה רבים לבנות עיר שוֹו בדמים ולקים עדה בשקר בעבור כבודו לוגיע רבים בעבודת שוֹו ולהרוחם [בן־מעשִׁי] שקר לחיות עמלם לריק. Here the deception is explicitly associated not with interpretation of Scripture, but with the creation of a following, or a high priestly dynasty. According to 1QpHab 2:1-4, however, the opposition between the Teacher of Righteousness and “the Liar” (אִישׁ הכֹב) does involve the interpretation of the covenantal law. Finally, according to 1QpPs^a 1:18-19, the interpretation of Ps 37:7

8 Herbert Braun, “*πλανάω*” *TDNT* 6 (1968) 233–34.

9 *Ibid.*, 230–33.

10 *Ibid.*, 233 nn. 31, 32.

11 See Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963) 192–201, 204–17.

12 My translation follows the interpretation of David

Flusser, communicated to me orally by Michael E. Stone.

“concerns the Man of Lies who led many astray by the words of falsehood, because they followed after vanity and did not lis[ten] to the Interpreter of Knowledge” (פֶּשֶׁר׃ עַל אִישׁ הַכּוֹז אֲשֶׁר הִתְעָה רַבִּים בְּאִמְרָיו) (שֶׁקֶר כִּיָּא בַּחֲרוּ בַקְלוֹת וְלֹא שְׁמַעְנָה מִלִּיג דְּנַע). Again interpretation of the Torah appears to be the issue. Of interest in the NT are Mark 13:6 (|| Matt 24:5): “Many will come in my name, saying ‘It is I,’ and they will lead many astray” (πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν); and Matt 24:11 (cf. Mark 13:22): “And many false prophets will arise and lead many astray” (καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφήται ἐγερθήσεται καὶ πλανήσουσιν πολλούς). In both cases, persons falsely represent themselves as divine agents and lead many astray concerning the end time.

■ Thus our literature attests a fixed usage of תַּעֲבֹד and *πλανᾶω* in combination with words denoting lies and false claims. The deceivers are of several sorts. They wrongly claim to present the right interpretation of the Torah, sometimes in opposition to the “true” interpretation presented by the author’s hero. They claim to act and speak in God’s name. In both cases the essence of their erring activities is the false claim that they are divinely appointed and inspired spokesmen and agents. In the Synoptic apocalypses, the Qumran *pešarim*, and other documents, they are phenomena of the end time. Finally, the expression “those who lead many astray” may well be a formulation antonymic to “those who lead many to righteousness” (מַצִּידִּיק חַרְבִּים). This latter expression in Dan 12:3 is drawn from Isa 53:11 and designates the wise teachers (מַשְׁכִּילִים) who are preserving the multitude from the danger of Hellenization that threatens the Jewish community in the end time.¹³ The two expressions, formulated in antithetical parallelism to one another, designate true and errant teachers.

■ **98:15–99:1** These two woes treat in parallel fashion the sinners’ errors and lies and their coming judgment. The nature of the charges is clearer in the first than in the second woe. The sinners *write* lying words (λογοὺς ψευδεῖς) and words of error (λογοὺς πλανήσεως), and lead many astray (πολλοὺς ἀποπλανήσουσιν) with their lies (τοῖς ψεύδεσιν αὐτῶν). That is, they compose new written texts, which are read aloud to others (cf. 104:10). See Introduction §5.2.4.1. Here, as throughout the Epistle, with the exception of 97:10 and 99:7, words of the *πλαν-* group are translated by Eth. *rasʿa* (“to act wickedly”) and its cognates.

In the texts discussed in the excursus, falsehood is explicitly contrasted with the truth: Jeremiah | the false prophets; the Teacher of Righteousness (the Interpreter of Knowledge) | the Man of Lies, the False Interpreters, etc.; Jesus and the author of the Synoptic apocalypses | the false messiahs and false prophets. The true prophetic words and true interpretations of the Torah are opposed to the false. The same kind of contrast is present in this section of 1 Enoch when 98:15 is viewed in light of 98:14, 99:2, and 99:10. The words of the righteous (98:14), the words of the wise (99:10), and the words of truth (99:2) are contrasted with words of falsehood and words of error (98:15). Not only do the sinners nullify the words of the righteous, alter the words of truth, and not listen to the words of the wise (98:9; cf. 99:10), but they put forth their own lies and perversions of the truth, claiming that they are divine truth (see comm. on 99:2). Of special concern for the author in this verse is that this falsehood condemns both the liars themselves and “the many” whom they lead astray. On the word of judgment, “You will have no peace,” see comm. on 94:6-7. On the quickness or suddenness of the judgment, see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1.

The theme of error (here *πλανήματα*) and falsehood (here *τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ψεύδεσιν*) continues in 99:1. Although the passage has a number of similarities to 98:15, several considerations suggest that it is a piece of tradition that originally referred to idolatry. First, both *πλανή* and *ψ* are used with this meaning (see comm. on 99:7). Second, *τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν τὰ ψευδῆ* refers to idols in 99:9. Third, the expression “(to receive) honor and glory” (*λαμβάνοντες τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν*) is sometimes used of divine figures (Ps 28:1 ㊟; 95:7 ㊟; Dan 7:14; 1 Tim 1:17; 2 Pet 1:17; Rev 4:9, 11; 5:12; 7:12). With such connotations, the passage would *originally* have referred to idol makers and their priests receiving honor and glory for their false gods. In its present context, between 98:15-16 and 99:2, it refers to the errorists mentioned in those verses, who are praised for their false teaching. For a possible parallel, cf. 4QpHos^a 2:3-6, where false teaching is tantamount to idolatry. The two-membered announcement of judgment (99:1c), with its reference to perishing and its negative statement “You

13 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 24.

will have no salvation" (οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν σωτηρία), parallels 98:16, and the negative formulation is the third in a series (98:14b, 16). Its specific reference to salvation repeats the theme in both 98:10 and 98:14. On "the good" (εἰς ἀγαθόν), see comm. on 98:9-10.

■ 2 This verse climaxes the author's indictment of those who oppose and falsify divine Law as he understands it. To make his point he uses the language of inversion. They *alter* (ἐξαλλοιόω) what is *true* and *pervert* (διαστρέφω) the immutable, that is, what is *eternal*. In the Hebrew Bible "eternal covenant" (here τὴν αἰωνίαν διαθήκην) refers variously to the Noachic covenant (Gen 9:16); the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 17:7; Ps 105:10); the Sabbath (Exod 31:16-17; Lev 24:8); the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 23:5; Isa 55:3); the covenant with Phineas (Num 25:13; cf. 1 Macc 2:54); and in one instance the Mosaic covenant (Isa 24:5). This last passage makes an indictment similar to the present one: "The earth lies polluted under its inhabitants; for they have transgressed the laws, *changed* the statutes, broken the everlasting covenant" (וְהָאֵרֶץ חֲנוּפָה תַּחַת יְשִׁבֶיהָ כִּי־עֲבָרוּ תּוֹרָה (חֲלַפּוּ חֻק הַפָּרוּ בְרִית עוֹלָם הָעֶדְיָה). A tendency to speak of the eternity of the Mosaic covenant and laws is evident in texts from the Hellenistic period (Sir 17:12; Tob 1:6; 1 Bar 4:1; Ps. Sol. 10:4; Jub. 2:33 [Sabbath]; 16:29-30; 30:11; 33:16; 49:8). Whether the present passage refers to the Mosaic Torah is doubtful. The only clear reference to it in the Epistle is in 93:6, although 99:14 may be another instance. The corpus in general tends to ignore it (see Introduction §4.2.5.1), and 82:1-2 describes the Enochic writings as wisdom relevant to all the generations of eternity.

Whatever the specific referent of "eternal covenant" is, this passage is clearly concerned about divine Law. The expression "the true words" (τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀληθινούς) recurs in a parallel passage in 104:9-10 (τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἀληθείας). This latter, more Semitic formulation can mean simply a true account, words that are true, or words that are reliable (cf. Prov 22:21; Eccl

12:10; Jdt 10:13; Acts 26:25; 2 Tim 2:15; and 1 Enoch 14:1 A). Other evidence strongly suggests, however, that in the present context the expression refers to divine Law. Cf. *T. Gad* 3:1, where it occurs in parallelism with "the whole law of the Most High" (πάντα νόμον ὑψίστου); in *T. Ash.* 5:4, the parallelism between "truth" and "the commandments of the Most High" (τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ ὑψίστου); and the similarity of these passages to 1 Enoch 104:9-10 and 99:10, where "the commandments of the Most High" also occurs (see comm. on 104:9-10). Thus we have here two parallel lines that accuse the sinners of perverting the immutable Law. Since these persons consider themselves to be guiltless (ἀναμάρτητος), they are not outright apostates or hell-enizers. Rather they take the law seriously, but they interpret it in a way that the author considers to be a perversion of it. The similarity between this verse and 104:9-10 and its reference to writing suggests that the present passage is another formulation of 98:14. The sinners' words of falsehood and words of error are perversions of the words of truth, the eternal covenantal law (cf. 4Q184 1:15). Thus 98:14–99:2 reflects a dispute over some aspect of the law, and the differences of opinion are serious enough to have as their consequences salvation (cf. 99:10) and damnation (98:9-10, 14, 15-16; 99:2). The fact that the sinners' punishment is likened to that of the Sons of Korah (Num 16:32) may indicate that some aspect of the priesthood is at issue (cf. also 1 Enoch 90:18).¹⁴ In the context of the Epistle of Enoch, their descent into Sheol (Num 16:30) means their eternal damnation (cf. 1 Enoch 103:7-8).

■ 3-5 The author now addresses the righteous, exhorting them to offer the prayers that will trigger the judgment. Verses 4-5 describe some of the terrible events that will characterize the time of tribulation that leads up to the judgment. Each of the three verses begins with an adverbial expression that will be repeated in 100:1 and 102:3, where the scenario is continued.

14 For a reference to the sons of Korah, see 4Q423 5:1-2 and the discussion by John Strugnell in DJD 34:518–20. On 1 Enoch's possible polemics against the Jerusalem priesthood, see Introduction on §§5.2.2.3; 5.2.4.2. For the later rabbinic and Christian use of the rebellion of Korah as a paradigm for heresy, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "A Virgin Defiled:

Some Rabbinic and Christian Views on the Origins of Heresy," *USQR* 36 (1980) 5.

■ 3 Here the sequence presumed or alluded to elsewhere in these chapters is made explicit. The prayer of the righteous is received by the angels, who act as intercessors in God's presence. This prayer is described, first, as a "reminder" or "memorandum" or "record" (μνημόσυνον, *tazkār*) intended to call to God's attention the plight of the righteous and its cause—the deeds of the sinners. The term is used in 96:4 of the testimony provided by the hearts of the sinners, in 96:7 and 97:7 presumably of the heavenly record, and in 103:4 either of that record or of the angels' reminding God to take action in behalf of his own. For this last idea cf. also 104:1 in connection with the book that contains the names of the righteous, and cf. "the book of remembrance" (ספר זכרון) written in God's presence according to Mal 3:16. The same term דכרון (ספר) "(book of) record(s)" occurs in a secular sense in Ezra 4:15 and 6:2.¹⁵ On the heavenly book that records human deeds, see the Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes. The author—like Malachi—employs the language and protocol of an earthly court to describe the activities of the heavenly court. The specific purpose of the reminder is to serve as testimony (διαμαρτυρία) against the sinners at the judgment.

The sequence of events referred to here is a typical feature of the judgment theology in other parts of 1 Enoch. In 7:6, 8:4, and 9:1-11, the cries of the righteous and of their blood spilled on the earth are heard by the archangels and relayed to God, who initiates judgment. 47:1-4 alludes to a similar idea. In the Animal Vision God charges the angels to keep a record of the misdeeds of the wicked as testimony against them (89:61-63, 68-71, 76), and in response to a cry for help the record is brought before God, who descends in judgment (90:13-15).

In the Epistle of Enoch, as in the Animal Vision, it is presumed that the angelic scribes are continuously keeping a record of the sins of the sinners (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes). By means of this imagery the author encourages the righteous and threatens the sinners with the information that the machinery of the judgment is already in motion in the heavenly court. Thus he speaks to the evident helplessness of the

persecuted righteous by placing at their disposal the means of triggering the judgment. The sinners, therefore, have much to fear from the words of the prayer of the righteous. When this prayer comes into the divine presence, the day of judgment will come (97:3-6). How this viewpoint tallies with the fact that many of the righteous had been long praying for deliverance is unclear. But the function of the exhortation is best understood over against its alternative, that the righteous may lose faith in the judgment and justice of God. (See Introduction to the Epistle §1.1.2.)

■ 4-5 The prayer of the righteous will bring on "the day of the destruction of iniquity" (cf. 97:1 and 100:6). Following a tradition rooted in the Bible (Isa 19:2; Mic 7:6; 2 Chr 15:6), the author begins to recount the woes of the end time, which include the breakdown of political and social harmony. Such descriptions will recur in later apocalypses and apocalyptic fragments (cf. 4 Ezra 6:24; 13:31; Mark 13:8-13, 17 and par.; *m. Soṭah* 9:15). First, the author speaks of political unrest among "the nations" (cf. 2 Chr 15:6). That he is presenting traditional material is suggested by the fact that "the nations" are mentioned elsewhere in the Epistle only in 91:9. His reference to "the families of the nations" (*ʿazmāda ʿahzāb*) may provide a transition to the gruesome vignette of familial disintegration in v 5. In 100:1-2 the author will speak of fathers and sons and brothers. Here he focuses on mothers and children. The terrors of the end time will catalyze sudden and premature births and destroy the most tender and basic human relationship—between mother and child. Such a possibility is imagined by the Deuteronomist in his description of the curses of the covenant (Deut 28:53-57), and it stands at the outer fringes of Second Isaiah's imagination only as an unlikely possibility (Isa 49:15). But for an example cf. Josephus *J.W.* 5.10.3 §§429-33; 6.3.4 §§201-13. On the three examples cited here, the first and the last parallel one another. Mothers who have just given birth and those who have been nursing their children will abandon them as they selfishly seek their own safety before the oncoming fury. The second example suggests spontaneous miscarriage induced by fear (cf. 4 Ezra 6:21); or, in keeping with the other two examples, it may mean that

15 See Elias J. Bickerman, "The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1," *JBL* 65 (1946) 250-51.

the pregnant women induce abortions in order to free themselves from the impediment. The scenario is the background for the woe in Mark 13:17 and parallels.

■ **6-9** Different from his previous discourse to the sinners (98:9–99:2; A.2), here the author speaks not of the error of those who have perverted divine Law, but of the error of the idol makers and idolaters (B.2). —

■ **6** Employing the oath formula he had used in 98:4 and 6, the author solemnly warns the sinners of the coming judgment. In its wording the verse approximates 98:10, but is most closely paralleled by 94:9. The reference to bloodshed recalls the murderous scenario described in v 5, but it especially anticipates its “second act” in 100:1-3. Its presence here (rather than in chap. 100) may indicate that 99:4-6 and 100:1-3 are parts of a single tradition that the author has separated for literary purposes. In the present context he envisions the destruction of the idol makers and idolaters as “a day of ceaseless bloodshed.”

■ **7-9** It is probably not by accident that vv 4-5 and 7-9 stand in close proximity to one another. The former speaks of the unsettling of the nations, and the latter is addressed to the idolatrous nations. The only other explicit reference to both “the nations” and “idols” in the vicinity of the Epistle occurs in 91:9, which predicts the destruction of “the idols of the nations.”

The present passage is marked by a general literary symmetry and by the presence of elements that stand in tension with that symmetry. The symmetry is evident in the rough parallelism between v 7 and vv 8-9. Following the initial phrase in v 7a are two parallel lines. Verse 7b refers to those who carve images from five different materials. Verse 7c speaks of those who worship five different kinds of divinities or religious perversions. The last clause (v 7d) warns the sinners that these divinities will not help them on the day of bloodshed. In tension with lines b and c is line a, which speaks simply of stone idols rather than the many materials, and which combines mention of worship (line c) and of the material

(line b). Verses 8-9 elaborate on the idea of error mentioned in v 7d. The three parallel lines in v 8 are followed in v 9 by another reference to only stone idols (v 7a) and then by a line that parallels v 7d. Not only will the divinities not help the sinners (v 7d), but both idols and idolaters will be destroyed. It seems likely that the author has taken over a poem of two strophes (v 7bcd + v 8) and expanded it with special reference to those who worship idols of stone and make them.

Apart from this hypothesis, a double theme is evident in these verses. First, the parallelism in v 7 indicates a contrast between the dead stuff of which idols are made and the demonic beings that are worshiped through these media. This theme is relatively rare in Jewish anti-idol polemics. The second theme is the relationship between idolatrous error and the idols’ inability to “help” as the true God can and the judgment that will befall the perpetrators of this error. This theme is typical of Jewish polemics (e.g., Epistle of Jeremiah), although it is uncertain to what extent people in the Greco-Roman world worshiped their idols as if they were identified with the deities.¹⁶

■ **7** The reason for this author’s special concern about the carving (v 9) and worshiping of stone idols is uncertain. Perhaps it reflects familiarity with Hellenistic marble statues of deities.¹⁷ The list of materials from which images are carved closely parallels Dan 5:4 and 4QPrNab 1:7-8, which describes how the king prayed “[to the gods of] silver and gold, [bronze and iron], wood and stone and clay” (לְאֱלֹהִים כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב וְנְחָשׁ).¹⁸ The similarity of these passages is the more striking in view of the fact that Nabonidus’s cure by the Jewish exorcist indicates that he received no help from these gods, something that was doubtless mentioned in the part of 4QPrNab now lost and that is explicit in the last line of the present verse. A list of exactly the same materials mentioned here is presumed in Wis 13:10-11; 15:7-8. Other partial lists occur in Jewish and Christian apologetic and polemical literature

16 See, e.g., the critique of such an idea, attributed to Celsus, in Origen *Contra Celsum* 7.62, cited by Robert L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) 118–19.

17 The torso of one such statue from the Hellenistic period, presumably of Aphrodite, has been found in

Upper Galilee near Tel Dan; see Biran, *Biblical Dan*, 272.

18 J. T. Milik, “‘Prière de Nabonide’ et autres écrits d’un cycle de Daniel: Fragments araméens de Qum-rân 4,” *RB* 63 (1956) 408.

(e.g., gold, silver, and wood, Ep Jer 4; wood and stone, Deut 4:28; Ezek 20:32; *Jub.* 22:18).¹⁹

Contrasted with the dead idols are the supernatural beings associated with them. For the connection of demons with idolatry, cf. Deut 32:17; Gal 4:8; 1 Cor 10:20-22, which alludes to it; 1 Enoch 19:1 and comm.; and Rev 9:20. On the relationship of evil spirits and idolatry, cf. *Jub.* 22:17. This same passage mentions sacrifices to the dead and eating over graves. Given the other similarities between *Jub.* 22:16-23 and 1 Enoch 99:7-9, one might posit a common tradition.²⁰ Such a connection might justify translating *φαντάσματος* as “phantoms” or “ghosts” rather than simply “apparitions” (however, see comm. on 99:8-9). Behind the present passage lies a long tradition, as old as Deuteronomy (and to be taken up by the apostle Paul), which does not simply write off idols as dead and impotent (cf. Epistle of Jeremiah, Bel and the Dragon, etc.), but identifies the gods represented by the idols as supernatural beings of demonic character. A similar idea is reflected in *T. Job* 3:3-4, where the idol temple is the place of Satan worship.

Our author's second list also includes two words with specific theological and religious connotations. “Abomination” (*βδέλυγμα* = *ῥῖקשׁ*) is a frequent biblical term for cultic perversion.²¹ Although the noun *πλανή* occurs seldom in the LXX and NT of an idol or idolatry (Tob 5:13; cf. 1:5-6; Wis 12:24; Rom 1:27), the root *פּלג* and words of the *πλαν-* group are frequently employed to denote idolatrous error (e.g., 2 Kgs 21:9; 2 Chr 33:9; Jer 23:13; Wis 14:22; 13:6; 15:4).²² In the Targumim *פּלג* (“to err” or “lead astray”) and *פּגם* (“error”) are regularly substituted for other biblical words that denote idolatry.²³ In the present passage, “and all errors” (*καὶ πάσαις ταῖς πλάναις*) is a kind of *et cetera* that punctuates the list

and characterizes the aforementioned and any other idolatrous practices and beliefs as wrong and contrary to the reality of the living God. The use of *πλάνη* here and of the related verbs in v 8 places into one religious category the activities of the perverters of Torah in 98:9–99:2 and the idolaters here mentioned.

The phrase “not according to knowledge” (*οὐ κατ' ἐπιστήμην*) expands on the concept of error and formulates in a grammatically negative way the idea of the “folly” of idolatry (v 8). Cf. Gal 4:8. A similar negative formulation occurs in 98:3 of the rich. There, as here, it is followed by mention of the coming destruction of the sinners. Thus there is an aspect of their folly and lack of knowledge that relates to its consequences. They do not discriminate between truth and falsehood, and they do not perceive or understand the disastrous results of their beliefs and conduct.

These results are mentioned, negatively, in the last line of the verse. Gods are supposed to “help” those who worship and believe in them. No such help can be expected from these false gods. The language parallels the tradition which ridicules idols by stating that “they cannot help themselves” (Ep Jer 58; Wis 13:16).²⁴

■ 8-9 These verses expand on the notion of error introduced toward the end of v 7. Using an a-b-a' structure in v 8, the author twice uses the verb “to lead astray” (*[κατα]πλανάω*), and supplements it with related words that emphasize the idolaters' lack of knowledge (“folly,” “blinded”). The tristich is linked in turn with v 9 and its designation of idols as “false works.”

The concept of idolatry as “folly” (*ἄφροσύνη* here) is traditional (Deut 32:6; Jer 5:21; Wis 12:23-24; 13:1 [cf. Rom 1:21]; 15:4-5) and appears in polemics that ridicule idolatry (e.g., Isa 44:9-20; Bel and the Dragon; Epistle of Jeremiah; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 1-7). In the *Ⲫ* text of

19 W. M. W. Roth, “For Life, He Appeals to Death (Wis 13:18),” *CBQ* 37 (1975) 21–47.

20 See the various parallels listed in the comm. on this verse.

21 Werner Foerster, “*βδελύσσομαι*,” *TDNT* 1 (1964) 598–600; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 20 n. 54.

22 Herbert Braun, “*πλανάω*,” *TDNT* 6 (1968) 233–36.

23 See the numerous examples cited by Jacob Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (repr.; 2 vols.; Darmstadt: Metzner, 1966) 1:311–12. Shaye J. D. Cohen notes (correspondence 12/30/82) that the root “frequently refers to the sin of idolatry” in

Syriac as well.

24 On the Epistle of Jeremiah as an exposition of the inability of idols to act as gods, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 37.

99:8 the use of the *alpha* privative (ἀ-φροσύνη, i.e., “non-sense”) corresponds to the negative formulation “not according to knowledge” in v 7, and—like the concept of error and being led astray—it implicitly relates idolatry to the “folly” of perverting the Torah by not listening to the wise (98:9).

Verse 8a and 8b are linked by the similar concluding phrases, “the folly of their hearts” and “the fear of the hearts.” The latter refers presumably to the idolater’s fear of his idols as gods (cf. the refrain in Ep Jer 5, 16, 23, 29, 65). That is, to fear them as gods is folly. Here, as often, the heart is the organ of knowledge and volition.²⁵ Blindness is more often a description of Israel’s apostasy than of the ignorance of the idolater (see Excursus: Blindness and Straying). But cf. Isa 44:18 and *Jub.* 22:18: “They have no heart to understand, and their eyes do not see what their works are.”

The a-b-a’ structure of v 8 suggests that the dreams mentioned in v 8c are part of the idolaters’ folly. That dreams and visions played an important role in non-Jewish religion of the Hellenistic period is clear.²⁶ In a different context, ben Sira warns his Jewish readers against the folly of dream visions (Sir 34:1-8). The reference to visions here may suggest that φάντασμα in v 7 should be translated “apparition.”²⁷

The wording of v 9 suggests a wordplay in the Aramaic original: עבדא (“works”), עבדתון (“you have made”), and perhaps אבן (“stone”), תאבדון (“you will be destroyed”). In calling the idols “false works” (τὰ ἔργα τὰ ψευδῆ), the author provides yet another link with his discourse to the sinners in 98:9–99:2, where he speaks of their lying deeds (99:1) and the lying words that they write (98:15). On the destruction of idols and idolaters, cf. 91:9; *Jub.* 22:22; *T. Mos.* 10:7.

Throughout this exposition the assumption has been

that our author’s stricture against idolatry is addressed to Gentiles rather than to apostate Jews. Nevertheless, the threat that idolatry posed for the faith of Jews in the Hellenistic period is evident in the many polemics contained in the literature of this time, polemics that continued after the destruction of the Second Temple: Epistle of Jeremiah; Bel and the Dragon; *Jub.* 12:1-12; 20:6-10; 22:16-23; Wis 12:23–16:4; *Joseph and Aseneth*; *Testament of Job* 3; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 1–7. It is uncertain to what extent the present author intended his words as a warning that Jews be careful in their association with Gentiles, but such a possibility cannot be dismissed.

■ 10 This verse concludes the present division of the Epistle by returning to the wording of its initial verse and providing a contrasting scenario:

98:9	99:10
woe to you, fools . . .	Blessed will be all
you do not listen	who listen
to the wise . . .	to the words of the wise . . .
Do not hope to be saved	for they will be saved

The introductory adverb “then” ties the action in this verse to the time of the judgment mentioned in the previous verse. This connection may indicate that the author expects that some of the idolatrous Gentiles will repent and be saved. This interpretation is supported by the similarity of this verse to 100:6, which closes the next division of the Epistle and appears to envision such a possibility. However that may be, the similarities between this verse and both 98:9 and 98:14 indicate that the author has in mind the perverters of the divine Law mentioned in 98:9–99:2. Over against the fools who do not listen to the wise and those who annul the words of the righteous, he speaks of those who will listen to the words of the wise. These are the same as “the true words” mentioned in 99:2, and what is there called “the

25 See n. 1 on 96:4.

26 See John S. Hanson, “Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity,” *ANRW* 2.23.2:1395–1417; Frances Lynn Flannery-Dailey, “Standing at the Heads of Dreamers: A Study of Dreams in Antiquity” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa, May 2000).

27 Space does not permit a discussion of the possible allusions to and caricatures of pagan religion here and elsewhere in 1 Enoch. A real desideratum in the literature on the religions of antiquity is a thorough study of pagan attitudes toward idols and the

manner in which Jewish and Christian authors understand or misunderstand and misrepresent “idolatry.” For a late reference to the use of “phantoms and objects of fear” (φάσματα καὶ δέσματα) in Bacchic worship, see Origen *Contra Celsum* 4.10.

eternal covenant" is here termed "the commandments of the Most High" and "the paths of his righteousness" (see Excursus: The Two Ways). The commandments of the covenant are those commandments as understood, taught, and preached by this author and his community, who are by definition "the wise" and "the righteous." Precisely what these commandments are is not stated (cf.

however, comm. on 82:1-3, where a passage closely parallel to this one refers to calendrical law). In any case obedience to these commandments will result in salvation, the happy state referred to in the initial line and its usage of "blessed" (μακάριοι).²⁸ For a similar NT macarism, see Luke 11:28.

28 On this type of beatitude, which serves as a foil to the woes in the Epistle, see Hans Dieter Betz, "The Beatitudes of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:3-12): Observations on Their Literary Form and The-

ological Significance," in *Essays on the Sermon on the Mount* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985) 22-36.

A SERIES OF WOES

- 11 Woe to you who spread evil for your neighbor;
for in Sheol you will be slain.^a
- 12 Woe to you who lay the foundations^a of sin and deceit,
and cause bitterness^b **an** the earth;
for because of it they will be brought to an end.
- 13 Woe to those who build their houses not with their own labors,^a
and make the whole house of the stones and bricks of sin.^b
Woe to you;^c you will have no peace.
- 14 Woe to those who reject the foundation^a and eternal inheritance of their fathers;
and a spirit of error pursues you;^b
You will have no rest.
- 15 Woe to you who practice lawlessness^a and aid iniquity,
murdering their neighbor until the day of the great judgment.
- 16 For he will destroy your glory and lay affliction on your hearts,^a
and arouse his wrath against you,^b
and destroy all of you with the sword;
But all the righteous^c will remember your unrighteous deeds.

DESCRIPTION OF THE JUDGMENT

- 100:1 And then^a in one place the fathers will be smitten with their sons,
and brothers will fall in death with one another,^b
- 2e From dawn until sunset they will be murdered together.^d
- 1c until there flows of their blood as it were a stream.^c
- 2 For a **man** will not restrain his hand from his son,
nor from his beloved one,^a to kill him;
and the sinner will not restrain his hand^b from the honored one,
man from his brother.^c
- 3 A horse will wade up to its breast through the blood of the sinners,
and the chariot will sink to its axles.^a
- 4 The angels will descend, going down into the hidden places on that day;
and those who aided iniquity will be gathered into one place.^a
And the Most High will be aroused on that day^b
to execute great judgment on all.^c

A BLESSED FUTURE

- 5 He will set a guard of the holy angels over all the righteous and holy;
and they will be kept **an** the apple of the eye,
until evil and sin^a come to an end.
And from that time,^b the pious^c will sleep a sweet sleep,
and there will no longer^d be anyone to frighten them.
- 6 And the wise among men will see the truth,^a
and the sons of the earth will contemplate these^b words of this epistle,
and they will recognize that their wealth cannot save them when iniquity collapses.

11a Verses 11-12 are missing in ^{CB}, possibly due to hma.,
i.e., from one woe to another.

12a *mašarata* t 2080 6281,β-i | “measures” (*mašart[a]*
ggt¹T⁹q¹) | “scourges” (*mašafta*) m. See also v 14 n. a.

b *yāmarreru* mt 1768 2080 6281,β | “know” (*yā’ammeru*)
gqT⁹ | “tempt,” “test” (*yāmakkeru*) g¹.

13a οὐκ <ἐκ> κ[ό]πων ἰδίαν ^{CB} | “by the labor of others”

bašamā bā^ced ^E.

b The text of this line is uncertain. I emend ^{CB}: καὶ ἐκ
λίθων καὶ ἐ[κ] πλίνθων <ἀμαρτίας> πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν
π[ο]ιοῦσιν, partly on the basis of ^E: *wakwellu madegomu*
genfāl wa’ebna hātī’at (“and all their building materials
are the bricks and stones of sin”).

c]ται οἰς ^{CB}, which I restore to οὐαὶ οἷς which is sup-

- ported by g¹: *ʿelēlakemu ʿella*, which is corrupted to *ʿebelakemu kama* (“I say to you that”) in mt,β and appears in conflate form in ggT⁹ (*ʿebelakemu ʿella kama*). See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 95–96.
- 14a θμε[ελί]ωσιν ^{CB}, supported by T⁹ 6281 (*mašarata*) | “measure” (*masfarta*) gg¹mt,β | *masāfenta* (“princes”) q; see v 12 n. a.
- b καὶ διώξεται ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα πλανή[σεως] ^{CB} | “and they pursue after a spirit of error” (*wayetallewu dehra nafs[a] tāʿot*) gqtuT⁹ | “and their spirits pursue after error” (*wayetallewu nafsomu dehra tāʿot*) g¹m “they cause their spirits to pursue after error” (*yātallewu nafsomu dehra tāʿot*) β.
- 15a Restoring ἀνομίαν from ʿāmaqā, because gef^c later in the line represents ἀδικία.
- 16a and - - - hearts] *wayewaddi ʿekuya balebbekemu* | om. ^{CB} by hmt.?
- b καὶ ἐπεγερεὶ τὸν θυμὸν [αὐτοῦ καθ'] ὑμῶν ^{CB} | “and he will arouse his wrath and his spirit” (“the spirit of his wrath” + “in your heart” g¹) (*wayānaššeʿ maʿato wamanfasu[o] [manfasa maʿatu westa lebnekemu g¹]*) ^C. The text is uncertain. See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 110–11 n. 100.
- c οἱ δίκαιοι ^{CB} | “the righteous and the holy” (*sādeqān waqeddusān*) t,β | “the holy and the righteous” (*qeddusān wašādeqān*) gg¹mqT⁹. Cf. 93:6.
- 100:1
- a *wabaʿemāntu mawāʿel* (“and in those days”) ^C. ^{CB} seems to have room only for [καὶ τότε]. See 99:3 n. a.
- b *waʿahaw mesla bišomu yewaddequ* (*wayewaddequ gg¹mqT⁹*) *bamot* ^C. The reading of gg¹mqT⁹ divides the lines differently: “. . . and the brothers with one another, and they will fall in death.”
- c Translation of Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:234 | om. “as it were” gmqT¹T⁹ (cf. Ezek 32:6).
- 2a οὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀ[γαπητοῦ] αὐτοῦ ^{CB} | “and from the son(s) of his son(s) (+ ‘in mercy’ t,β)” (*waʿemenna walda waldu gm* | *w. walda weludu gg¹lq* | *w. walda waldu mehira t* | *w. weluda weludu mehira β*) ^C.
- b ʿiyekalleʿ ʿedēhu ^C | om. ^{CB}.
- c from the - - - brother] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐντίμου [οὔ]τε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ = ^{CB} | “from the honored brother” (*ʿemenna ʿehyuhi kebur*) ^C.
- d ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ^{CB} | om. ^C.
- 3a μέχρι ἄξόνων ^{CB} | “up to its height” (= ἄκρων) (*ʿeska malʿeltā*) m,β | “until the day of its height” (*ʿeska ʿelata malaʿeltā*) gg¹lq | “because its height is full” (*ʿesma malʿat malʿeltā*) t.
- 4a “and the angels will descend, going down into the hidden places on that day—those who aided iniquity, and they will be gathered in one place” (καὶ καταβήσονται ἄγγελοι καταδύνοντες εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ οἵτινες ἐβοήθουν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ συστραφῇσονται εἰς ἓνα τόπον) ^{CB} | “and in those days the angels will descend into the hidden places and gather
- into one place all who aided (brought down gg¹mq) sin” (*wabaʿemāntu mawāʿel malāʿekt yewarredu westa mehbāʾāt wayāgabbeʿewwomu baʿahadu makān lakwellu ʿella yeraddeʿewwā [yāwarredewwā gg¹mq] laḥātiʿat*) ^C. In the translation, I have followed the word order of the last part of ^C and moved the clause οἵτινες ἐβοήθουν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ to the end, keeping it, however, in the nominative form, as subject of “will be gathered.” Milik (*Enoch*, 52) retains ^{CB} as it stands, thus equating “the hidden places” with the “one place” and having this act of punishment be mentioned before the theophany.
- b *bayeʿeti ʿelat tu* 1768,β | “on a day of judgment” (*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως*) ^{CB} | “on that day of (om. ‘of’ gmT⁹) judgment” (*bayeʿeti ʿelata [ʿelat gmT⁹] kwenannē*) gg¹mqT⁹, a conflate text. The two texts may reflect different translations of ʾṭ or ʾṭʾ (“that” or “judgment”). For the same variants cf. Matt 10:15; Luke 10:12.
- c ἐκ πάντων ^{CB} | “from all (‘from the midst of’ gg¹mq, inner-Ethiopic corruption) the sinners” (*ʿemkwellomu [ʿemmāʿekalomu gg¹mq with some varr.] laḥāteʿān*) ^C. Reference to the sinners may have dropped out of ^{CB} by hmt. (*tōw āmarṭwālōw*) or it may be a gloss; cf. 1:7, where it is missing.
- 5a “all evil and all sin” ^C.
- b καὶ ἂν ἐκείνου ^{CB} | “and even if” (*waʿemmani [ʿemmanu]*) ^C-t | “and the truth” (*waʿemuna*) t; cf. v 6a. These are possibly corruptions of ʿemʿama (= ^{CB}).
- c εὐσεβεῖς ^{CB} | “the righteous” (*sādeqān*) ^C.
- d οὐκέτι ^{CB} | om. ^C.
- 6a The text is not certain. I restore ^{CB}: τό τε <ἀληθές>, deriving the reference to “the truth” from ^C t,β *waʿemuna* (“and what is true”), and taking the variant *waʿemmani* (gg¹m) as a corruption reflecting that reading in v 5 n. b.
- b τούτους ^{CB} | “all” (*kwellō*) ^C.

Verse 13, like 94:7, is based on Jer 22:13:

הוֹי בָּנָה בֵּיתוֹ בְּלֹא־צֶדֶק
וְעִלּוּתָיו בְּלֹא־מִשְׁפָּט
בָּרַעְהוּ יַעֲבֹד חֵם
וּפְעָלוֹ לֹא יִתְּדָלוּ

Woe to him who builds his house by unrighteousness,
and his upper rooms by injustice;
who makes his neighbor serve him for nothing,
and does not give him his wages.

Whereas 94:7 paraphrases בְּלֹא־צֶדֶק and בְּלֹא־מִשְׁפָּט as “with sin” (*baḥaṭiʿat*), here the morphology of the Jeremicanic expressions is retained in the words “not by their own labors (οὐκ <ἐκ> κόπων ἰδίῳ), which is in effect a paraphrase of Jer 22:13cd. Thus these two Enochic woes appear to be separately dependent on the Jeremicanic woe. Here the author’s point is similar to Jeremiah’s. The rich build their lavish houses by impressing others into their service. Thus the very building materials of the houses are witnesses to this injustice. In Sir 21:8, which appears to be dependent on Jeremiah, they become the stones for one’s burial mound. The formulation “you will have no peace” here parallels the last line of 99:14. On its meaning see comm. on 94:6-7. For the repetition of the words “Woe to you” before it, cf. 103:8.

It is uncertain to what sort of houses (and hence what social and economic levels) the author makes reference here and in 94:7; 97:8-9. The reference to treasuries in the latter passage may indicate palaces rather than homes. “Stone and bricks” here may denote mud-brick houses built on stone foundations, but could refer to houses built of stone and hence to the homes of the very wealthy.⁵ See Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §3.2.

In v 14 the author returns to his metaphorical use of building language. Those who lay the foundations of sin and deceit reject the foundation of their fathers. The idea of inherited tradition is a remarkable slip in this pseudepigraphic document, which attributes truth to Enoch’s heavenly revelations rather than to tradition inherited from the forebears. For the eternity of the

covenant and covenantal law, cf. 99:2. For the Torah as something inherited from the fathers, cf. CD 1:15-17: “departing from the paths of righteousness and removing the boundary that the forefathers had marked in their inheritance, that the curses of his covenant might cling to them” (ולסור מנתיבות צדק ולסיע גבול אשר גבולו) (ראשונים בנחלתם למען הדבק בהם את אלות בריתו). The connection of the Torah with the fathers is common enough (cf., e.g., *T. Mos.* 9:6; 1 Macc 2:19-20). If the author refers to the Mosaic Torah, the passage is exceptional. See comm. on 99:2. Perhaps the expression should be construed more generally or interpreted with reference to the priestly covenant. See comm. on 99:2. The imagery of v 14a denotes a sharp break with tradition—the foundation on which the house of Israel stands, the eternal inheritance passed down from the fathers. For our author such a rejection is synonymous with “deceit” (*gwehlut*, v 12) and “error” (*πλάνησις*, v 14b). The use of these two terms in the present context ties v 14a closely to the author’s concerns in 99:2 and its context. Different from that section, however, here the cause of the perversion is “a spirit of error” (*πνεῦμα πλάνησεως*). This is one of the very few passages in the Epistle that suggest such a demonology. The title itself may be reflected in 99:7, where *πλάνη* stands in a list that includes “demons” and “evil spirits.” That the same language appears in both that passage and the present one is another indication that this author places idolatry and perversion of the law in the same category (see comm. on 98:15–99:1). The idea of a multitude of seducing spirits called “spirits of error” is explicit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where they are said to be responsible for the moral error of the patriarchs.⁶ The conception and title are evident in the demonology of the *Book of Jubilees*, which in turn appears at this point to be dependent on 1 Enoch 15:9–16:1 (see comm. on 15:11-12). The term recurs in 1 John 4:6, in a context that speaks of a plurality of spirits (vv 1-3). The spirit of error (*τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης*) is set in opposition to the

5 I have found no systematic discussion of Israelite houses in the Hellenistic period. But for an overview of the archeological sources, with a few drawings, photographs, and plans of buildings of the period, see Andrea Berlin, “Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period,” *BA* 60 (1997) 2–51.

6 *T. Reub.* 2:1; 3:2; *T. Sim.* 3:1; 6:6; *T. Levi* 3:3; *T. Jud.* 19:4; *T. Iss.* 4:4; *T. Zeb.* 9:7; *T. Dan* 5:5; *T. Naph.* 3:3; *T. Ash.* 6:2.

spirit of truth and is, like here, the cause of doctrinal aberration. The imagery of the third line of this woe (v 14c) is consistent with line b; they are being pursued and will find no rest. Possibly the author has in mind the idea that at death one meets the spirit whom one has followed in life, and who now leads one to one's eternal destiny (cf. *T. Ash.* 6:4-6; cf. Plato *Phaedo* 107D–108C). For the relentless pursuit of the wicked by the punishing angels, who do not grant them respite, cf. 1 Enoch 63:1, 5-6, 8. The language of the present passage is also reminiscent of the image of the punishing furies of Greek drama (cf. Aeschylus *Eumenides*).

■ **15-16** In this extended woe, the two lines of indictment (v 15ab) describe the sins of the wicked in general and specific terms. To “practice lawlessness” (οἱ ποιοῦντες τὴν ἀνομίαν, *ella tagabberewwa la'amadā*) and similar formulations are commonly used in these chapters for all manner of sin (cf. 91:6, 14; 94:9; 91:6, 14; 96:7). “Those who aid iniquity” (ἐπιβοηθοῦντες τῇ ἀδικίᾳ) seems to be close to a synonymous expression for the same group and will recur in 100:4. Perhaps “iniquity” is here personified (cf. *T. Levi* 2:3), or it is envisioned as an external entity that is facilitated through individual acts of sin. The charge of murder, however, is specific; it will recur in 103:15 and possibly in 100:7. On the nature of the charge, see comm. on 103:14-15. The reference to “the day of the great judgment” anticipates the scenario to follow in 100:1-4. Within this woe it provides a transition to v 16, an extended announcement of the coming judgment, which, as frequently, begins with the conjunction “for.” The content of this verse embodies the principle of quid pro quo. God will destroy the glory of those who have used their power and position to commit iniquity against their neighbors and murder them. As they have killed, they will be destroyed with the sword. The judgment will also involve the participation of the righteous who have been the victims of their deeds. These latter will either be witnesses against the sinners (see comm. on 99:3), or they will remember their deeds when they witness their punishment (see comm. on 27:2-3a), or they will participate in the execution of this punishment (see comm. on 95:3). Verse 16 is not only related internally to v 15; it

also anticipates the description of the judgment in 100:1-4, where v 4 speaks of God being aroused for judgment, and vv 1-3 describe the bloodbath caused by the sword of the divine Warrior.

■ **100:1-4** Within its immediate context, this passage is an elaboration of the announcement of the judgment in 99:16. Within its broader context, it is a description of the day of bloodshed referred to in 94:9 and 99:6. It is, moreover, the second of three vignettes of the horrors of the time of the judgment. Whereas 99:4-5 spoke of broken relationships between mothers and their children, the present text deals with fathers and sons and brothers. The third vignette (102:1-3) recapitulates and expands on 100:4.

The present passage divides into two parts. Verses 1-3 describe the dimensions of the slaughter of fathers, sons, and brothers “in one place” (v 1). Verse 4 deals with the same event from a different perspective, identifying it as divine judgment. God's angels will gather these sinners “into one place,” where the Most High will execute judgment on them.

■ **1-3** The adverbial introduction to v 1 links the events in vv 1-3 with the judgment announced in 99:16. The author leaves unidentified the “one place” where the slaughter and judgment will take place. It is the functional equivalent of the Valley of Jehoshaphat mentioned in Joel 4:2, 12 (3:2, 12), which some commentators identify with either the Valley of Hinnom or the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem (see comm. on 27:2-3a).⁷ In 4 *Ezra* 13:35-38, Mount Zion is the place of judgment.

Verses 1 and 2 present two different though related ideas. According to 100:1ab fathers and sons and brothers will fall in death at the hand of some unnamed avenger. Verse 2a-d relates, however, how the males of the family will slaughter one another. A literary problem is created by the last line of v 2, which with its passive voice and the adverbial “together” appears to refer back to v 1. This literary problem is further underscored by the fact that in vv 1-3 a pattern of distichs is disturbed in v 1, where the third line makes a tristich, and in v 2, where the last line, a sentence in its own right, follows two distichs and precedes one in v 3. To solve this prob-

7 See Georges A. Barrois, “Jehoshaphat, Valley of,” *IDB* 2:816.

lem, I have rearranged the text above. This transposition of v 2e juxtaposes that line with the other lines describing the same kind of event. At the same time it creates a strophe of two distichs, the first mentioning the persons slaughtered and the second describing the slaughter as a bloodbath. Moreover, the transposition of v 2e leaves in vv 2-3 another parallel strophe of three distichs, the first two identifying the persons slaughtered and the third elaborating on the dimensions of the bloodbath and identifying its victims as sinners, in keeping with v 2c. An alternative pattern would be: 1ab|2ab|cd||2e + 1c|3ab. While this would bring into two separate strophes reference to the persons slaughtered and the bloodbath, it would leave v 2e separated from its counterpart in v 1ab.

Verse 1ab describes not intrafamilial quarreling but the extent of the slaughter. Young and old will be put to death. Verses 2e + 1c add a temporal dimension. The slaughter will continue long enough for the accumulated blood to flow into a stream. The description of the intramural slaughter in v 2a-d complements 99:4-5, adding to that picture of the complete disintegration of social relationships and stability. Similar descriptions occur in Ezek 38:21; Mic 7:6 (cf. Matt 10:34; *m. Soṭah* 9:15); Mark 13:12; 1 Enoch 10:9; 56:7; Melito *Pasch. Hom.* 51; Hesiod *Works* 181-89; Ovid *Metam.* 1:144-48.⁸ Since such descriptions are a veritable topos in the literature, we should not seek in the present passage a reference to identifiable historical events.⁹ Verse 3 continues the thought in v 1c of the first strophe. Horse and chariot will sink into the stream of human blood left by the slaughter. The language of this passage recurs in later Jewish and Christian literature.¹⁰ The idea that divine judgment will take the form of a bloodbath occurs in Ps 58:11 (10), Isa 34:2-7, and Ezek 32:5-6; the imagery occurs also in 2 Macc 12:16 in a description of one of the battles of Judas Maccabeus.

■ 4 This verse should be interpreted in light of 99:15-16, on which it expands, and of 102:1-3, which picks up its theme and elaborates on it. Those who “aided iniquity” could be the watchers of chaps. 6-16 or the evil spirits who have descended from them.¹¹ How-

ever, as we have seen in 99:15, “those who aided iniquity” is virtually synonymous with “those who practice lawlessness.” “The hidden places” are caverns and caves to which they have retreated in order to escape the vengeance that will accompany the theophany (102:3). That theophany to which the author refers here is described in 1:3-9, in connection with universal judgment (vv 7, 9), and in 91:7 in connection with judgment and wrath (cf. 99:16, “arouse his wrath”). The verb “to arouse” or “to awaken” (ἐπεγείρω, 99:16; ἐγείρω, 100:4) occurs rarely in formal descriptions of theophanies (but cf. *T. Mos.* 10:3); however, it occurs in the imperative in Num 10:35 (קום); Pss 7:7 (6); 35:23; 44:24 (23); Isa 51:9 (עור) in prayers that God shows himself as the divine Warrior and Judge. The angelic entourage is mentioned in a number of theophanic passages (see comm. on 1:3-4). According to Mark 13:27 they will gather the dispersed elect. In Matt 13:38, 41 and Rev 14:18-20 they will harvest the wicked for the judgment. In *Testament of Abraham* 12 (A) the angels herd the souls of the wicked to the judgment throne. The expression “great judgment” does not occur in 1 Enoch 91:7, but is implied in 1:7 and 9 in the term “judgment for all.” It appears in the present context in 99:15 and in the parallel section in 94:9.

■ 5 After the lengthy and fearful excursus on the judgment of the sinners, the author’s tone changes abruptly as he contemplates the quiet repose of the righteous. Verbs of violence and action give way to more “stative” verbs. The tristich and distich that constitute this verse repeat the same thought:

He will set a guard	
He will keep the righteous	The pious will sleep a sweet sleep
until evil and sin end	No longer will any frighten them

Each unit envisions the safety or bliss of the righteous until the time when evil is annihilated. Striking in the first line is the double occurrence of the adjective “holy.” Only here, in 93:2, and possibly in 93:6 does the Epistle use it of the angels. Only here and possibly in 93:6 is it applied to the righteous. The double usage here expresses the function of the angelic holy ones as the

8 Michael E. Stone, oral communication.

9 Pace Charles, *Enoch*, 248.

10 Cf. Rev 14:20; *Lam. Rab.* 2:2; 4 *Ezra* 15:35-36;

Lactantius *Inst.* 7.18.

11 Pace Milik, *Enoch*, 52-53.

patrons of the righteous, God's saints (cf. Dan 7:18, 25, 27).¹² If we may judge from the א of 93:2 and other passages in the early chapters of 1 Enoch, the original Aramaic here read "watchers and holy ones" (עִירִין וקִדְיִשִׁין) rather than "holy angels" (see Excursus: The Watchers and Holy Ones). In this case the author may have in mind the picture of the angels keeping watch over the sleeping righteous. Such a view of God is reflected in Ps 121:4, "Behold, he who guards [נָטַר, טָ] Israel will neither slumber nor sleep." For the angels as guardians of the righteous, cf. Ps 91:11 (also נָטַר, טָ). To "keep as the apple of the eye" is proverbial (Deut 32:10; Ps 17:8; Prov 7:2). It is to protect something precious and irreplaceable. In Ps 17:8, as here, God protects his own from their enemies. The ultimate destruction of evil is a characteristic feature of the end time (cf. 1 Enoch 10:16, 20, 22; 92:5; 91:17; 97:6; 100:6).

The noun εὐσεβείας ("pious") is rare in these chapters and occurs only in 102:4, 6; 103:3, [4], significantly also in a passage that deals with death and the future hope of the pious. The expression "sweet sleep" (ὑπνος ἡδύς) has precisely the same connotations as its usage and that of its synonyms in Homer *Il.* 4.131; *Od.* 1.364; 19.510–11 (κοῖτος ἡδύς, ὑπνος γλυκερός; cf. also Eccl 5:11 [12])—protected untroubled rest from danger or annoyance. Different from Homer, our author uses the term not literally but figuratively of the sleep of death. For the biblical use of this image, cf., for example, Jer 51:39, 57; Job 3:13; 14:12; Dan 12:2.

The portrayal of the safety of the righteous in this verse is paralleled in 96:2–3. But whereas that passage stands in tension with 96:1 and its description of the righteous participating in the judgment of the sinners (see comm. on 96:2), the present passage describes the state of the righteous who have already died. A different tension is evident when 100:4 and 5 are compared with 102:3 and 4–5. Both passages begin with a description of angelic roundup of the wicked and then refer to the state of the righteous and pious dead. In 102:4–5, different from 100:5, they are in Sheol, the gloomy place to which the dead descend in grief. Here God's proximity and care are emphasized. The tension between these two views is partly mitigated by the author's exhortation

in 102:4, "Fear not," which approximates "no longer . . . frighten" here, and by the promises of resurrection and life in 103:3–4. A view more closely approximating the present text is chap. 22, where a distinction is made in the realm of the dead between the righteous, who dwell in light and with refreshment, and the wicked, who are punished.

Both chap. 22 and the present passage anticipate a long history of speculation about the state of the dead between death and the judgment. Particularly noteworthy are 4 *Ezra* 4:35–36 and 7:85, 95; 2 *Bar.* 21:23–25; 30:2; Rev 6:9–11. Common features shared in part are: the presence of an angel; the notion of guarding (*conservare*, 4 *Ezra* 7; נָטַר 2 *Baruch*); rest or quiet; a terminus to their present state. Notable in 4 *Ezra* 4:35–36, 2 *Bar.* 21:23–25, and Rev 6:9–11 is the concern about "How long" until the terminus. In the present passage and the other texts, the restful state of the souls of the righteous makes such a question unnecessary.

■ ■ In content and wording this verse is similar to 99:10, the final verse of the previous discourse. Both verses associate wisdom with this author's theology and see the acceptance of this theology as the condition for one's rescue from the judgment. In the previous discourse, the wise were teachers of this author's persuasion, and salvation was promised to those Jews who listened to the words of the wise and forsook the error and folly of a wrong interpretation of the Law. Here wisdom becomes a derivative category; "the wise" (οἱ φρόνιμοι) are those who accept as the truth the words of this epistle (cf. 99:2, "the true words"; 99:10, "the words of the wise"). Different from the usage in the previous section, but related to it, the words in question are not the words of divine Law as they are properly interpreted, but the words of this author's warning that judgment will fall on those who do not heed this interpretation and who flagrantly violate God's will by oppressing the righteous. This verse is marked by a triple parallelism that is synonymous in effect, but expressed by complementary verbs and objects in the three syntactically parallel lines. When one contemplates the words of the epistle (b), one sees the truth of its message (a), which is to recognize that one's wealth cannot save one when the judgment

undermines the edifice of iniquity (c). Striking in this verse is the author's self-conscious reference to his own writing. Its evident function is not simply to comfort the righteous victims of the sinners, but to call "the sons of earth" to repentance. A similar function is implied in 105:1 and is suggested in the direct address to "the sons of men" in 101:1. Who these "men" and "sons of the

earth" are is less clear. Stressed in this terminology (cf. also 102:3 and 105:1) is their humanity. Possibly they include both the erring Jews and Gentiles mentioned in the previous discourse. Of the ultimate salvation of some of the Gentiles we read in 91:14.

A STRING OF WOES

- 7 Woe to you, unrighteous,^a
when you afflict the righteous on **a** day of hard anguish, and burn them^b in fire;
for you will be recompensed according to your deeds.
- 8 Woe to you, hard of heart,
who lie awake to devise evil;
fear will overtake^a you, and there will be **no** one to help you.
- 9 Woe to you, all you sinners,
because of the words of your mouth and the deeds of your hands,^a
for you have strayed from the holy deeds;^b
in the heat of a blazing fire you will burn.

GOD WILL JUDGE BY MEANS OF THE CREATION

- 10 And now know that from the angels inquiry will be made into your deeds in heaven,
and from^a the sun and from the moon and from the stars, concerning your sins;
because on earth you execute judgment on the righteous.
- 11 And every cloud and mist and dew and rain will testify against you;^a
for they will all be withheld from you, so as not to descend upon you,^b
and they will be mindful^c of your sins.
- 12 Therefore, give^a gifts to the rain, lest it be withheld from descending to you,^b
and to the dew and cloud and mist pay gold, that they may descend.^c
- 13 For if^a the snow and the frost and its^b cold hurl themselves^c upon you,
and the winds and their chill^d and all their scourges,
then^a you will not be able to endure before the cold and their scourges.^f

AN APPEAL TO THE EVIDENCE OF SUCH A JUDGMENT

- 101:1 So contemplate, O sons of men, the deeds of the Most High^a
and fear to do evil in his presence.
- 2 If he closes the windows of heaven,
and withholds the dew and the rain^a from descending because of you,
what will you do?
- 3 If he sends forth his wrath against you and^a your deeds,
will you not be entreating him?
Why^b do you speak with your mouth^c proud and hard things against his majesty?^d
You will have no peace.^a
- 4 Look at the captains who sail the sea!^a
Their ships **are** shaken by **wav** and storm.
- 5 Being beaten by the storm, they all fear,
and all their goods and possessions they throw out into the sea.^a
And in their heart they are apprehensive^b
that the sea will swallow them up, and they will perish in it.
- 6 Are not all the **seas** and all its waters and all its movement^a the work of the Most High?
And he constituted it from the waters,
and bound it together and confined it by the sand.^b
- 7 At his rebuke they fear and dry up,^a
and^b the fish die and all that is in it;
but you sinners upon the earth do not fear him.
- 8 Did he not make the heavens and the earth and all that is in them?
And who gave knowledge and wisdom^a to all that **move** on the earth and that **live**
in the sea?^b
- 9 Do not^a the captains^b fear the sea?
But the sinners do not fear the Most High.^c

THE FINAL ENACTMENT OF SUCH JUDGMENT

- 102:1 <Then>,^a when he hurls against you the flood of the fire of your burning,^b
where will you flee and^c be saved?^d

And when he utters his voice against you with ■ mighty sound,
 will you not be shaken and frightened?
 The heavens and all the luminaries will be shaken with great fear;
 and all the earth will be shaken and will tremble and be thrown into confusion.
 All the angels will fulfill what ■■■ commanded them;
 and ■ all the sons of earth will seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great
 Glory,
 and they will be shaken and tremble.
 And you, sinners, will be cursed forever;
 you will have no peace.

- 7a οἱ ἄδικοι ^{ⓈCB} | “sinners” (*hâteʾān*) [Ⓢ].
 b *tānaddeḏewomū* ^{Ⓢ-q} | “save them” (*tādeḥḥenewomū*) q
 | φυλάξητ[ε] αὐτούς (“guard them”) ^{ⓈCB}, corrupt for
 φλέξητε (= ^{Ⓢ-q}).
 8a Most [Ⓢ] MSS. read forms of the verb *rakaba* (“find”),
 which translates ἀπαντᾶν in 98:9 and 102:5. Cf. 95:2.
 Bonner (*Enoch*, 51) restores π[ε]ρ[ι]έχε[ι], but the plate
 is very difficult to read.
 9a Text follows [Ⓢ], except for “all,” which [Ⓢ] omits. Scribe
 of ^{ⓈCB} wrote the first two clauses, but mistakenly wrote
 “deeds” for “words,” and then began over, this time
 omitting “deeds” from the third clause: {οὐαὶ ὑ[μ]ιν
 [π]ᾶ[σ]ι[ν] τοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις [τοῦ
 στό]ματος ὑμῶν} οὐαὶ ὑμῖν πᾶ[σ]ιν το[ῖς] ἀμαρτωλοῖς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ [στόμ]α[το]ς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς
 <ἔργοις> τῶν χειρῶν} ὑ[μ]ιν.
 b οτι το αἰγιον εργων απεπλα[^{ⓈCB}, a text that is corrupt
 as it stands. Translation follows the reconstruction of
 Bonner (*Enoch*, 53): ὅτι <ἀπὸ> τῶν <ἀγίων ἔργων
 ἀπεπλα[νῆθητε]. [Ⓢ] MSS. vary widely (see Nickelsburg,
 “Enoch 97–104,” 98–99). But ἀπό in Bonner’s emenda-
 tion is supported by *ʿemgebra* (“from the works of”) of [Ⓢ]
 t. Its omission in ^{ⓈCB} would be due to a confusion of
 ΑΠΟ and ΑΠΙΟΝ in an uncial ms. The verb ἀποπλα-
 νῆθητε is supported by *rasāʿkemu* in ^{Ⓢβ}, its precise
 equivalent in this translation, which regularly renders
 the πλαν- group with *rasʿa* (“to act wickedly”).
 10a that ---- from] (*ʿesma ʿemmalāʾekt yethaššašu megbāri-*
kemu basamāy waʿem-) ggʾmqT⁹ | “that the angels will
 inquire ---- from” (*kama malāʾekt yethaššašu megbāri-*
kemu basamāy ʿem-) β.
 11a In [Ⓢ] the elements are the object of the verb *yāsammeʿ*
 (“he will summon to testify”).
 b for ---- you] om. ^{ⓈCB}. The line may be an addition.
 c + “not” mT⁹ 2080 6281.β.
 12a δίδοτε] οὖν ^{ⓈCB} | *wayeʿezēni habu* (“and now give” = καὶ
 νῦν δίδοτε) [Ⓢ].
 b ὑμῖν ^{ⓈCB} | “upon you” (*dibēkemu*) [Ⓢ], as in v 11b.
 c καὶ δρόσφ κα[ὶ] νεφελῇ] καὶ ὀμίχλῃ χρυσίου δια-
 γράψα[τε] ἵνα κα[ταβώσιν] ^{ⓈCB} | “and the dew, that if it

- receives gold and silver from you, it may descend”
 (*waṭal ʿemma tamattawa ʿemennēkemu warqa waberur*
kama yerad) [Ⓢ].
 13a ὅτι ἐάν ^{ⓈCB} | “when” (*soba*) [Ⓢ].
 b “their” [Ⓢ].
 c Reading the verb ἐπιρρίψῃ as a middle; see Bonner,
Enoch, 54.
 d καὶ [οἱ] ἄνεμοι καὶ ὁ παγετὸς αὐτῶν ^{ⓈCB} | “and all the
 snow-winds” (*wakwellu nafasāt hamadā*) [Ⓢ].
 e Retroverting *baʿemāntu mawāʿel* (“in those days”) to Gk.
 τότε; see n. a on 99:3. The adverb, missing in ^{ⓈCB},
 coordinates well with ἐάν and is strange as an expan-
 sion in [Ⓢ].
 f before ---- scourges] ἔμπροσθεν ψύχους κα[ὶ] τ[ῶν]
 μαστίγων αὐτῶν ^{ⓈCB} | “before them” (*qedmēhomu*) [Ⓢ],
 which could be more original than ^{ⓈCB}.
 101:1
 a κατανοήσατε το[ί]νν υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔργα [τοῦ]
 ὑψίστου ^{ⓈCB} | “observe the heavens (‘all of you’ t², β),
 sons of heaven, and every work of the Most High”
 (*tayyeqewwā lasamāy [kwellekemu t²,β] weluda samāy wak-*
wello gebro laleʿul) [Ⓢ]. The chapter is addressed not to
 the righteous (i.e., the sons of heaven), but to (wicked)
 humanity. Moreover, the heavens are only incidental in
 the examples that follow. The corruptions in [Ⓢ] may
 have originated in *^{ⓈE}, when τοῖννν was read as an
 abbreviation of τὸν οὐρανόν (“the heaven”) and “and
 every” was added to connect it with “the works of the
 Most High,” and a ditograph of “the heaven” led to
 the expression “sons of heaven.”
 2a “the rain and the dew” [Ⓢ].
 3a + “all” (*kwellu*) gʾβ.
 b διὰ τί ^{ⓈCB} | “for,” “because” (*ʿesma*) [Ⓢ].
 c with your mouth] om. [Ⓢ].
 d ἐπὶ τῇ μεγαλῳσύνῃ αὐτοῦ = ^{ⓈCB}, supported by the dis-
 cussion of God’s awesome deeds in the following verses
 and by the same expression in 1 Enoch 5:4 | “against
 his righteousness” (*diba šedqa zīʾahu*) [Ⓢ], a confusion of
 μεγαλῳσύνῃ and δικαιοσύνη.
 e Om. ^{ⓈCB} this line, but again cf. 1 Enoch 5:4.

- 4a ὁρά[τε τοὺς ναυκλήρους τοὺς πλω[ζο]μένους τὴν θάλασσαν ^{CB} | (“and’ q,β) do you not see the kings of the ships?” ([wa q,β] ^{iter}”*eyewomumu lanagašta ’ahmār*) ^E. It has been argued that this reflects a misreading of Aram. ܡܠܟܐ (“sailors”) as ܡܠܟܐ (“kings”). On the discussion see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:236; and for a contrary opinion, VanderKam, “Textual Base,” 260–61.
- 5a ὑπὸ τοῦ κ[λύδω]ρος καὶ χειμῶνος σεσα[λευ]μέ[να τὰ] πλοῖα αὐτῶν, καὶ χειμαζόμενοι π[άν]τες φοβοῦνται, ἔξω δὲ τὰ [ἀγαθὰ πάντα] καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλο[υσιν] εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ^{CB} | “how their ships are tossed by the waves and rocked by the winds, and are in distress. And because of this they are afraid, for all their good possessions go out (<‘they throw out’> qT⁹; see Uhlig, *Enoch*, 732–33) onto the sea with them” (*’efo yethawwaku ’emogad wayānqalaqqelu ’emnafāsāt ’ahmāromu wayetmanaddabu waba’enta zentu yefarrehu ’esma kwellu newāyomu šanāy yewaddē’ [waḏu q | yewaddēu T⁹ = <γῶαδδῆu>] westa bāhr*) ^E, translation of Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:236. ἀγαθὰ πάντα is restored from ^E, where *šanāy*, however, modifies “possessions,” rather than being a synonym for it, as the Greek requires in ^{CB}. It is impossible to know which text of the first part is closer to the original. The parallelism of verb and noun, verb and noun in ^E may speak for its originality; however, the double nouns, “goods and possessions,” speak against this.
- b καὶ ὑποπ[τεύου]σιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν ^{CB} | “and they think nothing good in their hearts” (*wašānāya ’iyehlēleyu balebbomu*) ^E; translation of Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:236. “Good,” missing in ^{CB}, may be a dittograph from the previous line.
- 6a and all its movement] om. ^{CB} by hmt.
- b And he ---- sand] καὶ αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο [αὐτὴν ἐξ ὑδά]των καὶ συνέδησεν αὐτ[ὴν καὶ περι]έφραξεν αὐτὴν ἄμμω ^{CB} | “and he established (‘sealed’ β-e | †‘and water’† gmqT⁹) all its works and bound it and encircled it all around with sand” (*wawe’etu [wa g¹] kwello [kwellu g¹ | om. gmtT⁹] gabrātihā [gabrātā g¹,β] ’aqama [hātama β-e | wamāyā gmtT⁹ | wamāyā q] wa’asarā [wa’asara m,β] <wahašarā> kwellantāhā bahodā*) ^E. For a detailed discussion of my restoration and that of Bonner, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 100–101. See also Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:237. The Eth. verb *’aqama* appears to correspond most closely to Gk. *συνεστήσατο*, although it is found in only one ms. of β. The emendation *wahašara* corresponds to *περι]έφραξεν*, and the verb could easily have dropped out of ^E.
- 7a The verbs are sg. in ^E.
- b + “all” (*kwellu*) ^E.
- 8a *temherta watebaba* ^E | ἐ[πι]στήμην (“knowledge”) ^{CB}.
- b *lakwellu ’ella yethawwasu diba medr wa’ella babāhr* ^E. Positing an omission by hmt. in ^{CB}: πᾶσιν τοῖς κινουμένοις <ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ τοῖς> ἐν [τῇ] θαλάσση.
- 9a *’akonu* ^E | om. ^{CB}.
- b See above v 4 n. a.
- c But ---- High] om. ^{CB}, by hmt.: [φο]βοῦνται <... φοβοῦνται>.
- 102:1
- a Retroverting *ba’emāntu mawā’el* (“in those days”) to τότε (see n. a on 99:3) and positing an omission in ^{CB} due to the confusion of similar words: καὶ <τότε> ὅταν. Cf. also n. e on 100:13.
- b τῆς καύσεως ὑμῶν ^{CB} | Om. ^E. It could represent a double reading.
- c + “where” (*ba’aytē*) ^E.
- d The text of vv 1c–3c is in disarray either in ^{CB} or ^E. The reordering and emendation of ^{CB} to agree basically with ^E is that of Zuntz, “Last Judgment,” 161–70. ^E: *wasoba yewaddi qālo dibēkemu ’ako tetmahakkawu watefarrehu. wakwellomu berhānāt yemahakkawu basferhat ’abiy, wakwellā medr tetmahakkaw watere’^{ed} wategwēgwe’, wakwellomu malā’ekt yefēssomu te’zāzomu, wayefaqgedu kama yethabbe’u ’emqedma ’abiy sebhāt, wayere’^{ed}u daqiga medr wayethawwaku* (“And when he sends forth his voice against you, will you not be shaken and frightened? And all the luminaries will be shaken with great fear, and all the earth will be shaken and will tremble and be thrown into confusion. And all the angels will fulfill their commands, and the sons of earth will seek to hide from the presence of the Great Glory, and they will be shaken and tremble”). ^{CB}: καὶ ὅταν δῶ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς φωνὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσεσθε συνσειόμενοι καὶ φοβοῦμενοι ἡχῶ μεγάλῳ; καὶ ἡ γῆ σύμπασα σειομένη καὶ τρέμουσα καὶ συνταρασσομένη, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι συντελοῦντες τὸ συνταχθῆν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ οἱ φωστῆρες σειόμενοι καὶ τρέμοντες, ἅπαντες οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς γῆς (“And when he utters his voice against you, will you not be shaken and frightened with a mighty sound? And the whole earth will be shaken and will tremble and be thrown into confusion. And the angels will fulfill what was commanded them, and the heaven and the luminaries will be shaken and tremble. All the sons of earth”). Different from ^E, this text has the expression “with a mighty sound,” though it is obviously in the wrong place. In addition, the reference to the quaking of the luminaries is expanded to mention the heavens, it lacks the phrase “with great fear,” and it occurs at the point at which ^E refers to the sons of earth hiding. Almost that entire line is missing in ^{CB}. According to Zuntz, a series of omissions and displacements led to the present confusion of ^{CB}. But the whole text as I have translated it here can be gotten from ^E except “all” in v 3b, which is found in ^{CB}, and “with a mighty sound,” which occurs in ^{CB}, albeit one line too early, due to its omission, its placement into the margin, and its replacement at the wrong point in the text. Reference to the heavens in v 2a I take to be original, although it is missing in ^E. It parallels the earth in the next line.

■ **100:7–102:3** This discourse, like the previous one, is directed only to the sinners. Its preoccupation with their judgment is evident in two ways. It does not contain even a brief reference to the blessedness of the righteous such as occurs in 100:5. The woes occupy a smaller proportion of space than they do even in the previous discourse, because most of the discourse is either description of the sinners' judgment or reference to it.

The short string of woes (100:7-9) is mainly general in its contents, with its reference to the sinners' "words" and "deeds" summarizing the previous indictments. Because of these "deeds" (100:10), the sinners can expect divine judgment. This judgment will be executed by the forces of the creation (100:10-13) before whose power the sinners will be helpless. In view of these facts, the author appeals to the sinners to "fear the Most High," that is, to repent. He concludes with a description of the final judgment, which will be even more fearful than that executed by the created elements.

■ **100:7** The "day of hard anguish" (ἡμέρα ἀνάγκης στερῆας) refers to the time of trouble for the righteous (thus ἐκθλίβω, "afflict") rather than for the sinners (as in 96:2; 98:10); it is the biblical יום צרה (cf., e.g., Pss 50:15; 77:3 [2]; 86:7; Prov 24:10; 25:19; 2 Kgs 19:3). Perhaps implied here is the prayer of the righteous, which brings deliverance on such occasions (Pss 50:15; 77:4 [3]; 86:7; 2 Kgs 19:3). "Burning" the righteous "with fire" may refer to some specific incident or incidents (cf. Daniel 3). The appropriate recompense mentioned in line c is probably the fire of hell (cf. below in v 9). On the wording of line c, cf. 95:5.

■ **8** Of the "hard of heart" and those "who do evil" we have heard in 98:11. The specific imagery of line b here is traditional (cf. Mic 2:1-3; Ps 36:5 [4]). The combination of the general terms "to afflict" (ἐκθλίβω, v 7) and "evil" (κακός, v 8) recurs in 104:2. The fear mentioned in line c will play an important role in 101:1–102:3. The final clause reflects a common idiom (cf. Deut 28:29, 31; Sir 51:7). In 1 Enoch 103:10 the righteous use the expression to describe their own plight at the hands of the sinners.

■ **9** This final woe summarizes the contents of all the others. The sinners are guilty of sinful speech and action (cf. 1:9; 5:4; 97:6). The double use of "deeds" here recalls v 7 and prepares for the fiery recompense in line d, which in turn recalls v 7c. For the term "holy deeds,"

if that textual reconstruction is correct, I have found no exact parallel. The passage as a whole, with its use of the umbrella term "to stray," and this general expression "holy deeds" can be taken as a summary description of all the wickedness perpetrated by the sinners.

■ **10-13** The author now elaborates on an aspect of the judgment that will befall the sinners because of the deeds he has just indicted. Three factors color his exposition. The sinners can expect the judgment because they themselves have executed judgment on the righteous (v 10). The Judge is the Creator, whose judgment will be cosmic in scope. In consequence the situation will be reversed, and the sinners will find themselves the helpless victims of forces with which they cannot cope.

■ **10** Line a provides a link with the previous verses, mentioning the "deeds" for which the sinners were indicted in vv 7, 9. Here, however, the deeds are explicated as the execution of judgment on the righteous (cf. 94:7; 95:6-7). Line a is a brief summary of 98:6-8, and together with line b it anticipates 104:7-8. The particular nuances of the verse are evident in its structure. Lines a and c stand in antithetical parallelism to one another. *In heaven* the agents of the divine Judge provide evidence *to prosecute* those who *on earth* have engaged in *unjust legal proceedings* against the righteous. According to line b the luminaries will also provide such evidence (cf. 104:8; *Ps. Sol.* 2:13-14 [11-12]; 8:8; and *3 Bar.* 8:4-5). Because this investigation is in the heavenly realm, it is out of the reach of the sinners. Although the idea of heaven and earth as witnesses to the covenant (cf. Deut 4:26; 30:19; 32:1) may stand behind this verse and v 11, the author has employed the idea with his own nuances and broadened the cosmic scope of the concept by mentioning the luminaries and the meteorological elements as participants in the process.

■ **11** Reference to the elements is now extended to include the beneficent forms of precipitation. Once again employing a structure in which lines a and c parallel one another, he makes use of legal vocabulary. The elements will "testify" (*yasamme* = [δια]μαρτυρέομαι, Deut 4:26; 30:19) against the sinners, in effect making mention of or recalling their sins (cf. comm. on 99:3). This testimony, given in public for all to see, will take the form of drought. Thus it will be not only testimony but judgment and punishment, one of the announced curses of the covenant (Deut 28:22-24; cf. *Ps. Sol.* 17:21).

Taking up the theme of God as Creator, the author describes the elements of the creation as the faithful and obedient executors of God's justice—a theme to which he will return in v 13 and 101:2-3. Once again the sinner finds himself at the mercy of forces that he cannot control or influence.

■ **12** This last point is now made with stinging irony. The sinners have been accused of taking money in judgment (94:7) and of perjury (95:6). Here they are told to use their vaunted riches to bribe the heavenly witnesses. The taunt underscores their helplessness before the cosmic forces and repeats in biting and dramatic form the assertion of 100:6: their wealth cannot save them when the structure of iniquity collapses.

■ **13** An alternative scenario to v 11 is here entertained. In withholding the beneficent rains and mists, God will send the dangerous and destructive forms of the watery elements. That these phenomena are the “scourges” of divine judgment is observed by ben Sira (Sir 39:28-31). The schematization of these elements is worked out in 1 Enoch 76:5-13. This structuring of the cosmic forces again makes clear the helpless and hopeless position of the sinners when they are called to task in the cosmic judgment hall.

■ **101:1-9** Two references to human fear of the Most High frame this self-contained unit on divine judgment in creation and human responses to it (vv 1 and 9). The unity and symmetry of the section notwithstanding, in context it is an integral part of the continuing argument of this division of the Epistle. Since God can use the elements of creation as agents of judgment (100:11, 13; 101:2, 3), the author appeals to “the sons of men” to fear God as Creator and Judge (v 1) and, by inference, to repent. He underscores this appeal with an example from life that serves as a parable of the behavior that he is exhorting (vv 4-5). Verses 6-8 explicate the theological undergirding of the parable. The actions of the captains stem from the wisdom that perceives God's power and judgment in nature. The section closes with an ironic comparison (v 9), which is at the same time an implicit repetition of the appeal with which the section began.

This section continues two of the major themes in

100:10-13: creation as the executor, or perhaps the arena, of divine judgment; and the sinners' helplessness in these circumstances. This last point is made through the repetition of the word “fear,”¹ which picks up a theme from 100:8 that will be reiterated in concentrated fashion in 102:1-3.

Throughout chap. 101 the author employs the imagery and rhetoric of the wisdom tradition, particularly as it is used in chaps. 1-5. Here as in the prologue, the author cites the obedience of nature as a foil to the disobedience of the sinners and as grounds for the judgment that will befall them. Occasional phrases and the imagery in general recall the prologue and suggest an ominous extension of its teaching: creation will respond obediently when the Creator calls on it to exact judgment from the sinners.

■ **1** The inferential particle *τοίνυν* (“So”) links this chapter with the previous verses. The judgment just announced should lead humans to fear God, who acts as judge. Although the author addresses the sinners (cf. vv 7, 9), they are here called “sons of men” to emphasize their lowly status as creatures before “the Most High,” their Creator and Judge. On the title “the Most High,” see comm. on 9:2-3. The language of line a parallels 2:1-2. Sinful humanity (thus the context of chaps. 2-5) is called upon to “contemplate” (*κατανοέω*) “the deeds” or “works” of the Creator. Here, different from chap. 2, the author emphasizes that creation's obedience includes its function as executor of divine judgment. For “deeds” of God as acts of judgment in creation, cf. Ps 107:24, a passage related to vv 4-5 below. In view of God's “deeds” (*τὰ ἔργα*) of judgment, the sinners should fear “to do” (*ποιέω*) the evil deeds of which they have been accused (100:7, 9) and for which they will be punished. To contemplate the deeds of God is to apply divinely given “wisdom” (cf. v 8). The fear of God (vv 1, 5, 7, 9) is a product of that wise contemplation and not the terror referred to in 100:8 and 102:1-3, which responds too late to the inescapable judgment. Although the divine presence will be clearly manifested at the final judicial theophany (102:3), evil deeds are even now committed in the presence of the One who is witness of all (cf. 98:6-8; 100:10; 104:7-8).

1 Hartman, *Meaning*, 70.

This verse sets the tone for the entire chapter. It is an urgent appeal to contemplate the judgment of God and to fear the Judge and repent by refraining from sin. The appeal will be repeated by inference in vv 4-5, 9.

■ **2-3** The author explicates the reason for this fear—the judgment mentioned in the previous chapter. Verse 2 recalls 100:11. Here the subject of the passive verb in that verse is made explicit. It is God, the avenger of the covenant, who closes the windows of heaven (cf. Deut 28:23). The rhetorical question, “what will you do?” stresses human impotence before the divine Judge and recalls the irony of 100:12. Verse 3 recalls 100:13. God’s wrath is the same as the “scourges” mentioned in 100:13 and is punishment for the oft-mentioned “deeds” of the sinners. Again the helplessness of the sinners is stressed by reference to their posture as suppliants before the Judge. Moreover, their petitions for mercy are ironically contrasted with the “hard and proud things” they have uttered against God’s majesty. Nor will their prayers have any effect. The sinners will have no peace (see comm. on 94:6-7). The final two lines of v 3 have been drawn from 5:4. The imagery of the verse as a whole will be elaborated on in 63:1-7.

■ **4-5** The imperative “Look” ([ὁρᾶ]τε | [ἴδε]τε) corresponds to the imperative “contemplate” in v 1, and together the two parallel the same usage in 2:1 and 2. If the sinners are not impressed by the scenario anticipated in 100:11, 13, and 101:2, 3, they should consider an experience of which they have knowledge. The author’s picture of destruction and terror at sea need not presume the firsthand experience of his readers; the type of incident described could have been common knowledge for Palestinian Jews.² Similar descriptions occur in Ps 107:23-32, Jonah 1:4-5, and Acts 27:14-20. The first two passages, moreover, describe the incidents as acts of God. The incident is offered as a parable of the sinners’ situation in the face of the divine judgment. The verbs “shaken,” “beaten,” and “fear” anticipate the same or similar verbs in 102:3. When the captains face almost certain destruction in the stormy sea, they quickly rid themselves of the cargo that is their livelihood in order to save their lives. Implicit is the warning and appeal that the sinners divest themselves of their goods and

possessions (cf. 97:8-10) lest they perish in the coming judgment. The actions of the captains reflect the wisdom and understanding mentioned in v 8, and it is to such that the author now appeals. That the sinners’ wealth cannot save them has already been mentioned in 100:6, which credits the wise among humans with knowledge of this fact. The picture of the captains again emphasizes the helplessness of human beings when confronted with the acts of God in the creation.

■ **6-7** These verses are the first of two explications of the parable in vv 4-5. The waters *of the sea* are the creation of God, and they obey God’s command (again cf. 2:1–5:3) because they fear God. By contrast, the sinners *upon the earth* do not fear (and obey) God. In v 6, as in v 1, the author refers to “the work” (τὸ ἔργον) of the Most High. The specific creation imagery of this verse (God binding in the sea by the shore) is traditional in wisdom literature (cf. Job 26:10; 38:8-11; Pss 89:10 [9]; 104:5-9; Prov 8:29; Pr Man 3). But the specific inspiration for the verse appears to have been Jer 5:21-24. Here God comments on his people’s failure to fear him.

Although he has manifested his power in creation—specifically in chaining up the mighty sea—his own people do not fear him who gives them the necessary moisture for their crops (cf. 100:11). Verse 7 draws further on the exodus traditions in Pss 105:29, 106:9, and Isa 50:2. Behind all these passages is the ancient myth of God’s battle with the chaos monster. The analogy is suggestive in the present context. If God the creator and the redeemer of Israel could chain up the primordial forces of chaos, it is a simple thing for him to deal with these human rebels.

■ **8-9** These verses constitute a second application of the parable in vv 4-5. As in vv 6-7 reference is first made to God’s creative activity (v 8 | vv 6-7b), and this is followed by an observation about those who (do not) fear God (v 9 | v 7c). The crux of interpretation is the identification of “all that move (κινέω) on the earth and all that are in the sea.” The language is most easily taken to refer to the animals; cf. Gen 7:14, 21; 8:17; 9:2; Lev 11:44, 46, where κινέω is also used. This verb, moreover, does not appear to be used in our literature in a phrase like this to refer to human beings. Within such a context,

2 Pace Milik (*Enoch*, 51), who posits authorship in a port on the Palestinian coast.

“knowledge and wisdom” (*temherta watebaba*, ἐπιστήμη only, 𐤓^{CB}) would have to refer to the animals and their ability to sustain their lives.³ In such an interpretation, the point of the text is not altogether clear. The author would presumably be contrasting the wisdom of the animals with the folly of the sinners. Verse 9a makes clear, however, that he is contrasting two groups of human beings. Thus a better interpretation seems to be built on the evident chiasm in vv 8b and 9ab:

v 8b	v 9
a all that move on the earth	a' The sinners do not fear God
b all that are in the sea	b' the captains fear the sea

That is, God has endowed all human beings with knowledge and wisdom (cf. Sir 17:7). On the one hand, the captains apply this wisdom by fearing what is to be feared and acting accordingly. On the other hand, the sinners act foolishly by not fearing God. Thus the author appears to have taken a bit of tradition about God's creation of the world and the animal kingdom and applied it here to his views about human beings. The concluding double line returns us to v 1. Because the sinners do not fear the Most High (v 9), the author appeals to them in v 1 to do so.

■ **102:1-3** These verses conclude the present section on judgment by explicating the final consequences of the sinners' behavior. Similarities in expression indicate a parallelism between 101:2-3, 4-5, and the present passage. The sense of the sinners' helplessness before the divine judgment, noted previously, appears here also, both in the description of God's actions and in the picture of the sinners' reactions, especially the repetition of the double expressions: “shake and tremble” and “fear and tremble.” The passage forms a reprise of other passages: v 3 recapitulates 100:4, and the passage as a whole presumes the longer description of the theophany in chaps. 1 and 5, and employs motifs from it. The final distich of v 3 recalls the two last lines of 101:9, spelling out the consequences of the sinners' refusal to fear the Most High. At the same time it provides this discourse as a whole with a rhetorical conclusion by stressing the finality of the judgment to which it has alluded throughout.

■ **1** The following parallels in syntax and phraseology

indicate a close relationship between this verse and 101:2-3:

102:1	101:2-3
When he hurls . . .	If he closes . . . and withholds
the flood of the fire, . . .	the dew and the rain, . . .
where will you flee?	what will you do?
And when he utters his voice,	If he sends forth his wrath, . . .
will you not be shaken?	will you not be entreating?

What 101:2-3 asserted of God's judgment through the elements is here connected with his final epiphany. Moreover, the reaction of being shaken and frightened recalls the reactions of the captains in 100:4-5. The present verse employs the typical language of theophanic description (see comm. on 1:5-7). Similarities to the account in Exod 19:16-18 (fire, the voice, trembling) suggest that the author has in mind a kind of repetition of the Sinai theophany. Such a repetition is announced in 1:4, and the context also uses the imagery of fire (1:6) and employs the verbs “fear,” “tremble,” and “shake” (v 5; cf. below, vv 2-3). Expressing the helpless state of the sinners here are the violent imagery attached to God (“hurls against you,” “utters his voice against you with a mighty sound”) and the corresponding verbs attached to the sinner's actions (“flee,” “shaken,” “frightened”). If the imagery of drought and chill and stormy sea expressed a fearful and uncontrollable form of judgment, the fiery judgment here described is the more fearful. The author employs the imagery of fire, traditionally associated with the Valley of Hinnom and the pits of Gehenna (cf. Isa 66:24; 1 Enoch 98:3; 100:9; 103:8). But the picture of the fiery torrent may well derive from a more full-blown description such as that preserved in 1QH 11(3):28-36. Note there the references also to God's voice (34), the heavenly entourage as executors of judgment (35-36 || 102:3), the quaking of the cosmos (35 || 102:2), and the finality of the judgment (36 || 102:3).

■ **2** In summary fashion the author describes the cosmic response to the theophany (cf. 1:6-7). On the reaction of the luminaries, cf. Isa 13:10; 34:4; Ezek 32:7; Joel 2:10-11; Rev 8:12; Mark 13:25 || Matt 24:29; *T. Mos.* 10:5.

3 Job 38:39-41 is cited as a parallel by Dillmann, *Henoch*, 317; Martin, *Hénoch*, 268.

■ ■ After the heaven and its luminaries and the earth, we hear of the angels, the inhabitants of the heavens, and then once again of the sons of earth. This verse refers to the events mentioned in 100:4. The task of the angels is to gather the human race for judgment. Line b explains 100:4a. The “hidden places” are the retreats to which humanity disappears to escape the presence of God (cf. Isa 26:20-21). That *all* the sons of earth attempt to flee from his presence (cf. also Isa 26:20) reflects the author’s view of the transcendence of God and of the mortality, if not the sinfulness, of the human race. The

contrast between “all the sons of earth” and “you sinners” is, however, significant. It reflects the similar contrast between “all flesh” and the distinction between righteous and ungodly in 1:7-9. The language of the last two lines recalls 5:4-6, and the final line also reiterates 101:3d.

A.1 AN EXHORTATION TO THE RIGHTEOUS DEAD

- 4 Fear not, souls of the righteous;
take courage, you pious who have died.^a
- 5 And do not grieve because your souls have descended into Sheol^a with grief,
and the body of your flesh^b did not fare in your life according to your piety,^c
because the days that you lived^d were days of sinners and curses upon the earth.^e
- 6 When you die, then^a the sinners say about you,^b
"The pious have died according to fate,^c
and what have they gained from their deeds?
- 7 Behold, then, how they die in grief and darkness,^a
and what advantage do they have over us?^b
- 8 Henceforth let them arise and be saved,
and they shall forever ~~see~~ <the light>.^a
- But, behold, they have died,
and henceforth (and) forever they will not ~~see~~ the light.^b
- 9 Therefore it is good for us to eat and drink,
to plunder and sin and steal
and get wealth and see good days.^a
- 10 Behold, then, those who consider themselves righteous^a—of what sort their destruction
has been—
no righteousness^b was found in them until they died.
- 11 And they perished and became ~~as~~ those who are not,
and their souls descended with pain into Sheol."
- 103:1 And now I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great One,
and by his splendid kingship and his majesty I swear to you,^a
that I know this mystery.
- 2 For I have read the tablets of heaven,
and I have seen the writing of what must be,^a
and I know^b the things that ~~are~~ written in them and inscribed concerning you—^c
- 3 that^a good things and joy and honor have been prepared
and written down for the souls^b of the pious who have died;^c
and much good will be given to you in the place of your labors,
and your lot will exceed the lot of the living.
- 4 And the souls^a of the pious who have died will ~~come~~ to life,
and they will rejoice and be glad;^b
and their spirits will not perish,
nor their memory from the presence of the Great One,
for all the generations of eternity.
Therefore, do not fear their reproaches.

A.2 A WOE AGAINST THE DEAD SINNERS

- 5 Woe to you,^a dead sinners.
When you die in your sinful wealth,^b
those who ~~are~~ like you say about you,^c
"Blessed ~~are~~ the sinners
all their days that they have seen.
- 6 And now they have died with goods and wealth,
and affliction and murder they have not seen^a in their life;
They have died in splendor,
and judgment ~~was~~ not executed on them^b in their life."
- 7 Know^a that down to Sheol they will lead your souls;
and there they will be in great distress,^b
and in darkness and in ~~a~~ snare and in a flaming fire.
- 8 Into great judgment your souls will enter,
and the great judgment will be^a
for all the generations of eternity.
Woe to you, you will have no peace.

9 Do not say, you who ~~are~~ righteous and pious in life.^a
 "In the days of our^b tribulation, ~~we~~ toiled laboriously;
 and every tribulation ~~we~~ saw, and many evils ~~we~~ found.^c
 10 We ~~were~~ consumed and became few, and our spirits, small;
 and we ~~were~~ destroyed^a and there was no one to help ~~us~~ with word and deed;
 we ~~were~~ powerless and found nothing.^b
 We ~~were~~ crushed and destroyed,
 and ~~we~~ gave up hope any more to know safety from day to day;
 11 ~~we~~ had hoped^a to be the head and became the tail.
 We toiled and labored and were not masters of our labor;^b
~~we~~ became the food of the sinners.
 The lawless weighed down their yoke upon us;
 12 our enemies were our masters,^a
 they goaded us on and penned ~~us~~ in,^b
 and to our enemies ~~we~~ bowed ~~our~~ necks,
 and they had no mercy on us.
 13 We sought to get away from them,
 so that we might escape and be refreshed;^a
 but ~~we~~ found no place to flee and be safe from them.
 14 We complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
 and cried out against those who struck us down and oppressed us;^a
 but our complaints they did not receive,^b
 nor did they wish to give ~~us~~ hearing to our voice.
 15 They did not help us,
 they did not find (anything) against those who oppressed ~~us~~ and devoured us;^a
 But they strengthened against us
 them who killed us^b and made ~~us~~ few.
 They did not disclose^c their iniquities,
 nor did they remove from us the yoke of them who devoured us and dispersed us and
 murdered us.
 They did not disclose^d concerning those who murdered us,
 nor did they make mention that they raised their hands against us.^e
 104:1 I swear to you^a that the angels in heaven make mention of you^b for good before the glory
 of the Great One,
 and your names are written before the glory of the Great One,^c
 2 Take courage, then;^a
 for formerly^b you ~~were~~ worn out by evils and tribulations,
 but now you will shine^c like the luminaries of heaven;
 you will shine and appear,^d
 and the portals of heaven will be opened for you.
 3 ^aYour cry will be heard,
 and the judgment for which you cry will also appear to you.^b
 For from the rulers inquiry will be made^c concerning^d your tribulation,
 and from all who helped^e them who oppressed you^f and devoured you, (inquiry will
 be made) regarding your evils.^g
 4 Take courage and do not abandon your hope,
 for you will have great joy like the angels of heaven.
 5 And what will you have to do?
 You will not have to hide^a on the day of the great judgment,
 and you will not be found as the sinners,^b
 and the great judgment will be (far) from you for all the generations of eternity.
 6 Fear not, O righteous, when you see the sinners growing strong and prospering,
 and do not be their companions;
 but stay far from all^a their iniquities,
 for you will be companions of the host^b of heaven.^c

B.2 A REFUTATION OF THE SINNERS WHO LIVE

- 7 Do not say, O sinners,^a
 “None of our sins will be searched out and written down.”
 All your sins are being written down day by day.^b
- 8 And now I show you that light and darkness, day and night, observe all your sins.

102:4

- a ^ʾitefrehu ʾantemu nafasa šādeqān, watasaffawu ʾella
 motkemu bašedq (“Fear not, you souls of the righteous,
 and be hopeful, you who have died in righteousness”) [Ⓢ]
 | θαρσεῖτε ψυχὰι τῶν δικαίων τῶν ἀποθανόντων τῶν
 δικαίων καὶ εὐσεβῶν (“Take courage, souls of the righ-
 teous who have died, of the righteous and pious”) ^{ⓈCB}.
 For a detailed discussion, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch
 97–104,” 121–22. The parallelism of [Ⓢ] is superior to
 the redundancy of ^{ⓈCB}. Furthermore, τῶν δικαίων καὶ
 εὐσεβῶν looks like a marginal reading duplicating τῶν
 δικαίων, which is itself a double reading. My transla-
 tion presumes that the original Greek was: μὴ
 φοβεῖσθε ψυχὰι τῶν δικαίων, θαρσεῖτε οἱ ἀποθα-
 νόντες εὐσεβεῖς, which is largely reflected in [Ⓢ] (cf.
 104:2, where the equivalent of ^{ⓈCB} θαρσεῖτε is [Ⓢ] tasaf-
 fawu). ^{ⓈCB} would then indicate a transposition of the
 two verbs, with the subsequent dropping of “fear not,”
 and the subsequent changing of the case of the definite
 article and participle.
- 5a + “into great tribulation and wailing and sorrow and”
 (westa ʿabiḡ mendābē wagaʿār wanaʿek wa) t 6281,β, a
 gloss not supported by ^{ⓈCB} and other [Ⓢ] mss.
- b τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν ^{ⓈCB} | “your flesh”
 (šegākemu) [Ⓢ].
- c κατὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα ὑμῶν ^{ⓈCB} | “your goodness”
 (hīruthemu) [Ⓢ], a normal equivalent in [Ⓢ] of 1 Enoch.
- d Emending ἦτε (“you were,” supported by *konkemu* [Ⓢ]) to
 ἦτε.
- e ἡμέραι ἦσαν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ καταράτων ἐπὶ τῆς
 γῆς ^{ⓈCB} | “(Since on the day on which you were) sin-
 ners and on the day of curse and punishment” ([*ʾallā*
 ʾenka baʿelat ʾenta *konkemu*] *hāteʾān wabaʿelata margam*
wamaqšaft) [Ⓢ]. This text is obviously corrupt and defec-
 tive in comparison with ^{ⓈCB}. The reference to punish-
 ment (*maqšaft*) may translate πληγῇ and have resulted
 from a misreading of ΕΠΙΤΗΓΗ.
- 6a τότε ^{ⓈCB} | om. [Ⓢ].
- b *lāʾlākemu* [Ⓢ]. I posit an omission in ^{ⓈCB} by hmt. ἐροῦσιν
 <ἐφ’ ὑμῖν>. Cf. 103:5.
- c κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ^{ⓈCB} | “as we die” (*kama motna*)
[Ⓢ]. See comm. on vv 6-8.
- 7a καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπεθάνοσαν, ἴδετε οὖν ὡς ἀπο-
 θνήσκουσιν μετὰ λύπης καὶ σκότους (“and they have
 died like us, behold then how they die in grief and

darkness”) ^{ⓈCB} | *nawā kamāna motu baḥazan wabašelmat*
 (“behold, they have died like us in grief and darkness”)
[Ⓢ]. The first line of ^{ⓈCB} has no counterpart in [Ⓢ], and it
 duplicates the first half of the second line of ^{ⓈCB} with
 the exception of ὁμοίως ὑμῖν, which is the only part of
[Ⓢ] not represented in the second line of ^{ⓈCB}. Thus it is
 either a double reading for the first part of the second
 line or a misplaced version of part of v 8c, which is
 missing in ^{ⓈCB}. See v 8 n. b; and Nickelsburg, “Enoch
 97–104,” 123.

- b ^ʾemennēna [Ⓢ] gg¹m,β | om. qtuT⁹ ^{ⓈCB} due to the similar-
 ity with the next words (*ʾemyeʾezē*, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν).
- 8a Henceforth ---- light] ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀ<να>στήτωσαν
 καὶ σωθήτωσαν καὶ ὁψονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα <τὸ φῶς> |
[Ⓢ]: “Henceforth we are equal, and how will they arise
 (‘what will they receive’ mt,β) and what will they see
 forever?” (*ʾemyeʾezē taʿarayna wamenta yetnaššeʾu*
 [*yenaššeʾu* mt,β] *wamenta yereʾeyu laʿālam*). ἀνα-
 στήτωσαν corroborates *yenaššeʾu* rather than *yenašeʾu*.
 Thus *wamenta* (= καὶ τί) is probably corrupt. [Ⓢ]
taʿarayna probably reflects ἀνισώθημεν, a misplaced
 corruption of σωθήτωσαν. The second *wamenta* was
 added to make sense of the text. I supply “the light” by
 analogy with v 8d.
- b These two lines are missing in ^{ⓈCB}; however, they are
 logically related to the previous lines; see comm. on
 102:6-8. They appear to have dropped from ^{ⓈCB} due to
 the similarity between 8a and 8d.
- 9a Therefore ---- days] ^ʾebelakemu ʾantemu *hāteʾān*
ʾakalakemu baliʾ wasatiḡ wahayd wahātiʾat waʾaʿreqota sabʾ
waʾatreyota newāy wareʾeyota mawāʿel šanāy (“I say to you,
 sinners, you are content to eat and drink and steal and
 sin and strip men naked and acquire possessions and
 see good days”) [Ⓢ] | καλῶς ὑμᾶς φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν
 τοιγαροῦν ἀρπάσαι καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν καὶ [λω]ποδυτεῖν
 καὶ ἐγκτᾶσθαι καὶ <ἰδεῖν> <ἡμέρας> ἀγαθὰς
 (“[they will see] you eating and drinking well, therefore,
 [and] plundering and sinning and robbing and acquir-
 ing [possessions] and seeing good days”) ^{ⓈCB}. I take the
 first three words of [Ⓢ] to be secondary and read
ʾakalakemu (“you are content” = ἔκονον ὑμῖν) as a mis-
 reading of καλὸν ὑμῖν. Since the sinners are speaking, I
 emend ὑμᾶς to ἡμᾶς (“us”), following Zuntz, “Notes,”
 201. The particle τοιγαροῦν, which has no counterpart
 in [Ⓢ], may be secondary, or it belongs at the beginning

- of the clause as in the translation. For further details and a discussion of the emendations of Bonner and Zuntz, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 124; and Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:238–39. For formal considerations that support the translation, see comm. on 102:4–104:8.
- 10a ἴδετε οὖν οἱ δικαιοῦντες [ἐαυτ]οὺς ^{CB} | (*wa g'*) *re'ikew-womu* ([*wa T⁹,p²*] *re'ikemewwomu[nu]* mqt, most of β) *lašadeqān* (“[and] see [you have seen] the righteous”) ^E.
- b δικαιοσύνη ^{CB} | *gef^c* (= ἀδικαιοσύνη? “unrighteousness”) ^E, a dittograph of the previous letter.
- 103:1
- a These lines are almost entirely lost in the lacuna in ^{CB}. The readings of ^E vary considerably. I follow the reading of mqtT⁹: *basebhatu* (*basebhat T⁹*) *la(om. m)* ‘*abiy waba(om. ba q)* *kebur mangeštu waba‘ebayu* (*waba‘ebay m* | *waba‘ebiy T⁹*) | “by the glory of the Great One (‘by his great glory’ g’ and honored One and the mighty One in kingship” (*basebhatu la‘abiy* [‘*abiy g’*] *walakebur wa‘ezuzā mangešt*) gg’ | “by his great glory and his honor and his splendid kingship” (*ba‘abiy sebhatu wakebru wabakebur mangeštu*) β.
- 2a γραφήν <τήν> ἀναγκαίαν ^{CB} | “the holy writing” (*seh̄fata qeddusāta*) gqT⁹ | “the writing of the holy ones” (*seh̄fata qeddusān*) g’m 6281,β-x. These texts presume: τήν γραφήν τήν ἀγίαν or τήν γραφήν τῶν ἁγίων.
- b ἔγνων ^{CB}, supported by 81:1-2 (see comm. on 103:1-2) | “and I have found” (*warakabku* = εὑρον) ^E.
- c “concerning them” ^E.
- 3a + “all” ^E.
- b ταῖς ψυχαῖς ^{CB} | *lamanfasātīhomu* ^E. For this correspondence, cf. also 98:7; 102:11. In 99:7 and 103:4 it corresponds to πνεῦμα in ^{CB}.
- c And much good ---- come to life (v 4)] om. ^{CB} by hmt. ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀποθανόντων.
- 4a *manfaskemu* (“your spirits”) ^E. By analogy with the expression in v 3, I presume *ψυχαῖς* in *^E, although *manfasātīhomu* in v 4c has τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν as its counterpart in ^{CB}.
- b *wayetfēššehu wayethāššayu* gg’m,β (+ *lebbomu* [“their hearts”] m) | καὶ χα[ρή]σσονται ^{CB}.
- 5a καὶ ὑμεῖς (“and you”) ^{CB}, which I read as a corruption of οὐαὶ ὑμεῖς, following ^E *alē lakemu*. For οὐαὶ with the nominative, cf. 99:14, 15. Confirming the emendation is the similar framing of 102:4–103:4 with a double “Fear not.”
- b in ---- sins] om. ^{CB}. It could be a gloss; cf. 102:6, where the parallel phrase is short, as it is here in ^{CB}.
- c *wayebelū dibēkemu ʿella kamākemu* | ἐροῦσιν ἐφ’ ὑμῖν <οἱ ὅμοιοι ὑμῖν> ^{CB}, emended after ^E, assuming omission by hmt. Some such subject is required. Cf. a similar omission in 102:6.
- 6a And now ---- seen] ^{CB} omits by hmt.
- b on them] *lomu* ^E | om. ^{CB}.
- 7a *taʿammerewwomu* (with *varr.*) ^E | αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς γινώσκετε (“you yourselves know”) ^{CB}. ^E mss. attest either the second pl. impf. or the second pl. impv. They neither attest αὐτοὶ nor give any explicit evidence of the presence of ὑμεῖς in *^E. We can be sure only of the ambiguous second pl. The indicative is out of place. ^{CB} is expansionistic. For the impv. see comm. on 103:7-8.
- b καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔσονται ἐν ἀνάγκῃ μεγάλῃ ^{CB} | “and they will be wretched, their distress, great” (*waʿekuyāta yekawwenā mendābēhomu ʿabiya*) ^E. *waʿekuyāta* probably reflects a corruption of καὶ ἐκεῖ or κἀκεῖ to καὶ κακοί.
- 8a Om. ^{CB}. ^E could reflect double readings: *haba kwen-nanē ʿabāy tebawwe* / *wakwenmanē ʿabāy tekawwen*.
- 9a ἱtebalewwomu *lašādeqān waḥērān ʿella hallawu westa heywal* (“Do not say of the righteous and good who are in life”) ^E. In the text that follows, verbs and pronominal suffixes occur mainly in the first pl., indicating that for the translator, the sinners, who are speaking, attribute the words that follow to the righteous. I emend ^{CB} as follows: μὴ γὰρ εἴπητε <ὁ <ὁ> δίκ[αι]οι <καὶ οἱ> ὅσ<οι> ὅσ<οι> ὄντες ἐν τῇ ζωῇ. The words restored in brackets occur in ^E (cf. 102:5, where ὁσιότης is translated by *hirut*). In the verses that follow all verbs and pronominal suffixes occur in first pl.
- b Om. ^{CB}.
- c and every ---- found] om. ^{CB} by hmt.
- 10a and our ---- destroyed] om. ^{CB} by hmt.
- b and there was ---- nothing] For a detailed discussion of the variants, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 101–3. I follow the text of t,β: *waʿalbo zaradʿana banagar wabamegbār, seʿna waʿimentani ʿirakabna*. ^{CB} has only κ[αὶ] ἀντιλήμπτωρα οὐκ εὐρήκαμεν, which I emend after ^E, positing an omission by hmt.: ἀντιλήμπ<τωρ> οὐκ <ἦν ἡμῖν ἐν λόγῳ οὐδὲ ἔργῳ, ἡσθενήσαμεν καὶ οὐδὲν οὐχ> εὐρήκαμεν.
- 11a “and we had hoped” 2080, β.
- b and were ---- labor] Restoring and emending ^{CB} to καὶ το[ῦ κόπου] <ἡ>μῶν οὐ κεκυριεύκαμεν, which accords perfectly with ^E *waʿišallaṭna diba šāmāna*. See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 127.
- 12a ἱκυριενουσιν οἱ εχροὶ ἡμανθ† ^{CB}, which I emend to καὶ κυριεύουσιν <ἐφ’ ἡμῖν> οἱ ἔχθροὶ ἡμῶν, following ^E *tašaltu dibēna ʿella yešallewuna*. See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 127.
- b καὶ ἐγ[κεντρί]ζουσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ περικ[λεί]ουσιν ἡμᾶς ^{CB}, restored by Bonner, *Enoch*, 67. ^E texts vary. *waʿella yedagweduna* (“those who goaded us”) t,β, a relative clause read in parallel with the previous “those who hated us” as subject of “ruled over us.” One could read ^{CB} as two dative pl. ptcs. which are dependent on the verb that follows, but this requires that we delete the second mention of “our enemies,” attested in ^E. The

- next line, which contains this reference, is missing in \mathfrak{C}^{CB} due to hmt.
- 13a So ---- refreshed] *kama nenfaš wanaḏ'ref* \mathfrak{C} | ὅπως ἀνα<φύγωμεν καὶ ἀνα>ψύχωμεν \mathfrak{C}^{CB} .
- 14a against ---- us] ἐπὶ καταβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς [καὶ] βιαζομένους ἡμᾶς \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | “against those who devoured us” (*diba ʿella yeballeʿuna*) \mathfrak{C} . For “those who devoured us,” cf. v 15b. For “those who oppressed us,” cf. v 15b. Which is correct here is uncertain.
- b they did not receive] οὐκ ἀπεδέξαντο \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | “they did not see” (*ʿiyetʾʾeyu*) \mathfrak{C} , a corruption of *ʿiyāreʾʾeyu*, the causative form, which can translate ἀπεδείξαντο.
- 15a And they ---- devoured us] καὶ οὐκ ἀντελαμβάνοντο ἡμῶν, οὐχ εὐρόντες κατὰ τῶν βιαζομένων καὶ κατεσθόντων ἡμᾶς \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . “And they (‘you’ gmtT⁹ 2080 6281) helped those who plundered us and devoured us” (*wayeraddeʿewwomu ʾardāʾkemewwomu gmtT⁹ 2080 6281*) *laʿella yahayyeduna wayeballeʿuna*) \mathfrak{C} . An \mathfrak{C} text corresponding to \mathfrak{C}^{CB} would be *waʿiyeraddeʿuna waʿiyerakkebu lāʿla laʿella*, etc. The second and third words would have dropped out due to similarities to the words before and after them, respectively. The omission of the particle ʾi (“not”) in the first verb is common enough, and the suffix would have then been changed to make sense of the text. *ʿella yahayyeduna* may translate ἀρπαζομένων in * \mathfrak{C}^{E} (cf. 102:9), in which case it is uncertain whether that verb or βιαζομένων (\mathfrak{C}^{CB}) is original. Cf. 103:14, where βιάζομαι has no counterpart in \mathfrak{C} .
- b But ----- us] ἀλλὰ στερεοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς <ἀποκτείνοντας ἡμᾶς> \mathfrak{C}^{CB} , emending ἀπέκτειναν | om. \mathfrak{C} by hmt. (ἡμᾶς), with the following verb still dependent on “they helped.”
- c-d Om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} by hmt.
- e nor ----- us] *waʾitazakaru kama ʾanšeʾu ʾedawihomu lāʾlēna* \mathfrak{C} . “and they did not remember concerning their sinners, their sins” (καὶ οὐκ ἀναμνήσκουσιν περὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας) \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . “Their sinners” and “their sins” look like double readings of the same Aramaic. I see no explanation for the divergence of \mathfrak{C} and \mathfrak{C}^{CB} unless the latter is a very loose paraphrase of the former.
- 104:1
- a + “the righteous” (*sādeqān*) t²,β, a gloss.
- b *baʿentiʾakemu* (lit. “concerning you”) \mathfrak{C} | om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} .
- c and ----- One] om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} \mathfrak{C} u,ahkn by hmt.
- 2a Take courage, then] *ῥασεῖτε* δὴ \mathfrak{C}^{CB} *tasaffawu* (“be hopeful”) \mathfrak{C} .
- b (*ba*)*qadāmi* \mathfrak{C} | om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} , likely an omission of πάλαι before ἐπαλαιώθητε. On this and the next note, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 129 and 130 n. 173.
- c but now you will shine] *wayeʾezēni tebarrehu* \mathfrak{C} | om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} by hmt.: θλίψαινε <καὶ νῦν ἀναλάμψετε>.
- d ἀναλάμψετε καὶ φανεῖτε \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | *tebarrehu* (om. T⁹,β) *watetraʾay* \mathfrak{C} . The double verb appears to be original, but it may reflect an early double reading. Cf. Dan 12:3, where for 𐤠𐤏𐤕 LXX reads ἐκλάμψουσιν and θ, φανούσιν.
- 3a For a discussion of the textual problems in vv 3-6 and various conjectures regarding them, see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 130–33.
- b And your cry ---- to you] καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ ὑμῶν ἀκουσθήσεται καὶ ἡ κρίσις ὑμῶν ἣν κράξετε καὶ φανεῖται {ἐφ’ ὅσα συλλαβήσεται} ὑμῖν \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . I take the words in braces as a double reading for ἐκ πάντων ὅστις μετέσχευ (see n. d) in v 3d. It has no counterpart in \mathfrak{C} here. \mathfrak{C} seems otherwise defective here: “and your cry, cry judgment, and it will appear to you” (*wašerāha zīʾakemu, kwennanē šerehu wayāstareʾi lakemu*), while \mathfrak{C}^{CB} indicates excellent parallelism.
- c For ----- made] *ʿesma ʿemenna malāʾekt yethāššaš* | om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} , probably by hmt.: συλλαβήσεται <... ἐκζητήσεται>.
- d + “all” (*kwello*) \mathfrak{C} . The two readings may reflect double readings of the Aramaic, which confused 𐤌𐤕 (“concerning”) and 𐤌𐤕𐤕 (“all”), although \mathfrak{C} may simply be expansionistic. See Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 149–52.
- e καὶ ἐκ πάντων ὅστις μετέσχευ \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | *waʿemkwello* *ʿella ʾardeʿewwomu* \mathfrak{C} , for which v 3b seems to offer a double reading, ἐφ’ ὅσα συλλαβήσεται, in which the verb is closer to \mathfrak{C} than is μετέσχευ here.
- f them who oppressed you] τῶν βιαζομένων ὑμῶν \mathfrak{C}^{CB} , with the pronoun, presumably lost by hmt., restored following the \mathfrak{C} *laʿella yahayyedukemu*.
- g and ---- evils] καὶ κατεσ<θ>όντων ὑμᾶς <διὰ> τὰ κακὰ <ὑμῶν> \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | om. line \mathfrak{C} , probably by hmt. For the parallelism of evils and tribulation(s), cf. v 2b and 103:9bc.
- 5a Take courage (v 4) ---- hide] om. \mathfrak{C}^{CB} , possibly due to the vertical slip from <ὑμῶν> to ὑμᾶς; see Nickelsburg, “Enoch 97–104,” 132–33.
- b and ---- sinners] *waʾitetrakkabu kama ḥāteʾān* \mathfrak{C} | καὶ οὐ μὴ ευηρηται ὡς οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ {σκυλήσεσθε} \mathfrak{C}^{CB} . Following \mathfrak{C} , I emend ευρηται to εὑρεθῆτε, the typical passive usage in judgment contexts (cf. 1 Cor 4:2; 15:15). I take σκυλήσεσθε (“be despoiled”), which has no counterpart in \mathfrak{C} , as a bad translation of 𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤔 (“be taken captive”), which in turn reflects a corruption of 𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤔 (“you will be found”).
- 6a Om. \mathfrak{C} .
- b *ḥarā β* | “good things” (*ḥērān[a]*) gmqT⁹.
- c Om. line \mathfrak{C}^{CB} .
- 7a μὴ γὰρ εἶπητε ὅτι ἀμαρτωλοὶ ... (“Do not say that sinners ...”) \mathfrak{C}^{CB} | *waʿesma* (= καὶ γὰρ) *tebelu ʾantemu ḥāteʾān* (“For also you sinners say”) \mathfrak{C} . With Bonner (*Enoch*, 73), and in parallel to 103:9, I emend \mathfrak{C}^{CB} to μὴ γὰρ εἶπητε <οἱ> ἀμαρτωλοὶ ὅτι.
- b *ʾiteḥšešu* (*ʾiyethāššaš* n) *waʾiyeššahḥaf* (t,β) *kwellu ḥātiʾatena yešhefu hallawu kwello ḥātiʾathemu bakwellu ʿelat* (“you do not search out [‘they are not searched out’ n] all our sins are not written down; they are writing down all

your sins every day”) $\text{E. } \sigma\upsilon \mu\eta \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \zeta\eta\tau\eta\sigma\omega\sigma\iota\nu \alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota \upsilon\mu\omega\nu$ [. . .] $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ (“your sins do not search out [. . .] days”) E^{CB} . The lacuna may be reconstructed and the text emended to $[\acute{\epsilon}\xi] \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu <\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma>$ (cf. 98:8, $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\xi [\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma]$ for *bakwellu* ‘*elat*). In its present form, E^{CB} omits the second clause and attaches the time reference to the first, probably an omission due to the similarity of the two clauses. With Bonner

(*Enoch*, 73), and in keeping with the nom. case of “sins,” I emend the Gk. verb to the pass. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\zeta\eta\tau\eta<\theta>\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu$ (cf. E n and the pass. form of the second verb in many E MSS.). Following the use of direct quotation in the parallel sections in 102:5-8; 103:5-6; 103:9-15, I accept E $\acute{\eta}\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha$ (“our sins”) in the first clause and emend $\upsilon\mu\omega\nu$ (“your”) to $<\acute{\eta}>\mu\omega\nu$.

■ **102:4–104:8** Enoch’s final address evidences a highly symmetrical construction.¹

A.1	Addressed to righteous dead	102:4–103:4
a.	Address: <i>Fear not</i>	102:4-5
b.	Quotes speech of sinners	102:6-11
c.	Author’s answer: <i>I swear to you, I know this mystery</i> , etc.	103:1-4
	(Conclusion: Therefore <i>fear not</i> , 103:4e)	
2	Addressed to dead sinners	103:5-8
a.	Address: <i>Woe to you</i>	103:5ab
b.	Quotes speech of sinners	103:5c-6
c.	Author’s answer: <i>Know!</i> . . .	103:7-8d
	(Conclusion: <i>Woe to you</i> . . . , 103:8d)	
B.1	Addressed to living righteous	103:9–104:6
a.	Address: <i>Do not say</i> . . .	103:9a
b.	Quotes the righteous	103:9b-15
c.	Author’s answer: <i>I swear to you</i> (Exhortations: vv 2, 4, 6)	104:1-6
2	Addressed to living sinners	104:7-8
a.	Address: <i>Do not say</i> . . .	104:7a
b.	Quotes the sinners	104:7bc
c.	Author’s answer: <i>Now I show</i> . . .	104:8

Part A is directed to the righteous and sinful *dead*, respectively. The two subsections begin with a direct address (a) that employs the introductory formula of the exhortation or the woe; they continue by quoting the living sinners’ comments on the deaths of the righteous and the sinners (b); and they conclude with the author’s refutation of these comments (c), in each case introduced by a revelatory formula (“I swear to you, I know this mystery”; “Know!”). Completing each subsection is a repetition of the initial formula of exhortation or woe. Part B is directed to the *living* righteous and sinners, respectively (see comm. on 103:9–104:8). Each subsection begins with a direct prohibitive address, “Do not say” (a), followed by the speech of the persons

addressed, which they are forbidden to make (b). The author then refutes this speech (c), as in Part A, introducing his answer with a revelatory formula (“I swear to you”; “Now I show you”).

The author employs the symmetry of this address to embody the central message of his book as it relates to the social tensions between the righteous and the sinners. In each of the subsections, the speech (b) expresses the status quo: the righteous suffer (at the hands of the sinners); the sinners prosper. In each of these subsections, the author’s answer (c) functions as a refutation of the speech. The principle of these refutations is that divine judgment will adjudicate the present injustice and resolve the tensions between righteous and sinners and between both of these and God. Furthermore, as we shall see below in the comments on the whole of each subsection, the contents of speech and refutation are constructed in detailed polarity to one another, and subsections A.1 and 2 reflect a similar polarity between one another.

The symmetrical structure of this address parallels the bipartite structure of Enoch’s first two addresses (see comm. on 94:6–96:3 and 96:4–98:8). Two parallel parts (A and B), with some common elements between them (see esp. comm. on 103:9–104:6), are divided into subsections that are addressed directly to the righteous and the sinners.

This final address of Enoch constitutes the climax of the Epistle. Previously he announced judgment against the sinners and in behalf of the righteous. Here he takes up objections to that message—viz., that the present situation belies that message—and he refutes these objections, appealing to the revelations he has received.

1 See Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic Message,” 318–22.

Moreover, he refutes the most difficult of objections: that death is an insuperable obstruction to the execution of divine justice.

The structure of this address and some of its terminology are paralleled in Wisdom 2–4, which is also a disputation on divine justice.² The symmetry of the Enochic address and its similarities to other addresses in the Epistle may indicate that the author of Wisdom knew this work in Greek. For other parallels between Wisdom and 1 Enoch, see Introduction §5.1.1.2.

■ **102:4–103:4** The initial segment of the final address (A.1), which is directed rhetorically to the righteous dead, is a greatly expanded version of the typical Enochic exhortation.

102:4–103:4	Exhortation
a. Fear not, souls . . . take courage, you pious . . . And do not grieve . . .	1. Fear not (+ description present troubles)
b. Sinners say . . .	
c. I swear . . . good things, joy, etc.	2. For: light, healing, angelic companions, etc.

In the address (a) three exhortative formulas introduce parallel statements that describe the ultimate injustice: the death of the righteous under unjust circumstances. These statements, together with the cynical and derisive speech of the sinners (b), correspond to the first part of the typical Enochic exhortation. Nonetheless, although the righteous fare miserably “in this life” and die unjustly, unrewarded, and unadjudicated (a-b), there will be a judgment. Their souls will live, and they will receive all that they were deprived of in this life. The author chooses his words carefully in order to make explicit the element of compensation—the balancing of the scale of justice. God’s judgment will overturn, point by point, the inequities suffered by the righteous. The justice they did not receive in their life will be granted to them after their death. Diverging from the typical Enochic exhortation in its length and its use of language found elsewhere in the Epistle, the author affirms the truth of his assertion about the yet unseen future and heavenly realm by an explicit claim to revelation, underscored by an elaborate and solemn oath (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §1.1.4).

■ **102:4-5** The extended exhortation that comprises

102:4–103:4 is here introduced by a strophe that makes its point by means of a complex parallelism and the repetition of key expressions and their antitheses. The text of v 4 is uncertain (see n. a). The form of ⚡^{CB} suggests a single exhortative address, while the form of ⚡, which I have followed, indicates two lines. The exhortative addresses in these lines are set in progressive parallelism. The address in v 5a combines elements of both these lines (reference to the “souls” in v 4a and the death of the righteous in v 4b—both found in the single line of v 4 in ⚡^{CB}) and supplements v 4 by reference to the sorrowful circumstances of the death of the righteous. Within v 5 the grief of the “souls” is related to the circumstances of “the body of your flesh.” Citing “your *life*” and “the days which you *lived*,” v 5bc refers briefly to the cause of the “grief” of the righteous and *pious*, whose *piety* went unrewarded because “the days” that they lived were “days” of sinners and curses “upon the earth” from which they descended “into Sheol.”

For other occurrences of the formula “Fear not,” cf. 95:3; 96:3; 104:6; and 103:4 at the end of this passage. For the formula “Take courage” (θαρσεῖτε), cf. 97:1; 104:2 (and comm.); and <104:4>. For the usage of “Do not grieve” (μὴ λυπεῖσθε) in a similar context, cf. 1 Thess 4:13.

Reference to “the pious” (εὐσεβεῖς)—who are not mentioned in ⚡ here—is unusual in these chapters; however, the repetition of the phrase “the souls of the pious who have died” in 103:3, <4> ⚡^{CB}, and the reference to the long sweet sleep of the pious (εὐσεβεῖς) in 100:5 support the originality of the reading here. It appears also to be supported by the double reference to “the righteous and the pious” (οἱ δίκαιοι <καὶ οἱ> ὅσιοι; δίκαιοις καὶ ὀσίοις) in 103:9 and 104:12 (cf. 25:4), and by the reference to their piety (ὁσιότης) in v 5b. The Aramaic vocable behind εὐσεβεῖς is not altogether certain. Normally εὐσεβεῖς translates צדיק (“righteous”) in the Greek Bible;³ however, the combination of δίκαιοις and ὅσιος in 103:9, 104:12, and 25:4 suggests strongly that the Aramaic word in question was אִשְׁתִּי, the Hebrew equivalent of which is normally translated by ὀσιος in the Greek Bible.⁴ This is further supported by Isa 57:1, where צדיק and אִשְׁתִּי stand in synonymous

² Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 128–29.

³ See Werner Foerster, “εὐσεβής,” *TDNT* 7 (1971) 179.

⁴ See HRCS, 2:1018.

parallelism in a passage that, like the present one, is concerned with the misperception of the death of the righteous and pious. Also noteworthy is Mic 7:2, where חסיד and ישר (קשיט, חסידא, 𐤇) occur in a passage that is parallel to Isa 57:1 and that has other terminological similarities to the present passage (see comm. on vv 6-8).⁵ The word pair “righteous” and “pious” is not redundant. While “righteous” denotes the right life, which conforms to the norm of God’s law, חסיד focuses on the relationship of devotion, loyalty, and faithfulness between the pious person and his or her God.

In Jewish literature חסיד and ὅσιος occur in three sets of psalmic literature. In the canonical Psalter, חסיד refers several times to the assembly gathered to worship YHWH (30:5 [4]; 50:5; 148:14; 149:1), suggesting that the term includes participation in the cult as an important part of piety.⁶ In the three noncanonical psalms in the Qumran Psalms Scroll, the expression is not explicitly tied to worship, but is a major self-designation of the person engaged in the praise of God (11QPs^a 18:12; 19:7-8; 22:3-6). The *Psalms of Solomon* contain the most occurrences of ὅσιος in a Jewish text. The usage is noteworthy for our present consideration because of the even greater frequency of δίκαιος in these *Psalms*. Taken together the two words are the chief self-designations of the pious Jews who authored these texts, and in a few cases they appear in the same context.⁷ On occasion, the term is associated with actions of worship or cultic activity (3:8; 8:34; 10:6; cf. 17:16, “the assemblies of the pious”). Finally, the pious are under God’s protection (15:7) and, appropriately, receive divine “mercy” (ἔλεος = חסד; 2:36; 10:6; 13:12; 16:15; cf. 11QPs^a 19:7-9).

While the author of the Epistle does not associate חסיד with references or allusions to participation in divine worship, his combination of “righteous” and “pious” draws on terminology traditionally employed to describe Jews who stand in a right relationship with God and receive the reciprocal blessing of divine חסד. This

last point is asserted in 92:4, 100:5, and the present context.

Like the other exhortations that refer to the present troubles of the righteous (cf. 96:3; 104:2, 6), the description in the present strophe is vague. As throughout this address, the focus is on the evident lack of divine justice in the world. The righteous and pious have not received the due reward of their piety. In keeping with the biblical view, such recompense was expected in this life, as is emphasized repeatedly in 103:6b, d; 103:9; and 102:10 (“until they died”). “The body of your flesh” (τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν) denotes one’s physical, corporeal existence (cf. Col 2:11) subject to suffering (1QpHab 8:17–9:2) and death (Col 1:22). Here it is contrasted with the “soul,” which descends to Sheol (see below). Verse 5c suggests that fleshy bodies of the righteous and pious somehow suffered at the hands of the sinners. Perhaps one should think of such passages as 99:15; 100:7; 103:15. The idea recurs in 22:12: “when they were murdered *in the days of the sinners*.” To die under such circumstances—whether because one is murdered or because one dies while suffering other kinds of bodily affliction and deprivation at the hands of the sinners—is to “die in grief.” The idiom that denotes this death (κατέβησαν αἱ ψυχαὶ ὑμῶν εἰς ᾗδου μετὰ λυπῆς; cf. κατέβησαν αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν μετ’ ὀδύνης εἰς ᾗδου, 102:11) is stereotyped and occurs also in Gen 42:38; 44:29, 31 (cf. Gen 37:35); and Tob 3:10 with reference to the anticipated deaths of Jacob and Raguel while grieving over the deaths of their children.

That the author speaks of those who have died under such circumstances as “the pious” and not simply “the righteous” appears to be of some significance in view of those passages in our literature that stress how God rewards and protects the pious and especially preserves them from death. In view of these passages, the sorrow-filled death of the pious is a contradiction in terms, albeit a situation that is not unknown. In the present context it exacerbates the problem of theodicy, as the

5 For the word pair in Greek, see Josephus *Ant.* 8.9 §245; 8.12.2 §295; 9.3.1 §35.

6 See Helmer Ringgren, “חסיד,” *TDOT* 5 (1986) 77–78.

7 See *Ps. Sol.* 3:8, a psalm that contrasts “the righteous” and the sinner; 9:6; 13:10, 12; cf. vv 5–9, 11; 15:6–7; 16: superscription and v 15.

sinner ironically point out (v 6b). For this author the unexpected grief of the pious must find its resolution in the joy of resurrection (103:3-4).

This author's anthropology and his related views of death and afterlife use biblical terminology and conceptions, but also differ from them.⁸ The "soul" (almost certainly נפש) is the seat or principle of life and of the emotions (here, grief). At the same time, it is not simply a surrogate for the self as a living being (98:7 may be an exception). Whereas Ps 16:10 uses נפש ("my soul") as a parallel formulation for חסידך ("your pious one"), v 5 (cf. v 11) here designates it as that part of the pious one that descends into Sheol, in contrast to his fleshly body, which endured suffering. More important, it is the "souls" of the pious that will be rewarded (103:3, 4) and the "souls" of the sinners that will be punished (103:7, 8; cf. 98:10). Nowhere do these chapters indicate that their authors anticipated a resurrection of the body and hence that they construed the human being as a totality of body and soul—responsible for one's deeds and subject to the rewards and punishments meted out for them. It is the soul that is responsible (96:4 notwithstanding) and that receives reward and punishment. As in the Bible, Sheol is the underworld to which the dead descend (contrast chap. 22).⁹ Here the souls of the righteous remain until "they come to life" (103:4) and receive the blessings of heaven and are taken into the company of the angels (104:2, 4, 6). At that time Sheol will become the place of punishment for the souls of the sinners (103:7-8).

■ **6-11** Here the author quotes in extenso the sinners' observations about the death of the pious. There is no divine justice in this life and no recompense after death. Therefore one should enjoy oneself here and now (v 9), even if this means taking advantage of others. The speech exacerbates the problem raised in vv 4-5 by underscoring the evident lack of divine justice and by adding to the tribulations of the pious the triumphant mockery of their oppressors. The speech as a whole

reflects the pattern of thought expressed in Ecclesiastes (see comm. below)¹⁰ and is part of a broader argument that is paralleled in Wisdom 2-4 (see comm. on 102:4-104:8). But the opinions voiced here by the sinners move beyond the skepticism of "the Preacher" by asserting the lack of justice as a principle and espousing lawless oppression as its logical consequence. Whether the author is representing an actual voiced opinion or whether he is putting in the mouths of his opponents the philosophy of life that he sees evidenced in their deeds is a matter of debate (see comm. on v 9).

■ **6-8** The introductory words "When you die" (ὅταν ἀποθάνητε) express the central orientation of the speech, link it with the previous verses, and parallel the same introduction of the sinners' second speech in 103:5 (ὅταν ἀποθάνητε ἐροῦσιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν . . . , "When you die, they say about you . . .").

The differing wording in \mathfrak{B}^{CB} and \mathfrak{C} of vv 6-8 indicates some textual corruption, but also some scribal revision, from which even \mathfrak{B}^{CB} appears not to be free. The translation as printed attempts to reconstruct the possible shape of the original.

The text as reconstructed divides into four parallel but progressive units. According to the first distich (v 6bc), the time of one's death is fixed without any consideration of the righteousness or wickedness of one's life. Deeds of piety cannot gain time or change the firm decree of fate (compare κατὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην with οὐκ ἀπηντήθη . . . κατὰ τὴν ὁσιότητα ὑμῶν in v 5b). That the date of one's death is fixed is asserted already by Homer, for example, *Od.* 10.175, "not yet shall we go down to the house of Hades before the date of fate comes upon us," LCL (οὐ γάρ πω καταδυσόμεθ' . . . εἰς Αἶδα δόμους πρὶν μόρσιμον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθῃ). Related to this idea is the image of the three fates (μοῖραι) who spin out the thread of a person's life, which ends when the thread has run out.¹¹ For the Stoics the expression κατ' εἰμαρμένην ("according to fate") was a cliché, although in preserved works it is not applied specifically

8 See Pierre Grelot, "L'eschatologie des Esséniens et le livre d'Hénoch," *RevQ* 1 (1958-59) 118-20.

9 On Sheol see above, 99:11-100:6 n. 2.

10 See the discussion of Ecclesiastes in Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:118-27.

11 See S. Eitrem, "Moirai," *PW* 15.2 (1932) 2481-82.

to the time of one's death. Most striking are the parallels in Ecclesiastes.¹² For this author everything has its time, including death (3:2; 9:11-12). Moreover, several times he deals with the issue of "gain" or "advantage" (יתרון, מותר, ט), sometimes in the form of a question: "What does a man gain by all his toil?" מה יתרון לאדם בכל-עמלו (1:3); "What gain has the worker from his toil?" מה יתרון מה העושה באשר הוא עמל (3:9, after reference to the "time" of death in 3:2); cf. 2:11; 2:22. Similarly, he speaks of death as a "fate" (מקרה, ארע, ט) common to all men and to men and beasts (2:14; 3:19-20; 9:2-3). While he does not deny divine justice (11:9), he reminds his readers that such justice is not always evident (7:15; 8:14).

The second distich (v 7ab) parallels the first, but with some significant differences. The first line describes the death of the pious in the language of v 5a, repeating μετὰ λύπης ("with grief") and alluding to Sheol by reference to its darkness (cf. Job 10:21; and see below, 103:8). The phraseology of this line will recur in v 10a. The second line explicates v 6b: the deeds of the pious have given them no advantage over the sinners. This is an overstatement, as is evident from a comparison of v 7a with 103:6a, c.

In the third distich (v 8ab), the sinners ironically appeal to the pious to find salvation by arising from the darkness of Sheol into the light of life; and in the final distich (v 8cd), the sinners reassert the fact of the death of the pious (cf. vv 6b, 7a) and deny the possibility of such a resurrection. For similar terminology in the form of a denial, cf. Ps 49:20 (19), "You will go to the generation of his fathers, who will nevermore see the light" (תבוא עד-דור אבותיו עד-נצח לא ירא-אור). The sinners' denial of salvation through resurrection is consonant with their emphasis on "this life" as the locus of blessedness (cf. 102:5; 103:6). A mockery of the pious's belief in a resurrection may be implied. There is a striking similarity between the vocabulary of vv 7-8 and 10 and that of Mic 7:7-9. The latter passage is preceded by an observation about how the "pious" and "upright" (ישר, חסיד) (ישר, חסיד)

have perished (cf. Isa 57:1 and see comm. on 102:4-5). The prophet, however, will wait for the God of his "salvation" (ישע). Although his enemy rejoices over him (cf. 102:6-11), when he falls, he will "rise" (קום), and when he sits in "darkness" (חושך), God will be his "light" (אור). God will vindicate the prophet and bring him forth to the light, that he may behold God's "deliverance" (צדקה; cf. 102:10). His enemies will be punished (7:10, 16-17; cf. 103:7-8).

The text preserved in 7 is characterized by a tendency to liken the deaths of the pious and the sinners (see nn. 6c-8a). Although this tendency appears to be secondary, it is expressed in language that, like the rest of the text, closely parallels Ecclesiastes. Thus v 6b ("As we die, the righteous die," *kama motna motu šādeqān*) recalls Eccl 3:19 ("As one dies, the other dies," כמות זה מות זה), and v 7c ("Henceforth we are equal," *emye'ezeē ta'arayna*) parallels passages in Ecclesiastes that speak of the one fate of all (2:14; 3:20; 6:6; 9:3).¹³ A similar tendency is found also in v 7a 7^{CB} (see n. 7a), which clearly conflicts with the antithetical parallelism in 103:6.

■ 9 The counsel to eat, drink, and be merry in view of the certainty of death is a topos in ancient literature.¹⁴ See, for example, Isa 22:13; Euripides *Alcestis* 782-802; Horace *Odes* 1.9.13-16; 1.11.8; Petronius *Satyricon* 34; the Egyptian *Song of the Harper* (ANET, 467); 1 Cor 15:32. While the currency of the motif suggests caution against tying the present passage to one particular text, it is noteworthy that the sentiment recurs several times in Ecclesiastes as a response to that author's observations noted above in the comm. on 102:6-8. See Eccl 2:24; 3:13, 22; 5:17 (18); 6:3; 8:15; 9:7. See especially 5:17 (18): "Behold, what I have seen to be good and to be fitting is to eat and drink and to see good" (הנה אשר ראיתי אני טוב אשר יפה לאכול ושחור ולראות טובה Ἰδοὺ ὃ ἐεἶδον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν ὃ ἐστιν καλὸν, τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ πιεῖν καὶ τοῦ ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὸν σὺν-νῆν). Where the present passage differs from all the aforementioned is in its counsel to "plunder and sin and steal." These intentions, together

12 See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:118-24.

13 See also the passage cited in *ibid.*, 123.

14 See Winston, *Wisdom*, 118, who cites the passages that follow, as well as others. Cf. also the fragmentary Greek inscription found at the tomb of Jason in Jerusalem; see Pierre Benoit, "L'Inscription

grecque du tombeau de Jason," *IEJ* 17 (1967) 112-13.

with the desire to get wealth, are consonant with the portrait of the oppressive sinners painted throughout these chapters (96:5; 94:7-8; 97:8-10; 103:5, 11). It is altogether possible that the author's polemic leads him here to put into the mouths of those whom he considers to be "sinners" the expressed intention to commit sin. That is, he construes their eating, drinking, getting wealth, and seeing good days as plundering, sinning, and stealing, and he interprets the desire to do the one as the expressed intention to do the other. Thus their acts are intentional sins and therefore the more culpable. This same intention to sin through oppression is linked with the counsel to eat, drink, and be merry and is placed on the lips of the ungodly in Wis 2:6-12 (see above, comm. on 102:4–104:8). A similar interpretation of the aphorism appears to stand behind Luke 12:19-20, which may reflect the present document.¹⁵

■ **10-11** The author now returns to the subject matter of vv 4-8, employing phraseology from that passage and the kind of complex parallelism and repetition that characterized vv 4-5. Verses 10-11 are a pair of related distichs. The first contrasts the claims of the righteous with their fate, and the second elaborates on this fate, drawing on the imagery of vv 5-7.

Verse 10 is introduced with language that closely parallels the introduction of v 7: ἴδετε οὖν οἱ δικαιοῦντες [ἐαυτ]οὺς, ὅποια ἐγένετο αὐτῶν ἢ καταστροφή . . . ; cf. v. 7, ἴδετε οὖν ὡς ἀποθνήσκουσιν. . . . Here the objects of the sinners' scorn are those who name themselves "the righteous." They "claim that they are righteous." For the usage cf. Job 32:2 ("He justified himself rather than God"; צדקו נפשו מאלהים; זכאותיה נפשיה מן אלהא ㉔); Luke 10:29; 16:15. Over against these claims to be righteous stands the fact of their ruinous end. The righteousness that they claimed for themselves was not found. The specific meaning of this line is uncertain. Perhaps the author has in mind a trial in which the righteous were not acquitted (cf. Wis 2:17-20). Perhaps in some such circumstances he has in mind an act of divine deliverance that would have declared him innocent (cf. Mic 7:9). Or, without presuming a specific human juridical setting, he thinks of a divine act of deliverance that would vindicate "the righteous" as being what they

claimed to be.

In the absence of such deliverance and vindication, the righteous have perished. For the sinners, death means the effective annihilation of the person. For all intents and purposes, they are "as those who are not," that is, persons who had not been born. Cf. Job 10:19; Obad 16; Sir 44:9; Wis 2:2. Verse 11b picks up the language of v 5, substituting ὁδύνη for λύπη; cf. Gen 44:29 and 31 for the same fluctuation in vocabulary. The reference to "their souls" (αἱ ψυχὰς αὐτῶν = נפשיהוֹן) descending with pain into Sheol is perhaps an ironic reference back to v 10 and those who consider "themselves" (ἐαυτοὺς = נפשיהוֹן) righteous. It would help to underscore the disparity between the self-understanding or expectations of the righteous and reality as it unfolds, in the view of the sinners. In any case, the final line (v 11b) repeats v 5 and forms an *inclusio* for the section.

■ **103:1-4** Having completed his quotation of the words of the sinners, the author picks up again his direct address to the righteous and the pious. With the claim that he is transmitting divine revelation, he refutes the false views of the sinners and sets forth the grounds for his exhortation in 102:4-5. God is ready to reverse the ill circumstances that the righteous have experienced and to give them the things of which they have been deprived.

■ **1-2** The author attests with an oath that he has learned from the heavenly tablets God's hidden purpose to recompense the righteous. This oath is one of six in the Epistle, all of which affirm as true some fact or event hidden in heaven (98:6; 103:1-4; 104:1), in God's operation of the universe (98:4), or in the eschatological future (98:1; 99:6). Of these oaths, three are simply stated: "I swear to you . . . that . . ." (98:1, 4; 99:6). One employs the name of God: "I swear to you, sinners, by the Great Holy One" (98:6). One implies the name: "I swear to you . . . before the glory of the Great One" (104:1). The present example is the most elaborate and noteworthy. Both the name of God and the divine characteristics or properties by which the author swears stress the greatness and transcendence of the One who is the guarantor of the truth of what is about to be asserted. The effect is strengthened by the chiasmic struc-

¹⁵ Nickelsburg, "Riches," 334-37.

ture of the distich, which heaps all these divine appellatives and attributes into the center of the verse, enclosing them by the double formula, “I swear to you.” The characteristics and properties of God by which the author swears are typical and appropriate to a king (*sebhat*, “glory”; *kebur*, “honor”; *mangešt*, “kingship”; *‘ebay*, “majesty” or “greatness”) and doubtless reflect the Aramaic terms יְקָרָא, הֲדָרָא, מַלְכוּתָא, and רְבוּתָא. These words in turn are typical of contexts that speak of royal status and authority (e.g., Dan 2:37; 4:24, 30 [27, 33]; 7:14, 27). Of importance for the present context, however, are those passages in 1 Enoch where these words occur with reference to the enthroned Deity: 9:3, 4; 14:16, 20; 25:3, 7 (cf. the blessing in 81:1-3 in the context of Enoch’s viewing the heavenly tablets). The author is referring to the *kabôd* of the enthroned God, to his royal throne, and to the majesty that belongs to the enthroned “Great One”; and, more importantly and impressively, he is swearing by them.

The content of the oath is that he knows God’s “mystery” (μυστήριον), which he has read on the heavenly tablets that are placed before the *kabôd* (104:1; 89:70-71; 90:14, 17). In short, this author claims to have read the heavenly tablets and learned the divine purpose, and he affirms the truth of this claim by swearing by the very *kabôd* itself. This audacious claim is best understood not simply as part of a pseudepigraphic fiction, but as having its basis in the author’s experience as he perceived it. The revelatory connotations of the oath formula are underscored by the content of the oath, “that I know this mystery” (the content of which is explicated in vv 3-4). A “mystery” (μυστήριον, מֵסֵתֵר) is a divine secret, often of God’s plan or purpose, revealed to those to whom God chooses to reveal it.¹⁶ Thus the use of a verb of knowing or revealing or telling is almost formulaic (cf., e.g., Dan 2:28-30, 47; 1 Enoch 8:3; 9:6; 10:7; 16:3; 1QpHab 7:5; 1QS 9:18; 1QH 9(1):21; Matt 13:11; Rom 11:25; 1 Cor 2:1; Eph 1:8; Rev 17:7). The present formula occurs also in 1 Enoch 104:10, 12.

The author has learned the divine mystery from the heavenly tablets. The claim to have read these tablets is made also in 93:2, and the narrative describing his reading of them is found in 81:1-2. All these passages employ

the three verbs “saw,” “read,” and “learned” or “understood” in the first person singular (here ἀν[έ]γνων, εἶδ[ον], ἔγνων). Different from 81:1-2 and 93:2, where the heavenly tablets contain the events of human history or the deeds of humanity, here the tablets are said to describe the eschatological blessings of the righteous. The same idea is expressed in 108:7 and 10, and it is akin to the idea that the names of the righteous are inscribed in heavenly books (cf. 104:1, also in the context of an oath). See Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes. The tablets are here described as “the writing of necessity” ([τῇν] γραφήν <τῇν> ἀναγκαίαν; see n. a). The determinism implied by the existence of such tablets is employed here to comfort the righteous with the knowledge that their future blessings have already been assigned to them. The use of ἀναγκαῖος (“necessary”) here stands in contrast to the occurrence of εἰμαρμένη (“fate”) in 102:6. The time of the death of the righteous may be foreordained, but this is counterbalanced by the blessed rewards that are predestined to overcome an early and sorrowful death.

■ 3-4 These verses spell out the content of the mystery that Enoch has read on the heavenly tablets (v 2), the eschatological blessings in store for the righteous. These blessings are, in the first place, divine recompense for “the piety” (102:5) and the deeds (102:6) of the righteous and pious. More importantly, they enact God’s justice, which appeared to be missing “in this life.” In the place of their labors (*takla šāmākemu*; cf. 102:6 with Eccl 1:3; 3:9, cited in comm. on 102:6-8; and 103:9-11), they will receive much good. “Joy” will replace their “grief” (102:5, 7, 11), “honor” will overcome “their reproaches” (103:4 = 102:6-11), and “the souls of the pious *who have died*” will come to life (103:4; cf. 102:4-5).

Verses 3 and 4 parallel one another somewhat. The first distich of each refers to the joy that will come to the souls of the pious who have died. According to v 3ab it is “written down,” as part of the mystery on the tablets; v 4ab simply speaks of it as happening in the future. Verse 3 itself has two partly parallel distichs, the first line of each mentioning “the good” or “much good” that awaits the righteous, that is, the covenantal blessings (cf. comm. on 98:9-10). This good will exceed the good that

16 See Raymond E. Brown, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Mystērion*,” *Bib* 39 (1958)

426-48; 40 (1959) 70-87.

is now experienced by the sinners in their lives (v 3d; cf. v 6a). The reference to the “lot” (*keft*) of the righteous may allude to the reference to *ἐίμαρμένη* in 102:6, and in any case the assertion of v 3d contrasts with passages such as Eccl 3:22; 5:17 (18); 9:9 and the evident allusion to them in Wis 2:9. The determinism of v 2 is again emphasized in v 3, where the fact that the blessings have been written down is parallel to their having been “prepared” (*ἡτοιμάσται*).¹⁷

In v 4 the future blessedness of the pious is stated several times in parallelism, in both positive and negative form and sometimes in clear opposition to statements made earlier in this section. “Soul” (most probably נַפְשׁ; see n. a) and “spirit” (*πνεῦμα*) most likely indicate an anthropological indefiniteness, as in chap. 22, and not distinct parts of the human being. The same word pair occurs in Luke 1:46-47. For this author eschatological blessing and curse will be granted to the soul or spirit and not the body. See also below, vv 7-8. Verse 4a expresses clearly the paradox that is at the heart of this author’s view of retribution, the souls of the pious who have *died* will come to *life*. The detailed refutation of 102:4-11 in this section continues in the next line. These souls that descended with *grief* to Sheol (102:5, 7, 11) will *rejoice* when their revivification brings them up out of Sheol. The negative formulations that follow are also retrospective and refutative. The spirits will not perish, as the sinners said they would in 102:11. Moreover, their memory is alive in the presence of God (cf. 104:1) and will not be forgotten, as is asserted in Eccl 9:5.

The expression “for all the generations of eternity” (here *εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων*) is repeated three times in this discourse, in 103:8 of the sinners’ punishment, and in 104:5 of the righteous and pious’ freedom from judgment. Different from some passages that use the term with reference to the length of events in the eschaton (e.g., 11:2), here and in 103:8 its use suggests eternal states of blessing and curse for individuals. In the present context it contrasts with the sinners’ assertion in 102:8, “Henceforth (and) forever they will not see the light.”

The author completes this section with an *inclusio* that repeats his initial exhortation (102:4a), taking note

of the “reproaches” (*ὀνειδισμοί*) that have constituted the sinners’ speech, but finding ground for his exhortation and refutation in the mystery that he has just disclosed. The wording of the final line is drawn from Isa 51:7, in the midst of a series of strophes that emphasize the eternal salvation and deliverance of God (יְשׁוּעָה, צְדָקָה).

Verses 1-4 as a whole should be compared to chap. 25, where the angel describes the eschatological blessings that await “the righteous” and “pious” and “chosen.” By the throne of God, the Holy One, the Lord of glory, stands the tree, whose fruit will provide “life.” Because of it, the righteous will rejoice and be glad. What Enoch knows to “be prepared” because it is written on tablets before God’s heavenly throne (103:1-3), he has seen on his journey to the earthly throne of God to have been created and prepared (25:7).

■ 5-8 The second segment of the final address (A.2), which is directed rhetorically to the dead sinners, is an expanded version of the typical Enochic woe.

103:5-8	Woe
a. Woe to you, dead sinners, when you die in wealth . . .	1. Woe to you (+ description of their sins)
b. Sinners say . . .	
c. Know that your souls will descend to Sheol, judgment	2. For you will be judged, cursed . . .

In the address (a) and the quoted words of the sinful companions (b), the description of the unjust blessings and prosperity of the sinners corresponds to the state of affairs described in the first half of the typical Enochic woe. As in the other woes, however, the judgment will reverse the situation and recompense the sinners according to their deeds (c).

The content of 103:5-8 also constitutes a foil to 102:4–103:4. “In their life” the sinners receive all that the righteous and pious miss, but after death the sinners must suffer in intensified form the ills that the righteous endured “in their life” and that the sinners said they would experience after death. Thus by using and expanding these two typical Enochic forms, the author summarizes and underscores the message of his book, asserting it against those who would gainsay it on the basis of the phenomenal evidence in this life.

17 See Walter Grundmann, “ἔτοιμος,” *TDNT* 2 (1964) 705-6.

■ 5-6 Verse 5a is formulated in analogy to 102:6a (see comm. on 102:6-8), thus making explicit the parallel between the deaths of the righteous and of the sinners. The expression “the wealth of your sins” (*beʿla ḥātiʾatkemmu*) might be paraphrased “the abundance of your sins.”¹⁸ But the morphological parallel in “the body of your flesh” (102:5) and the reference to “goods and wealth” in v 6 indicate that we should translate the expression “your sinful wealth.” For similar terminology for ill-gotten riches, cf. Prov 10:16 (תְּבוּאָת חָשֶׁךְ, “the gain of wickedness”); Mic 6:10 (אֲצִרֹת רָשָׁע, “treasuries of wickedness”); Luke 16:9 (μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, “the mammon of unrighteousness”); and 1 Enoch 63:10 (*newaya ʿamaḏā*, the exact expression used in Luke 16:9 ☩). Although the formula of introduction to this second speech (“when you die . . .”) is the same as in the first speech, the contents of the speeches are diametrically opposed. Whereas in the first speech, the sinners ironically mocked the life and fate of “the righteous” (102:6-11), here they praise the happy life and glorious death of “the sinners” (103:6c).¹⁹ The exclamation “Blessed” (μακάριος, אֲשֶׁר) is a biblical catchword for the happy state of those who enjoy or will enjoy the fullness of divine blessing.²⁰ The kind of life described in the lines that follow could rightly be called “happy” in the biblical sense. The exclamation is extremely rare in 1 Enoch (cf. 58:2; 81:4; 82:4; 99:10), and thus its usage is noteworthy here. The sinners declare their life “happy,” in the context of a passage that is enclosed by the double usage of the opposite of the formula of beatitude, the woe. Speaking from the vantage point of his apocalyptic knowledge of the judgment, the author exposes the ignorance and folly of the sinners. “All their days that they have seen” reflects the biblical idiom “all the days that they live” (cf., e.g., Deut 4:10; 1 Sam 1:28) but is phrased to indicate the fulfillment of the intention expressed in 102:9.

Verse 6 consists of two closely parallel distichs. The first line of each, grammatically positive, describes how

the sinners *died* in good and glorious circumstances (contrast “in grief” and “in pain” in 102:7, 11). The second lines are grammatically negative and tell the reader, antithetically, the evil things that did *not* happen to the sinners “in their *life*.” For the sinners’ “goods” and “wealth” (gotten unrighteously; cf. v 5b), cf. 97:8-10; 94:7; 100:6, 12; 101:5. Again the obtaining of such wealth fulfills the intention expressed in 102:9. On the splendor that goes with wealth, cf. 98:1-3 and 102:9, “eat and drink.”

Although the two negative clauses can be understood as statements in their own right, the bipartite structure of 102:4–103:8 and the many implicit and explicit comparisons between the righteous and the sinners indicate that in these two clauses the sinners describe how their friends have escaped the ill fate of the righteous. On the specific charge of murder, cf. 99:15; 100:7; 103:15. On affliction see the Epistle *passim*, but especially 103:9-15. Verse 6d may mean that the sinners have suffered no human punishment for their deeds (cf. 103:14-15), or it may be an ironic observation that there has been no divine retribution for their actions. In any case it is a foil to 102:10.

The vocabulary of this section not only reminds us of the sorrowful death of the righteous recounted in A.1, but also anticipates the long description of the afflictions and troubles endured by the righteous in their life in B.1 (103:9-15). More important, vv 7-8 will expose the myopia of the sinners, who blithely assume that judgment can only be executed “in their life.”

■ 7-8 The judgment that the sinners did not experience “in their life” will be executed on them after their death, when the darkness of Sheol, which they had envisioned as the eternal habitat of the righteous, becomes the place of their own everlasting damnation.

As in A.1 (103:1), the author introduces his refutation of the sinners’ speech with an expression that designates what follows as revelation. For imperative forms of the verb “to know” (γινώσκειν) to introduce information

18 See BAGD, s.v. *πλοῦτος*, 2.

19 Cf. the rabbinic parable about the glorious funeral of Bar Maʿyan, *y. Sanh.* 6.23c, 30-41; *Ḥag.* 2.77d, 42-54. For an inscription that refers to the *lament* that a rich man’s friends make over his death, see Nahman Avigad, “Aramaic Inscriptions in the Tomb of Jason,” *IEJ* 17 (1967) 101-11.

20 See comm. on 99:10.

about the future of God's hidden world, cf. 98:8, 10, 12; 100:10; *T. Levi* 4:1; *T. Jud.* 20:1.²¹ A similar revelatory formula will recur at the beginning of the refutation in B.2 (104:8).

Verses 7a-8a and 8bcd are two parallel units. Verse 7a is reminiscent of 102:5a and 11, but the use of the transitive verb here ([κατ]ᾶξουσιν) replaces a natural image for death with the idea of the angels of punishment driving the souls of the sinners to perdition. Here they will experience Sheol not simply as the land of darkness of which they spoke in 102:7, but as the place of punishment (cf. 99:11). It is a snare from which they will not escape (cf. 102:8). Here they will burn in the fire that comes to be associated with eternal damnation (cf. 100:7; Isa 66:24; Jdt 16:17; Matt 13:50; 25:41; Rev 20:10).²² The precise time reference implied in this verse is uncertain. Although the author addresses the dead sinners, who by definition are in Sheol, he speaks of their being cast into Sheol as a future event. Possibly he intends his words for the sinners who are still alive and whose descent to Sheol is still in the future. Perhaps he is using the idiom of a tradition that speaks in the future tense to describe the descent of sinners in general (cf. *Jub.* 7:29; 22:22). More likely, he thinks of a descent that will take place on the day of the great judgment (see Introduction to chaps. 92–105, §2.1). This may mean that those sinners already in Sheol will descend further to the place of punishment. Perhaps most likely, he envisions a resurrection, when the angels will gather together the sinners (100:4) and then hurl them down to Sheol-become-hell.

In the second unit (v 8bcd), Sheol is defined as the great judgment that will last “for all the generations of eternity.” Thus judgment is not simply an act, but the punishment that is its consequence. The eternal darkness that the sinners have anticipated for the righteous (102:8) now becomes their own eternal punishment, which the righteous will escape (104:5) as they enjoy an eternity of blessing (103:4).

Employing the *inclusio* he had used in A.1 (103:4), the author takes up his initial word of address and expands it into a double word of doom that seals the damnation

he has just described. On the formulation, see comm. on 94:6-7. The double expression occurs elsewhere only in 99:13.

■ **103:9—104:6** This segment of Enoch's final address (B.1) is its climax. Oppression and eschatological hope stand in sharp and explicit contrast. Perhaps no other passage in our literature describes the circumstances that give rise to apocalyptic theology with such poignance and eloquence. A pastiche of words and phrases from Deuteronomy 28 expresses the desperation of the oppressed, who see themselves experiencing the curses of the covenant. The author, however, forbids them to espouse this viewpoint. Making reference to his knowledge of the heavenly realm, and affirming it with an oath (104:1), he assures his troubled readers that the judgment for which they long will come to pass, and through it their circumstances will be reversed (104:2-6).

The first half of the text divides into three strophes (103:9b-11a, 11b-13, 14-15) of approximately 8, 10, and 11 lines, depending upon one's understanding of the prosody. The second half comprises an introduction (104:1) and three strophes of diminishing length (vv 2-3, 4-5, 6), which are punctuated by three parallel exhortations.

The unit as a whole corresponds to 102:4–103:4 in its address to the righteous and the pious, its reference to the circumstances of their life, and its sworn affirmation of a heavenly revelation that promises the reversal of these circumstances. It differs from A.1 in that it appears to be addressed to the righteous and pious who are living, rather than simply to their dead companions.

■ **103:9a** The introductory formula, “Do not say” (μη γὰρ εἴπητε), recurs in 104:7, at the beginning of B.2, where it is addressed to the sinners who are living. In both occurrences it prepares for a refutation of the quoted words that follow it, which refutation is introduced with a revelatory formula. The formula “Do not say” is traditional and occurs in the singular (μη εἴπης, אל תאמר) in Sir 5:1, 3, 4, 6; 11:24; 15:11, 12; 16:17;

21 See also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 127.

22 See Friedrich Lang, “πῦρ,” *TDNT* 6 (1968) 936–39, 942–47.

4Q416 2 2:6-7 || 4Q418 8:6; 4Q416 2 3:12; 4Q418 9:13-14; 4Q418 69 || (“How can you say”), where wrong opinions are introduced in order to be refuted.

On the combination “righteous and pious” (οἱ δίκαιοι καὶ οἱ ὅσιοι), see comm. on 102:4-5. It is debatable whether this passage is addressed to the dead or the living. The latter interpretation is proposed by Dillmann and Charles on the basis of Ⲭ (“you righteous and pious who are in life”);²³ however, the formulation would be strange, and the expression “in life” (ἐν τῇ ζωῇ) more likely refers to the circumstances of one’s piety, as it does in 102:5; cf. 103:6. Nonetheless, reference to the living is supported by the parallel in 104:7, which is addressed to the living sinners. The close parallels between the present section and 102:4–103:4, as well as the content of the speech, indicate that this passage is addressed to the decimated remnants of the righteous, whose dead companions have already been addressed in 102:4–103:4.²⁴ Thus in one sense the speech is an expanded version of the kind of prayer referred to in 8:4.

■ **9b-11a** The limits of this strophe are indicated by the parallels between it and vv 11b-13: reference to the labor of the righteous at the beginning (vv 9a and 11b) and to their failure to find safety at the end (vv 10d and 13c). The present strophe employs parallelism and contrasts in order to stress the decimation and impotence of the righteous.

The “days of sinners and curses” in 102:5 are here called “the days of our tribulation.” Thus the “life” of the righteous (cf. also 103:5b-6 for the combination of “days” and “life”) is depicted as the eschatological “time of tribulation” (see comm. on 96:2). The emphatic κόπους ἐκοπιάσαμεν (lit. “we have labored labors”) and the parallel clauses in v 9c stress the intensity and all-encompassing nature of the troubled life of the righteous. On “evils” (ἐκφυῖατα = κακά) as the curses of the covenant, see comm. on 98:9-10. In contrast to “all” their tribulations and their “many” evils, the righteous have

become “few” (ὀλίγοι). The idea, which probably reflects Deut 28:62, is then internalized: their “spirits are small” (ne’sāt manfasna). Behind the Ethiopic stands the Gk. μικρόψυχοι (cf. Isocrates 4:172) or more likely ὀλιγόψυχοι.²⁵ This expression in turn appears to reflect Deut 28:65. The destruction of the righteous is a thrice-repeated motive (ἀνηλώμεθα, v 9d; tahagwalna, v 10a; ἀπολώλαμεν, v 10c). It recalls 8:4. Verse 10ab draws on Deut 28:29 and 31 but elaborates the idea to emphasize the helplessness of the righteous. They have benefit of neither a consoling word nor a helping hand. The bipartite stich in v 10a is reiterated in v 10b, and the negative underscored: “no one/nothing.” The verb συντρίβω (“crush”) may be used of military defeat (cf., e.g., Deut 28:7), but its Hebrew equivalent (שבר, Aram. תבר) also denotes emotional collapse (cf. Pss 69:21 [20]; 147:3, “broken-heart[ed]”).²⁶ In either case it denotes violent and total annihilation, and thus it parallels and underscores the aforementioned verbs of destruction. Verse 10d returns to the emotional state of the righteous (cf. v 9d). In Ⲭ^{CB} the verb ἀπηλπίσμεθα (“we gave up hope”) anticipates ἡλπίσαμεν (“we had hoped”) in v 11a, and this was surely the case in the Aramaic, although it may have contained a verb meaning “despair” rather than a negated form of a verb meaning “to hope.”²⁷ Verse 10d reflects Deut 28:65-67, and in context here “day to day” (ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας) recalls “days” in v 9b and emphasizes the ongoing misery of the righteous. Verse 11a summarizes, punctuates, and interprets the section. Because they were righteous and pious, the author’s audience expected the blessings of the covenant (Deut 28:13; cf. its usage in *Jub.* 1:16). Instead, they have experienced what Deuteronomy 28 describes as the covenantal curses. Thus in a pithy line the author expresses the problem of theodicy. It is a challenge to God’s justice similar to that in chap. 9 (see comm. on 9:1-11).

■ **11b-13** The second strophe depicts the subjugation of the righteous. The emphatic double use of κόπος/

23 Dillmann, *Henoch*, 321; Charles, *Enoch*, 257.

24 Dillmann (*Henoch*, 321) sees the passage as a speech of the “dying and dead” righteous (“sterbenden und toten Gerechten”), which, following Ⲭ, is addressed to their living companions.

25 Dillmann, *ibid.*, 322. Cf. Prov 18:14; Isa 25:4; 35:4; 57:15.

26 See Georg Bertram, “συντρίβω,” *TDNT* 7 (1971) 920–24.

27 The only biblical occurrence of the verb in which we can check its Semitic original is Isa 29:19, where it translates אֲבִיִן (“poor”). Parallel occurrences to the present passage include Sir 22:21; 27:21; 2 Macc 9:18; Jdt 9:11.

κοπιᾶω in v 9b is reiterated here in the verbal combination [ἐκο]πιᾶσθαι ἐργαζόμενοι (lit. “we labored, working”), an expression that Paul uses to describe his working at his trade, albeit in a catalog of the apostle’s tribulations (1 Cor 4:12). Different from v 9a, the present verse clearly alludes to the physical labor of the righteous, drawing on Deut 28:30-31, 33, 38-40, 51, and the repeated threat that those who disobey the covenantal laws will find others (whether enemies or pests) eating the produce of the fields and vineyards that they had tilled. The idea recalls 7:3. But not only are the righteous not the masters (οὐ κεκυριεύκαμεν) of the fruits of their labors, they themselves have become, as it were, food for the sinners (see below v 15 and cf. 7:4). This use of metaphor will be carried through in the following verses.

In vv 11d-12 the author depicts the righteous as slaves of their enemies (cf. 98:4). The image of the yoke, explicit in v 11d and implied in v 12c, reflects Deut 28:48, and v 12d parallels Deut 28:50, which refers, however, to the enemy’s treatment of the Israelites’ children. That the captor had no mercy on the captives was a commonplace. The status of the righteous as slaves is hinted at in 99:13. Following Bonner,²⁸ I translate [ἐγ]κεντρίζουσιν as “goad,” although it does not have this meaning in Wis 16:11, cited by him.²⁹ When this and the next verb (περικ[λεί]ουσιν) are read in context, they form with the image of the yoke a consistent series of polyvalent metaphors. Not only have the righteous been enslaved, they are treated as common work animals, goaded into a pen, yoked, and made to serve their masters. Perhaps the image is a topos (cf. Philo *De Somniis* 2.83-84).

Verse 13 takes up the theme of v 10d, reshaping it to fit the imagery in vv 11d-12. The righteous seek to break loose from their confinement and escape from their masters, but as in strophe 1, their situation is hopeless. The verb ἀναψύχωμεν (lit. “that our spirit might be revived”) corresponds to *ὀλιγόψυχοι in v 9d. The author concludes this strophe by stating that the faint

hearts of the righteous, mentioned in the first strophe, could not be revived.

■ **14-15** This strophe depicts the frustration of the righteous at its low ebb. Having failed to shrug off the yoke of their masters, they appeal to the authorities, who turn a deaf ear to them. The connection between these verses and the first two strophes is clear through the repetition of terminology and the use of synonyms: “Tribulation” (*mendābē*), cf. v 9bc; “those who struck us down and oppressed us” (τοὺς καταβαλλόντας <ἡμᾶς> καὶ βιάζομένους ἡμᾶς), cf. v 10c (συντετριμμένοι, “crushed”); “devoured” (κατεσθόντων), cf. v 11 (κατάβρωμα, “food”); “killed, murdered” (ἀπέκτειναν, πεφονευσμένων), cf. vv 9-10 (“consumed, destroyed”); “made us few” (εἰς ὀλίγους ἤγαγον), cf. v 9d; “yoke” (ᾠκῶν), cf. vv 11-12.

The precise identification of those to whom the righteous make appeal can be disputed. The ^{CB} of v 14a is lost in the mutilated bottom of the papyrus sheet. ^E reads *malāʾekt*, which may translate a word for ruler, such as ἄρχων (cf. 6:3),³⁰ or angel, as it does in 104:1. Supporting the latter interpretation might be the legal terminology in these verses, which is paralleled in 7:6 and 9:3, where the angels are depicted as the advocates of the righteous. Decisive for the former interpretation, however, are the contrast between the actions of the rulers mentioned here and the intercession of the angels in heaven mentioned in 104:1, as well as the occurrence of *malāʾekt* in 104:3, which designates those whose actions come under the scrutiny of the heavenly angels.³¹

Verse 14 employs the legal technical terminology for lodging a complaint in court (*ṣarāḥna* = ἐνετύχομεν = קבלן, “we lodged a complaint”; and ἐντεύξεις, *ṣerāḥ* = קבלת, “complaint”). On this terminology see comm. on 7:6. The ab|a'b' parallelism between the two distichs of this verse indicates the rulers’ flat refusal to listen to the petitions of the righteous. The wording of v 14c suggests an Aramaic wordplay between קבלת, “complaint,” and קבל, “receive.” See Introduction, §3.3.2.2.

28 Bonner, *Enoch*, 67.

29 On the use of κέντρον of an ox goad, see Sir 38:25.

30 See Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 48-49.

31 Dillmann, *Enoch*, 322; Charles, *Enoch*, 258.

Verse 15 divides into two sets of two distichs. The first two distichs are set in antithetical parallelism to one another (lines ab and cd). The second two distichs, which begin with the verb “they did not disclose,” stand in synonymous parallelism to one another.

The rulers’ refusal to help recalls v 10a. Here the verb ἀντελαμβάνοντο may have juridical connotations, although that technical meaning appears not to be documented. Nonetheless, the verb and its Hebrew counterparts (esp. עזר and סעד) appear often in the Bible to denote help given by a strong person (often God) to the weak.³² The verb “find against” (εὐρόντες κατά) denotes the findings of a legal process. The verb εὐρίσκω is often used in a juridical sense, and Job 33:10 presents a close analogy to this usage in a context with heavy juridical overtones: הִנּוּ תְּנִיחוֹת עָלַי מִצָּדָא (“Behold, he finds occasions against me”). Although the verb “oppress” (βιάζομαι, hayda) occurs only here and in 104:3 (cf. also 102:9, hayda = ἀρπάζω), it adequately summarizes the oppressive actions of the sinners, often mentioned in the other chapters of the Epistle, stressing, however, the element of violence. Equally violent is the verb “devour,” which often has a figurative meaning.³³ In 7:3-4 it is used realistically of the giants’ devouring humankind after devouring their crops. The expression ἀλλὰ στερεοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς (“they strengthened them against us”) may mean some positive act of support. For the expression cf. 1 Judg 3:12: יִתְקַיֵּם יְיָ יֵת עֶגְלוֹן מֶלֶכָא דְּמוֹאב עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל (“And YHWH strengthened Eglon, the king of Moab, against Israel”). The author’s description of violence climaxes in the accusation of murder. Cf. also 99:15. The easiest interpretation of the text is that the author refers to violent deaths; however, it cannot be excluded that he is accusing the enemies of the righteous of having caused the death of the righteous in a more indirect way, for example, by cutting off their livelihood, so that they die a premature death, or by overworking them to the point of exhaustion. Favoring the more literal interpretation is the expression “they raised their hands against us” (ʿanšeʿu ʿedawihomu lāʿelēna), presuming that it is original (see n. d). Cf. 2 Macc 7:34, where it describes Antiochus’s execution of the seven brothers.

The double occurrence of the verb “disclose”

(ὑποδείκνυμι) is noteworthy. Disclose to whom? Perhaps together with the use of “make mention” (ἀναμνησκω) it refers to lower-level rulers who had to report their judicial findings to others of higher status. On the use of nouns and verbs denoting remembering in a court setting, see comm. on 99:3.

■ **104:1-6** As a whole, this section promises that in the judgment God will reverse, point by point, the troubled circumstances described in detail in 103:9-15. See comm. below for the details. In this respect it is similar to A.2 (see comm. on 102:4–103:4). The three exhortations around which this section is organized (vv 2, 4, 6) assure the righteous of their coming heavenly bliss, moving climactically from simile to outright statement: “you will *shine like* the luminaries of heaven; you will have great *joy like the angels* of heaven; you will *be companions of the hosts* of heaven.” Although the author uses exhortations elsewhere in the Epistle to admonish and encourage his readers, in this climactic part of the last address they are a specific foil to the discouragement of the righteous, so vividly portrayed in 103:9-15. The passage has a number of significant parallels to Dan 12:1-3, sufficient to indicate a traditional connection between the two passages.³⁴ The precise relationship, however, is difficult to ascertain. It is clear that the present author has used motifs common to Daniel for his own purposes and integrated them into the broader contours of his writing. On these details see below.

■ **1** In this introductory verse the author creates a transition from the previous section to the present one through the repeated use of the verb ἀναμνησκω, first employed negatively and then positively. What the earthly rulers have refused to do, the heavenly courtiers do. They bring the plight of the righteous to the attention of the great King. In its use of an oath formula and in its other terminology, this verse closely parallels and, in a way, summarizes 103:1-4, the refutation section of A.1 in this final Enochic address. In 103:1 Enoch swears by the glory of the Great One, in whose presence he has stood. Here he refers to the angels who stand in God’s presence and to the writings that they place before him. The book to which he refers is probably not just a register of the names of the righteous; the analogy of 103:1-3

32 E.g., 2 Chr 28:23; Pss 18:36 (35); 20:3 (2); 118:13; Sir 29:20; cf. Jdt 9:11.

33 Cf. Pss 14:4; 78:45; Mic 3:3.

34 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 120–22.

suggests that he is alluding to the whole of the heavenly records, which preserve the names of the righteous, their deeds, and their coming recompense. The angels are the scribes of these heavenly books. See Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes. According to Enoch, their obligation is to relay to God the prayers of the righteous, who cry for vindication. They remind God of the righteous and make mention of their plight, through their own intercession and the reminders they place in his presence. See comm. on 9:2-3. The parallelism between 104:1a and b suggests that the angels' mentioning of the righteous includes their function as scribes. This is further suggested by the expression "mention for good" (ἀναμνησκουσιν εἰς ἀγαθόν). This expression is the precise equivalent of the cliché found frequently in later synagogue inscriptions: דכיִר לטב... ד... (May X, who [made a certain gift] be remembered for good").³⁵ God will remember the good deeds of the person in question. The present text appears to know this inscriptional convention, and it asserts that through the record compiled by the angels in heaven, the righteous and their deeds are remembered by God. There may be a second implication in the words "for good," viz., the "good things" that are in store for the righteous as a reward for their deeds (cf. 103:3).³⁶ Of importance for the shape of this author's thought is the assertion that the future blessings of the righteous are already implied and assured by the present activities of the angels and the present existence of the heavenly record.

The combination of angelic scribe and heavenly book is paralleled elsewhere in our literature, not least significantly in Dan 12:1. In the Epistle, however, it is integrated into an oft-mentioned complex that involves explicitly the elements of memory and of intercession (see comm. on 99:3).

■ 2-3 The first exhortation contrasts the present evils and tribulations of the righteous (cf. 103:9) and their future glory. On the basis of this expressed hope, the

author encourages the fainthearted (103:9) to "take courage" (θαρσεῖτε). Whether the verb θαρσεῖτε here translates Aram. ܐܠ ܗܝܬܝܬܠܝܢ ("fear not") and is thus parallel to that expression in v 6 is uncertain.³⁷ In any case the combination of ὀλιγόψυχοι and μὴ φοβεῖσθε in Isa 35:4 is noteworthy and further supports the contention that in form and function the Enochic exhortations are in part beholden to Deutero-Isaianic usage (see comm. on 96:3). Verse 2bc uses both simile and realistic language. The future glory of the righteous will be realized when God opens the heavenly portals to receive them. Verse 2d may have been influenced by the language of Deut 28:12, but the promise that the righteous will be the companions of the heavenly hosts (v 6) indicates that vv 2-3 promise ascent to heaven rather than the heavenly blessings descending to earth. The simile in v 2 closely parallels Dan 12:3. But while Daniel anticipates the exaltation of the teachers who bring others to righteousness, Enoch promises the heavenly exaltation of all the righteous (cf. also *T. Mos.* 10:9).³⁸

In v 3 the author again refers to the circumstances described in 103:9-15: the "cry" of the righteous, appealing for vindication (v 14); the rulers (v 14); tribulations and evils, here in parallelism (cf. v 9); those who "oppressed" and "devoured" the righteous (cf. v 15). Again reversal is the principle. The angels will hear the cry that has gone unheard by the rulers. They will make inquiry from the rulers—who had themselves refused to "disclose" the sins of the oppressors (v 15) and who had helped them, that is, "strengthened" them (v 15). Concerning this inquiry (*yethāšaš*) cf. 104:7 and 100:10, where the same verb is used, in the latter case explicitly in connection with the angels.

■ 4-5 Verse 4 is typical of the form of the Enochic exhortation, here phrased to fit the context. The first line describes the present troubles of the righteous with allusion to their hopeless despair mentioned in 103:10d. The reason for the exhortative formula, "Take courage," is the future joy of the righteous, mentioned in 103:3, 4.

35 See the inscriptions collected in Fitzmyer and Harrington, *Manual*, 254–75.

36 The eschatological cast of the present text is clearly paralleled in the inscription from the Jericho synagogue, *ibid.*, 266–67 (A 34), where mention is also made of the book of life.

37 See above, n. a on 102:4.

38 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 28–31.

In keeping with the language of 104:2 and 6, it is here likened to the joy of “the angels of heaven.” The juxtaposition of the exhortative formula and the reference to hopelessness makes explicit the contrast mentioned above in connection with v 2. Verse 5b alludes to the scenario in 102:3 and 100:4. Different from the sinners, the righteous will not have to hide from God and his angels on the day of judgment. The verb <εὕρεθῆτε> (“found”) is used with its juridical connotations (cf., e.g., *Ps. Sol.* 17:8 [10]; 2 *Pet* 3:10).³⁹ The synonymous parallelism thus indicated in v 5b and c recurs once more in line d. In this and the final line, the fate of the righteous is contrasted with that of the sinners, as described in 103:8, and it is consonant with the fate ascribed to the righteous in 103:4.

■ 5 This shortest of the three parallel strophes is their climax. The righteous will not simply be like the angels—they will be in the company of the angels. The description of the present troubles of the righteous (v 6a) alludes to 103:15: the rulers “strengthen” the sinners. The prosperity of the sinners is mentioned in 96:4-5; 97:7-9; 98:1-2. It contradicts the normal biblical view of retribution, and the occurrence of the verb here (εὐδοουμένους, *yedēlawu*) parallels 94:4, where prosperity is promised to the righteous. This passage is especially noteworthy for its parallelism between the exhortative formula, “Fear not,” and the double use of the verbal imperative in a pair of ethical admonitions. Verse 6bc recalls similar admonitions in 94:2-3 and especially 91:4. Here the rationale for keeping one’s distance from the sinners is the promise of companionship with the heavenly hosts. For this hope cf. *Wis* 5:5 and the Qumran hymns, where this is already experienced in the present circumstances of the community.⁴⁰

■ 7-8 The last segment of Enoch’s final address (B.2) is the shortest of the four. That it is addressed to the sinners who are still living may be indicated by the use of the imperfect (*yeshēfu halawu*, lit., “they are writing down”) and present (ἐποπτεύουσιν, “observe”) tenses of the verbs to indicate the ongoing process of angels and nature witnessing and recording the sins of the sinners. While the passage corresponds to A.2 in that it is addressed to the sinners, it differs from the latter in being addressed to the living rather than the dead and in focusing on the record that will be presented at the judgment rather than on the consequences that will follow the judgment.

These verses summarize motifs found in greater detail in 98:6-8 and 100:10. In context, however, the passage supplements B.1. Although the rulers have failed to “disclose” the misdeeds of the sinners (103:15), Enoch now makes known (ὑποδείκνυμι) that these deeds do not go unobserved. The inquiry into the deeds of the rulers (104:3) will be made on all sinners (v 7, ἵτεῃςῃς). Thus the passage as a whole relates closely to B.1. When sinners deny what is asserted in 104:3c, Enoch warns them that the angelic scribes, who intercede for the righteous (104:1), also write down the evil deeds of the sinners.

The introductory formula in v 8 (καὶ νῦν ὑποδείκνύω) occurs also in *Tob* 4:20 in a testamentary setting, in which Tobit reveals to Tobias hitherto unknown information about wealth that is to come to him. This usage parallels the present passage, both with its testamentary setting (see also comm. on 104:9) and with its appeal to Enoch’s revealed knowledge about the heavenly realm, which is denied by the sinners.

39 Frederick W. Danker, “II Peter 3:10 and Psalm of Solomon 17:10,” *ZNW* 53 (1962) 82–86. For other texts, see BAGD, s.v. §2.

40 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 152–56.

104

104:9

Do not err in your hearts or lie,
or alter the words of truth,
or falsify the words of the Holy One,^a
or give praise to your errors.

10

For it is not to righteousness that all your lies and all your error lead, but to great sin.

And now I know this mystery,
that sinners will alter and copy the words of truth,
and pervert many^a and lie and invent great fabrications,
and write books in their own names.

11

Would that they would write all my words in truth {in their names},^a
and neither remove nor alter these words,^b
but write in truth all that^c I testify to them.^d

12

And again^a I know ■ second mystery,
that to the righteous and pious^b and wise
my books^c will be given for the joy of righteousness and much wisdom.^d

13

Indeed, to them the books will be given,^a
and they will believe in them,
and in them all the righteous will rejoice and be glad,^b
to learn from them all the paths of truth.

105:1

^aIn those days, says the Lord, they will summon and testify against the sons of earth in
their wisdom.

2

Instruct them, for you are their leaders and . . . rewards over all the earth.
For I and my son will join ourselves with them forever in the paths of truth in their life.
And you will have peace.
Rejoice, O children of truth. Amen.

- 9a [το]ῦ ἁγίου ^{CB} | “the great Holy One” (*qeddus ʿabiy*)
gqt | “the holy and great one” (*qeddus waʿabiy*) *al*.
10a that - - - - many] [ὅτι τοὺς λόγους] τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαλ-
λοιούσιν καὶ ἀντι[γρά]φουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ
ἀλλάσσουσιν] τοὺς πολλοὺς ^{CB} | “that the sinners
will alter the words of truth and pervert many and
speak evil words” (*ʿesma nagara retʿ yemayyeṭu*
wayaʿallewu bezuḥān ḥāteʿān wayetnāggaru nagarāta
ʿekuyāta) ^{CB}. This has no counterpart to the second verb
in ^{CB}, unless it be “and speak evil words,” which
would be a fuzzy translation of ^{CB}, which is also mis-
placed in an anticlimactic position.
11a “in their tongues” (*dība lesānātiḥomu*) ^{CB} | “in his names”
(ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτοῦ) ^{CB}. Since “his” has no
antecedent, I emend to αὐτῶν, to agree with ^{CB}. I take
lesānātiḥomu to be corrupt for *ʿasmātiḥomu* (“their
names”).
b “my words” (*nagarāteya*) ^{CB}, probably a dittograph from
the previous line.
c + “formerly” (*qadāmī*) ^{CB}.
d αὐτοῖς ^{CB} | “concerning” (or ‘on account of’) them”
(*baʿentiʿahomu*) ^{CB}.

12a Om. “again” ^{CB}, perhaps by hma.: *kāʿeba kāleʿa*.

b and pious] om. ^{CB} by hmt.

c “the books” (*mašāheftāt*) ^{CB}.

d *walaṭmebab bezuḥ* ^{CB} | om. ^{CB}.

13a *walomu yetwahhab mašāheft* ^{CB} | om. ^{CB}.

b καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσονται ^{CB}, followed by *yethāššayu* in ^{CB}
mT⁹, dehily, corrupted in gg¹tu,β^{ptm} to *wa* (om. q)
yetaššayu (“[and] be recompensed”).

105:1

a This chapter is missing in ^{CB}, evidently due to hmt. A
thin strip of 4QEn^c 5 1 contains (parts of) seven words
from 104:13 and 105:1-2, as well as a little of 106 and
thus indicates that the chapter was part of the Aramaic:
[בְּכֵן כֹּלֶךְ] [וְהָיוּ חַיִּים] [וְהָיוּ חַיִּים] [וְהָיוּ חַיִּים] [וְהָיוּ חַיִּים]
[“will be glad [. . .] against the sons of ear[th . . .] you will be
[. . .] all [. . .]” Milik (*Enoch*, 207) posits, with some
changes in wording and order, that all of chap. 105,
except the sentence about “I and my son,” was present
in Aramaic.

■ 104:9–105:2 The conclusion of the Epistle focuses on the errors of the author’s opponents—especially as they are expressed in their writings—and on the place of Enoch’s writings in the eschatological scenario. Verse 9 serves as a transition, addressing the sinners with the imperative used in the previous section, while taking up

the subject matter to be dealt with in the following verses. Enoch exhorts the sinners not to do what he knows they will do. His command is based on revelation about the end time.

Verses 10-13 present two revelations about the end time: one about the deceptive writings of the errorists

and the other about Enoch's writings. These latter—the epitome of wisdom that leads to righteousness—will be the property of the community of the righteous. Their transmission and use in that community will parallel their initial transmission described in chaps. 81–82 and 91. Moreover, they will be the instrument by which the community of the righteous instructs and testifies to the rest of the human race.

Important connections between these verses and the Apocalypse of Weeks suggest that this author connects the eschatological scenario in the seventh through the ninth weeks with his own circumstances—the error that he confronts and the way in which the wisdom that he transmits will be effective for salvation in the end time.

■ 104:9 The interpretation of this verse is aided by comparison with 99:2, 10, and two passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

104:9	99:2
a. [μ]ὴ πλανᾶσθε τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν μηδὲ ψεύ[δε]σθε	οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ἐξαλλοιοῦντες τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀληθινούς καὶ διαστρέφοντες τὴν αἰωνίαν διαθήκην
b. μηδὲ ἐξαλλοιώσητε τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἀληθείας	
c. μηδὲ καταψεύδεσθε [τῶν λόγων το]ῦ ἁγίου	
d. καὶ μὴ δότε ἔπαινον ταῖς [πλάναις ὑ]μῶν	
e. οὐ γὰρ εἰς δικαίωμα εἰσάγουσιν πάντα τὰ ψεύδη καὶ πᾶσα [ἡ πλάνη ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμαρτίαν μεγάλην]	καὶ λογιζόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς ἀναμαρτήτους ἐν τῇ γῇ καταποθήσονται
f.	
a. Do not err in your hearts or lie,	
b. or alter the words of truth;	Woe to you who alter the words of truth, and pervert the eternal covenant,
c. or falsify the words of the Holy One;	
d. or give praise to your errors.	
e. For it is not to righteousness that all your lies and all your errors lead, but to great sin.	and consider themselves to be without sin, they will be swallowed up in the earth.
f.	

In lines b, c, and e of the respective verses, two parallel lines speak of the altering and perversion or falsifying of the truth, while line e deals with a false idea about what is or is not sin. In 99:2 “the words of truth” are parallel to “the eternal covenant.” They are the commandments

of the Law, however one construes that precisely (see comm. on 99:2). A comparison with 99:10 reinforces this interpretation.

- b. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες φρονίμων λόγους
- c. καὶ μαθήσονται αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ ὑψίστου
- c.' καὶ πορεύονται ἐν ὁδοῖς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ
- (a) καὶ οὐ μὴ πλανήσουσιν μετὰ τῶν πλανώντων
- f. καὶ σωθήσονται
- b. Blessed will be all who listen to the words of the wise,
- c. and learn to do the commandments of the Most High,
- c.' and walk in the paths of his righteousness,
- (a) and do not err with the erring;
- f. for they will be saved.

Here “the words of the wise” are equated with “the commandments of the Most High.” That is, God’s commandments are the Law as expounded by “the wise.” This passage differs from 99:2 and 104:9 in that it is a beatitude rather than a woe or an admonition not to act wickedly. Consequently, positive concepts and formulations replace negative ones, and vice versa, and line f is a promise of salvation rather than the curse in the corresponding line in 99:2.

Finally, two passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* appear to know the tradition contained in these Enochic verses and interpret “(the words of) truth” as “all the law/the commandments of the Most High.”

T. Gad 3:1	T. Ash. 5:4
a.	οὐκ ἐπλανήθην
b. καὶ νῦν ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τῆς ἀληθείας	ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κυρίου
c. τοῦ ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην καὶ πάντα νόμον ὑψίστου	καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐξεζήτησα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἰσχύν μου πορευόμενος μονοπροσώπως εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν
c.'	
(a) καὶ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ μίσους	
a.	I did not err
b. And now hear the words of truth,	from the truth of the Lord;
c. to do righteousness and all the law of the Most High;	and the commandments of the Most High
c.'	I searched out with all my strength, walking with one face toward the good.
(a) and not to err in the spirit of hate.	

One of two relationships exists between these passages and the above-quoted verses of 1 Enoch. Either the

author of the *Testaments* knew the passages in 1 Enoch or he knew a tradition common to 1 Enoch. In the former instance we have an early interpretation of 1 Enoch's "words of truth" to mean the Torah; in the latter case we have access to the pre-Enochic meaning of the expression. In either event, taken together with 99:2 and 99:10, the passages from the *Testaments* suggest that "the words of truth" and "the words of the Most High" in 104:9 refer to divine Law.

Thus, taking up a theme he has already expounded in his third discourse (98:9–99:2), the author addresses sinners and warns against erring interpretations of God's Law. To recommend this error, moreover, is tantamount to idolatry, a point that is made by the use of cultic language that parallels 99:1.

The use of the adversative in v 9e suggests that the sinners think that their interpretation of the Law will lead to righteous conduct (cf. 99:2, "and consider themselves to be without sin"). For this author it is tantamount to the "great sin" of idolatry (on the term see comm. on 6:3).

■ 10 The combination of ethical exhortation and prediction (one is exhorted to avoid certain sins into which, it is predicted, people will fall) is typical of the testamentary form exemplified in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. On the introductory formula, "And now I know this mystery" (*waye'ezēni 'ana 'ā'amero laze meštir*), see comm. on 103:1-2.

My interpretation of this verse depends on my reconstruction of the lacunae in the papyrus, which in turn depends on decisions about the relationship of this verse to parallel passages in the Epistle.

b. [ὅτι τοὺς λόγους] τῆς ἀληθείας ἐξαλλοιοῦσιν καὶ ἀντι[στρέ]φουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ

c. καὶ ἀλλάσσου[σιν] τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ψεύδονται

d. καὶ πλάσσω[ουσιν] πλάσματα μεγάλα

(b) καὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἀν[αγρ]άφουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν αὐρῶν

The first line is the counterpart of line b in v 9. For the second verb, Bonner reconstructs ἀντι[γρ]άφουσιν and translates it "write against." He considers

ἀντι[στρέ]φουσιν, which he translates "retort and argument," a less likely reconstruction.¹ If we accept the first reconstruction, however, it is also possible to translate the verb ἀντιγράφω as "copy."² This possibility notwithstanding, the analogy of 99:2 (see above) and the occurrence there of the verb διαστρέφω suggest that the reconstruction ἀντι[στρέ]φουσιν may be correct here, with the meaning "invert."³ In that case we have two synonymous expressions for the sinners' tampering with "the words of truth." Line c could continue the same line of thought, viz., "they will change many (words)."⁴ But the analogy of 98:15, with its reference to writing ([b] here) and "lies" (the next verb here), and its use of the expression πολλοὺς ἀποπλανήσουσιν ("they will lead many astray"), suggest that we interpret line c here similarly, "they will pervert many." Line d could be a reference to the literary fabrications of which the author speaks explicitly in the final line of this verse. But the analogy of line d in v 9 suggests a sophisticated wordplay that designates these literary creations as idolatrous. For the use of πλάσσω and πλάσμα of the molding of an idol and of the idol that is molded, see Wis 15:8 and Hab 2:18.

The last line of the verse presents a crux of interpretation. Milik translates, "and they rewrite the (holy) Scriptures under their own names."⁵ This, he claims, is a reference to the historical and apologetic works of such writers as Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus, and others. While the Greek of the text may certainly bear that interpretation, several factors suggest that this was not the meaning of the Aramaic, which we may retrovert: וכתיבִּי יכתובִּן בשמחהוּן. First, there is no need to translate the emphatic כתיבִּי as "the writings,"⁶ nor is there any evidence that the term was widely used in this period of the Scriptures.⁷ Second, there appears to be no special Aramaic word to carry the nuance of the Gk. ἀναγράφειν, meaning "to copy." Where Prov 25:1 uses קָהַל (lit. "to move") with this meaning, 𐤒 reads simply כָּתַב ("write"). Thus the text appears to have spoken

1 Bonner, *Enoch*, 74.

2 See LSJ, s.v. ἀντιγράφειν. Nouns of this root denote copies and rescripts. The verb in the passive means "to be copied." Cf. also Josephus *Ant.* 14.10.10 §219 for the same meaning.

3 Cf. Aristotle *Problemata* 45b 6 and *Poetica* 80b 25, where the passive indicates propositions converted

or changed into their opposites. See LSJ, s.v. IV.3.

4 Milik, *Enoch*, 50.

5 Ibid.

6 On the waning of the determinate character of the emphatic state, see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 221.

7 Cf. *Let. Aris.* 155 for this usage.

about people who wrote writings in their names. This could mean people who attached their own names to their literary compositions. But the idiom can also mean “with their own authority.” In Jer 29:25 the expression is used of Shemaiah, who expressly mentions the name of YHWH, but who, according to Jeremiah, is writing on his authority and that alone.⁸ Thus by an interesting turn of language the present author condemns authors who claim divine authority for writings that originate solely with themselves. This interpretation is consonant with the first part of the verse and with v 9, which condemn the perversion of the divine Law. It also fits with 98:15 and its condemnation of the lying writings of the author’s opponents. The nature of these writings is not certain, but it is possible that the author is condemning the kind of rewriting of the Torah that one finds in such books as *Jubilees* and the Qumran Temple Scroll, where divine sanction is claimed for tendentious interpretations of the Torah. The emphasis would lie not with the fact that these authors claim divine authority, but with the mere human origins of their writings.

The parallels to the Apocalypse of Weeks, which are more evident in the verses that follow, are foreshadowed here. The references to the alteration of divine truth and the perversion of many (ע^{alawa}) calls to mind the seventh week (93:9). In a perverse generation with perverse deeds (ע^{elut}, ע^{elawāt}), the community of the elect righteous will appear, and wisdom will be given to them (see 104:12-13).

■ 11 This verse provides a transition to the subject of Enoch’s books, to be discussed in vv 12-13. As the text stands, Enoch states that he does not mind if people copy his works in their own names, as long as they do not alter or make deletions from them.⁹ This interpretation is problematic, however, in view of my interpretation of “in their names” in the previous verse. It seems best to read “in their names” here as a dittograph of the last phrase in v 10. With this deletion the first and last lines of this verse are almost synonymous. On Enoch’s words as testimony, cf. 91:3. The character of the words of those who follow him as testimony is indicated in 81:6 and 105:1. Enoch expresses the wish, then, that his works will be copied accurately (“in truth”), that is, with-

out deletions and changes. A similar sentiment is expressed in Deut 4:2 and 12:32, and at the end of the Book of Revelation (22:18-19).

Of significance in this passage is the parallelism between God’s “words of truth” which are not to be altered or perverted (v 10), and Enoch’s writings, which are to be copied “in truth” (ἐπ’ ἀληθείας; v 11). According to the verses that follow, the latter will be a testimony that brings righteousness and the joy that belongs to those who are saved.

■ 12-13 Enoch’s wish (v 11) will come to pass; this has been revealed to him. His books, which will be faithfully and accurately copied, will be the property of the community of the righteous and pious and wise. On the formulation “the righteous and pious,” see comm. on 102:4-5. Because he is referring to the wisdom in his books, the author adds here the appellative, “the wise.” On Enoch’s writings as “wisdom,” see the superscription of the Epistle and the comm. on 92:1. The reference to believing (πιστεύουσιν, γα^{ammenu}) is almost unique in the Enochic corpus outside the Parables (see comm. on 43:4). It occurs in 81:7 in a context related to the present one (see below) and in 83:8. The text of 97:1 is less certain. In the Parables it refers to one’s faith (or lack of it) in God. In the present context, faith that the Enochic books are revelation leads to joy. The concept of joy is a catchword in this context (χαρά, v 12; χαρήσονται [yetfēšēhu], ἀγαλλιάσονται, v 13; tafašēhu, 105:2). Here the source of the joy is the belief that Enoch’s books teach the ways of righteousness. It is a striking expression of the connection in Jewish piety between joy and obedience to God. Here this joy has an eschatological quality (cf. also 103:3-4). The term τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας most likely translates Aram. כְּשֵׁם חַדְשֵׁי.¹⁰ While one could translate this “paths of truth,” the emphasis is more likely on כְּשֵׁם as righteous conduct, a nuance caught in the translation ἐν ὁδοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας in 99:10 (on which see below). Thus v 13cd, with its parallelism of “righteous,” “rejoice and be glad,” and “the paths of righteousness” suggests that we should translate εἰς χαρὰν ἀληθείας in v 12c as “for the joy of righteousness.” This underscores the close connection here between joy and piety.

8 Hans Bietenhard, “ὄνομα,” *TDNT* 5 (1967) 259.
9 Bonner, *Enoch*, 75; Milik, *Enoch*, 50.

10 The expression שְׁבִילֵי אֱמֶת (“paths of truth”) occurs in 1QapGen 6:2, but appears to be a Hebraism.

The terminology in this passage indicates a connection with earlier references to wisdom. In vv 12c and 13a this author identifies the “sevenfold wisdom” that “will be given to the elect” in the seventh week (93:10) as the writings of Enoch. Verse 13d rephrases 99:10. The wisdom of Enoch’s books is paralleled to “the words of the wise,” which mediate “the commandments of the Most High,” obedience to which constitutes “walking in the paths of righteousness.” For other parallels between the Enochic corpus and the Mosaic Torah, see comm. on 1:1; 1:3c-9; 91:1-2, 3a-d. This literary technique of climaxing a book by identifying what has hitherto been unidentified is paralleled in the Parables in chap. 71, where the mysterious “son of man” is identified as Enoch himself. Seen from another perspective, the present passage is the climactic complement to 81:5-7; 82:1-3. The books of Enoch, which the patriarch writes and transmits in these narrative sections, are now clearly seen in their eschatological perspective and function as saving wisdom.

■ **105:1-2** These verses conclude the scenario begun in 104:12-13. The introductory adverbial expression (possibly translating Gk. *τότε*, “then”; see n. a on 99:3) connects the action in these verses with what precedes. For the word order, with the quotation broken by “says the Lord,” cf. Isa 22:25. The first sentence of v 1 envisions the extension of mission by the community of the end time. As Enoch summoned his sons and testified to them (91:1-3)—the testimony that stands in his books (104:11)—so the righteous who possess his books in the end time will summon the sons of earth and testify to them through the wisdom they have gotten from these books (cf. 104:12). For an allusion to the Epistle as such testimony to the sons of earth, see 100:6. The second sentence of v 1 addresses the eschatological community

directly, informing them of their obligation. The precise wording of this sentence is uncertain, and the text may be corrupt. (Calling the righteous “rewards” is an odd manner of expression.) Nonetheless, the broad universal scope of the expression “all the earth” is noteworthy.

The first sentence of v 2 makes a further connection with vv 12-13—the “paths of righteousness” that the righteous will learn from Enoch’s books. In the context of chaps. 81 and 91, “I and my son” here could mean Enoch and Methuselah rather than God and the Messiah, as Charles suggested.¹¹ As the righteous testify to the sons of the earth by means of Enoch’s books, transmitted first to Methuselah, the patriarch and his son become associated with those to whom the eschatological community testifies.

“And you will have peace” may be an epistolary conclusion. The double reference to “peace” here and “righteousness” in the next sentence parallels the word pair in the superscription (92:1). The appeal to rejoice is a final thematic connection with 104:13. It is unclear whether “the children of righteousness” are the righteous mentioned in 104:12, or whether the author now appeals to “the sons of earth”—who are anticipated to join the ranks of the righteous—to rejoice along with the righteous.

As in 104:12-13, several phrases connect these two verses with the Apocalypse of Weeks, and specifically 91:14: “the sons of earth,” “all the earth,” “the paths of righteousness.” The conversion of the Gentiles, anticipated in the ninth week, is here attributed to the testimony of the righteous based on the books of Enoch.

Moreover, the triple occurrence of עֲשֵׂה in 6:1-3 suggests a meaning for the expression close to “righteousness” or at least “faithfulness” to God’s law.

11 Charles, *Enoch*, 262–63.

- 1 After **■** time,^a I took a wife for Methuselah my son, and she bore a **son** and called his name Lamech. Righteousness was brought low until that day.
 And when (Lamech) had come of age,^b he took for himself^c a wife, and she conceived from him and bore **■** child.^d 2/ And when the child was born,^a his body **w**[■] whiter than snow and redder than **■** rose,^b his hair **w**[■] all white and like white wool and curly.^c Glorious <was his face>.^d When he opened his eyes, the house shone like the sun.^e 3/ And^a he stood up from the hands of the midwife, and^b he opened his mouth and praised the Lord of eternity.^c
- 4 And Lamech^a was afraid of him, and he fled and **■** to Methuselah his father. 5/ And he said to him, "A strange child has been born to me.^a He is not like men, but (like)^b the sons of the angels of heaven. His form is strange, not like us. His eyes are like the rays of the sun, and glorious is his face. 6/ I think that he is not from me, but from the angels. And I fear him, lest something happen^a in his days **on** the earth. 7/ I beg you, father,^a and beseech you, go to Enoch **our** father and learn the truth from him, for his dwelling is with the angels."
- 8 When Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me at the ends of the earth, where he heard I **w**[■] then.^a And he said to me,^b "My father, hear my voice and come to me."^c
 And I heard his voice and came to him and said, "Behold, here I am, child.^d Why have you come to me, child?"
- 9 He answered^a and said,
 "Because of great distress have I come to you,
 and because of **■** terrible vision have I approached here, father.^b
- 10 And now, my father, hear me,
 for^a **■** child has been born to Lamech^b my son,
 and his form and appearance are not like the form of men.
 And his color^c is whiter than snow and redder than **■** rose,^d
 and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool.
 And his eyes are like the rays of the sun,
 and he opened his eyes and made the whole house bright.^e
- 11 And he stood up from the hands of the midwife,
 and he opened his mouth and praised the Lord of eternity.^a
- 12 And Lamech my **son** **w**[■] afraid
 and he fled to me.
 He does not believe that (the child) is his son,^a
 but that (he is) from the angels of heaven.
 And, behold, I have come to you,
 because from the angels^b you have the exact facts and the truth."^c
- 13 Then^a I, Enoch,^b answered and said,
 "The Lord will **renew** his commandment^c upon the earth,
 just as, child,^d I have seen^e and told you.
 That in the generation of Jared, my father, †they transgressed the word of the Lord/the covenant of heaven†,^f
 and behold, they went on sinning and transgressing the custom.
 With women they **were** mingling,
 and with them they were sinning.
 They married **■** of them,
 and^a they went on begetting (children),^b not like spirits, but fleshly.^c
- 15 And there will be great wrath^a upon^b the earth and a flood,
 and there will be great destruction for a year.
- 16 And this child that **w**[■] born to you will be left upon the earth,^a
 and his three children will be saved with him,
 when all men **on** the earth die.^b
- 17 And he will cleanse^a the earth from the corruption that is on it.^b
 And **■** tell^a Lamech,^b
 'He is your child^c in truth,
 and <this child will be righteous and> blameless;
 <And "Noah"> call his name,^d
 for he will be your remnant,
 from whom you will find rest.'^e

He and his sons will be saved^f from the corruption of the earth^g

and from all sins^h and from all iniquities that are consummatedⁱ upon the earth in his days.^j

19 And after this there will be stronger iniquity than that which was formerly consummated upon the earth.^a (For I know the mysteries <of the Lord> that the holy ones^b have revealed and shown to me,^c and that^d I have read in the tablets of heaven.

107:1 And^a I have seen written^b in them that generation upon generation will do evil in this way, and the evil will be^c until there arise generations^d of righteousness.)

And evil and wickedness will end,^e

and violence will cease^f from the earth;

and good things will come upon the earth to them.^g

2 Now go, child, and tell Lamech your son^a that this child that has been born is his child, truly and without deception.”

3 When Methuselah heard the words of Enoch his father—for (Enoch) revealed them to him secretly—(Methuselah) returned and revealed everything to (Lamech).

And his name was called Noah^a—

he who gladdens the earth from^b destruction.^c

106:1

a There follows in **℣** a lengthy omission (probably stemming from ***℣**^E) from “I took” (ἐλάβον) to “he took” (ἐλαβεν) in **℣**^{CB}. The long text is supported by 4QEn^c 5 1:26-28 (Milik, *Enoch*, 207).

b And ---- age] “When Lamech was three hundred and fifty years old” (*cum esset lamech annorum tricentorum quinquaginta*) **℣**.

c ἐλαβεν αὐτῷ **℣**^{CB} | “Methuselah my son took for his son, Lamech” (*naš’a waldeya mātusalā lawaldu lāmēk*) **℣**, reflecting the necessity of the short text.

d and she ---- child] **℣** | “and she bore him a child” (*καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ παιδίον*) **℣**^{CB}, in which I suspect an omission by hma. (*καὶ . . . καί*) αὐτῷ is supported, however, by **℣** *natus est ei filius*.

2a And ---- born] om. **℣**. The long text could be an expansion.

b ἦν τὸ σῶμα λευκότερον χιόνος καὶ πυρρότερον ρόδου **℣**^{CB} | “and his body was white like snow and red like the flower of a rose” (*wakona šegāhu ša’ādā kama ‘ašhatyā waqayih kama šegē radā*) **℣**.

c his ---- curly] τὸ τρίχωμα πᾶν λευκὸν καὶ ὡς ἔρια λευκά καὶ οὐλον **℣**^{CB} | “and the hair of his head, white like wool, and his locks” (*wašagwera re’su kama damr ša’ādā wademdemāhu*) **℣**. Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:244) brackets the last word as a gloss on “and the hair of his head.” See, however, Black, *Enoch*, 320.

d ἔνδοξον **℣**^{CB}. I would expect a reference to his face; see below, v 5 | “Beautiful were his eyes” (*šanāy ‘a’yentihu*) **℣**, which I take to be dittographic of the next line.

e the ---- sun] ἐλαμψεν ἡ οἰκία ὥσεὶ ἥλιος **℣**^{CB} | “and he made the whole house bright like the sun, and the whole house shone exceedingly” (*‘abreha kwello bēta kama dahāy wafadfāda barha kwellu bēi*) **℣**. I take the second clause to be a double reading.

3a + “when” (*soba*) **℣**.

b Om. all **℣** mss. except g¹.

c καὶ εὐλόγησεν τῷ κυρίῳ **℣**^{CB} | “and he praised the Lord who lives forever and praised (him)” (*et <ad>oravit dominum viventem in secula et laudavit* **℣**; cf. v 11 | “and he spoke to the Lord of righteousness” (*watanāgara la’egzi’a šedq*) **℣**. The verb may be corrupt for *ganaya* (“praise”); see Charles, *Eth. Enoch*, 220 n. 10. I add “of eternity” by analogy with v 11 because the word appears to be presumed by **℣** here as there.

4a + “his father” (*‘abuhu*) **℣**, perhaps a dittograph from the next line.

5a **℣** puts the sentence in the act. voice.

b “he is like” (*yemassel*) **℣**.

6a τι ἔσται **℣**^{CB} | “something marvelous happen” (*yetgab-bar menkr*) **℣**, perhaps a gloss.

7a καὶ παραιτοῦμαι π[άτερ . . .] **℣**^{CB} | “And, now, father, I am entreating you” (*waye’ezēni hallawku ‘abuya ‘āstabaqwe’aka*) **℣**.

8a where ---- then] οὐ [ἤκουσ]εν τότε εἶναί με **℣**^{CB} | “For he heard I was there” (*‘esma sam’a kama heyya hallawku*) **℣**.

b καὶ εἶπεν μοι **℣**^{CB} | “and he cried” (*wašarha*) **℣**.

c My ---- me] om. **℣**. **℣**^{CB} could be an expansion from the next line, but this type of repetition is not usual, and **℣** could reflect an intentional or accidental abbreviation.

d τέκνον **℣**^{CB} | “my child” (*waldeya*) **℣**.

9a + “me” **℣**.

b to you ---- father] ἡβēka, waba’enta rāy ‘eḏub baza qarabku **℣**, which lacks “father” | “here, father” (ὧδε πάτερ) **℣**^{CB}. The distichal structure of the whole section supports **℣**. Perhaps, for “to you,” ***℣**^E had “here” in the first line also and lost the second line by hmt.

10a my --- for] om. **℣**^{CB} for no evident reason. The long reading of **℣** makes a better transition, but it may be

- secondary, an expansion of “father” that occurs in ^{CB}, but not ^E of previous line.
- b to Lamech] ^E | “Methuselah” ^{CB}.
- c not ---- color] om. ^{CB} by hmt. (αὐτοῦ <... αὐτοῦ>).
- d “the flower of a rose” (*segē radā*) ^E, as in v 2.
- e and he ---- bright] om. ^{CB} by hma. (<καὶ ἀνέωξεν... > καὶ ἀνέστη...).
- 11a τὸν κύριον τοῦ αἰῶνος ^{CB} | “the Lord of heaven” (*laʿegziʾa samāy*) ^E | “the Lord who lives forever” (*dominum viventem in saecula*) ^L. Cf. v 3 ^L.
- 12a υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν ^{CB} | “he is from him” (*ʿemennēhu weʿetu*) ^E. Cf. v 6.
- b the angels ---- the angels] *ʿemmalāʾekta samāy, wanahu maṣāʾku ḥabēka kama tāydeʾani* (“from the angels of heaven. And behold I have come to you, so that you may inform me”) ^E. The whole section after “the angels” (ἐξ ἀγγέλων) is missing in ^{CB}, an omission easily explained if we assume that *tāydeʾani* translated ἀπαγγέλων (cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 1076). Favoring the reading of that form as preposition and pl. noun is the presence of a verb in the next line of ^{CB}. When that verb dropped out of *^E (see next note), ἀπαγγέλων would be read as a ptc. as it is in ^E. See also the reference to Enoch’s dwelling with the angels in the parallel in v 7, and see comm. on v 7.
- c τὴν ἀκριβείαν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν ^{CB} | *sedq* (translating the last noun) ^E. With the omission of the first four words the verb was also dropped.
- 13a τότε ^{CB} | “and” (*wa*) ^E.
- b ʾana *hēnok* ^E | om. ^{CB}. But cf. 1QapGen 5:3; 6:6.
- c πρόσταγμα ^{CB} | “new things” (*ḥaddisāta*) ^E.
- d καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τέκνον ^{CB} (cf. 2 Macc 12:8; 3 Macc 4:13; Ep Jer 70 for the expression; and for the Aramaic expression, see Milik, *Enoch*, 211) | “and this already” (*wazanta* [= καὶ τοῦτον] *wadāʾku*) ^E. There are enough similarities among the words for confusion to have arisen in *^E. τέκνον may have been lost by hma. with the next word, τεθέαμαι.
- e + “in a vision” (*batāʾy*) ^E.
- f παρέβησαν τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἀπὸ διαθήκης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (“they transgressed the word of the Lord from the covenant of heaven”) ^{CB} | “they transgressed the word of the Lord from the heights (‘the angels’ n | ‘the covenant’ T⁹) of heaven”; or “some from the heights of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord” (*ʾaḥlafu nagaro laʿegziʾya ʿemmalʾelta* [*malāʾekta* n | *ʿemṣerʾāta* T⁹] *samāy*) ^E. The confusion between ^{CB} and T⁹ and the other ^E mss. could stem from two readings of the Aramaic: ܩܢܬܐ (“covenant”) ܩܬܬܐ (“heights”); see Knibb, *Enoch*, 2:246. Black (*Enoch*, 321) accepts the reading of the majority of ^E and reads: “some of the exalted ones of heaven transgressed the word of the Lord and violated the covenant of heaven.” Alternatively, a second verb has dropped from the text represented by ^{CB}. For another option, see Torrey, “Notes,” 60. A sure resolution seems impossible.
- 14a + “from them” (*ʿemennēhon*) ^E.
- b + “children” *daqīqa*) ^E.
- c not --- fleshly] om. ^E here; see v 16 n. b.
- 15a ὀργή ^{CB} | “destruction” (*ḥagwl*) ^E. See next line, and see v 16 n. b, where an alternate reading supports ^{CB} here.
- b + “all” ^E.
- 16a Lit. “And it shall be that this child that has been born to you, he will be left upon the earth” (*wayekawwen zaweʿetu wald zatawalda lakemu weʿetu yetarref diba medr*) ^E | “And this child that was born will be left” (καὶ τότε τὸ παιδίον τὸ γεννηθὲν καταλειφθήσεται) ^{CB}. The longer appears to be supported by 4QEn^c 5 2:20-21; see the reconstruction by Black, *Enoch*, 322.
- b when ---- die] *soba yemawwetu kwelhu sabʾ zadiba medr* ^E, on which basis I emend ^{CB}: [ἀ]ποθανόντων <πάντων ἀνθρώπων> τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, a simple omission due to similarity of words and hmt.
- At this point ^E adds “he and his children will be saved” (*yedehhen weʿetu wadaqīqu*), a line that could be original, forming antithetical parallelism with the previous line. If the reconstruction of Milik is correct (*Enoch*, 209; 4QEn^c 5 2:21-22), however, the clause was not in the Aramaic.
- Following this line, ^E adds further: “And they bear giants upon the earth, not like spirits, but of flesh; and there will be a great scourge upon the earth” (*wayewal-ledu diba medr ʾella yārbeḥ ʾakko zamanfas ʾallā zašegā; wayekawwen maqšaft ʾabiy diba medr*). This parallels the end of v 14 and the beginning of v 15. There it is chronologically in place; here it is out of place, and it breaks the continuity with the next line, which still refers to Noah. It is, then, a misplaced variant of vv 14-15, with a gloss designating the children as giants, the clause that dropped out of v 14, and a variant of v 15a, which agrees with ^{CB} against ^E (*maqšaft* = ὀργή).
- 17a Emending *πραῦνεῖ* (“he will soothe” or “tame”) to *πλύνει*, following ^E (*tethaddab*, “it will be cleansed”); see Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 624.
- b ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσης ἐν [αὐτ]ῇ φθορᾶς ^{CB} | “from all corruption” (*ʿemkwelhu musnā*) ^E.
- 18a + “your son” ^E.
- b + “the one that has been born” (*zatawalda*) ^E. Milik (*Enoch*, 213, note on lines 22-23) thinks the expression belongs to the next line. See n. d below.
- c τέ[κνο]ν σοῦ ^{CB}, with which ^E g¹ agrees (*waldeka*); other mss. read *wald* (“the child”) and *waldu* (“his child”).
- d καὶ ὅσιον (ωσιων ms.) κά[λεσο]ν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα (“and ‘pious’ call his name”) ^{CB} | “and call his name Noah” (*waṣawwe ʿ semo noḥ*) ^E. Although the text of 4QEn^c 5 2:21-23 (Milik, *Enoch*, 209) is wholly uncertain, and much depends on Milik’s placement of the fragments (see plate XV, frg. g, h, i), it does appear that ^E had a

- longer text than either ^{CB} or ^E. Thus following Milik's suggestion with some modification (his reconstructed lines 22-23 appear to be too long), I presume an omission in ^{CB} due to hmt. and a different omission, probably in ^E, for similar reasons. Thus I emend ^{CB}: καὶ ὅσιον κάλεσον <αὐτὸν καὶ Νωε κάλεσον> αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.
- e ἀφ' οὗ καταπαύσῃτε ^{CB} | om. ^E.
- f *wawe'etu wadaqiqu yedehhenu* ^E, on the basis of which I emend an evident omission by hma. in ^{CB}: καὶ <σωθή-
σονται αὐτὸς καὶ> [ὕιο] ἰ αὐτοῦ. The verb is necessary, and the reading may be supported by 4QEn^c 5 2:24: נִפְלַט הָיוּ (Milik, *Enoch*, 209).
- g ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τῆς γῆς ^{CB} | “from the corruption which is coming upon the earth” (*’emmusenā ’enta temasse’ diba medr*) ^E.
- h In view of the other abstract nouns in the sequence (cf. also 107:1), ^E *hāṭi’at* (“sin”) put in pl. is preferable here to ^{CB} ἀμαρτωλῶν (“sinners”).
- i τῶν συντελειῶν ^{CB} and *tefessam* ^E are supported by the same verb in the parallel passage (see comm. on 106:19–107:1) in 91:5-6. How 4QEn^c 5 2:25 fits the text here is uncertain. Milik’s text (*Enoch*, 209) is by no means certain.
- j in his days] *bamawā’elihu* ^E, supported by 4QEn^c 5 2:25 (בְּיוֹמָיו). Four lines of ^{CB} are lost after “upon.”
- 19a which ----- earth] ^E. 4QEn^c 5 2:25-26 had a shorter reading here.
- b “for I know the mysteries of the holy ones, for the Lord himself” (*’esma a’ammer mešīrāta qeddusān ’esma we’etu ’egzi’*) ^E | ידע אנה בריו [מריא דן קדישין] 4QEn^c 5 2:26, reconstructed by Milik (*Enoch*, 209) and followed above. The precise wording is not certain, but it is understandable that a translator or scribe would make the Lord the revealer of mysteries whose revelation was originally attributed to angels. Thus I take ^E to contain a gloss.
- c וְאִחִיוֹי וְאִחִיוֹי 4QEn^c 5 2:26 (Milik, *Enoch*, 209). The reverse order of the two very similar Aramaic verbs is presumed in ^{CB} (ὕπέδειξέν μοι καὶ ἐμήνυσεν) and ^E (*’ar’ayanī wa’ayde’ani*).
- d I reconstruct the relative pronoun with Milik, *Enoch*, 209. It is lacking in ^E, and ^{CB} is damaged here.
- 107:1
- a “And” ^E 4QEn^c | “then” (τότε) ^{CB}.
- b כְּחִיב 4QEn^c 5 2:27 (Milik, *Enoch*, 210) | “the things engraved” (τὰ ἐγγεγραμμ[ένα]) ^{CB}. ^E *ṣehufa* can translate sg. or pl.
- c that --- be] וּבְאֵשׁ בְּכָדָן וּבְאֵשׁ לְהוֹא 4QEn^c 5 2:27 (Milik, *Enoch*, 210) | “that generation upon generation will sin” (*’esma tewledd ’emtewledd te’ēbbes*) ^E | “that generation upon generation [will be] wick[ed], and I saw this” (ὅτι γενεὰ γενεᾶς κακ[ή] ἐστὶν) καὶ εἶδον τόδε) ^{CB}. The second clause of ^A could have dropped out due to its similarity to the first. The long reading of ^{CB} looks expansionistic.
- d דְּרִי 4QEn^c 5 2:28 (Milik, *Enoch*, 210) “generation” ^{CB} ^E.
- e וּבְאֵשׁ חָהָה וּרְשָׁעָה יִסָּף 4QEn^c 5 2:28 (Milik, *Enoch*, 210) | “and evil is destroyed” (καὶ ἡ κακία [ἀπο]λείπεται ^{CB}, followed by ^E (*wa’abbasā tethagwal*), probably an omission in ^{CB} by hma.
- f יִכְלֵא וּמַסָּא 4QEn^c 5 2:28 | “and sin changes” (καὶ ἡ ἀμαρτία ἀλλάξει) ^{CB} | “and sin passes away” (*wahāṭi’at tetgahḥaš*) ^E.
- g upon them] עַל־יהוֹן 4QEn^c 5 2:29 (Milik, *Enoch*, 210) | ἐπ’ αὐτούς ^{CB} | om. ^E, probably by hma.
- 2a And now ----- son] ^{CB} ^E | 4QEn^c 5 2:29 (Milik, *Enoch*, 210) appears to omit “child,” but the reading is uncertain.
- 3a + “for he is” (*’esma we’etu*) ^E.
- b + “all” ^E.
- c + a subscription: ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΕΝΩΧ (“The Epistle of Enoch”) ^{CB}.

Introduction

The story of Noah’s birth was appended to the Enochic corpus to provide a conclusion that described the initiation of the events that would lead to judgment and the salvation that lay beyond it. Its narrative line is simple. The glorious appearance of the newborn Noah leads his father Lamech to suspect that the child is not his own but has been fathered by an angel. Fearful of the implications, Lamech sends Methuselah his father to Enoch to ascertain the truth from the angels with whom he is now living. Enoch reminds Methuselah of what he has already told him. Angels were indeed mating with mortal women, in defiance of God’s command, and God was

planning a judgment that meant wholesale destruction for the earth. But as for this child, appearances are deceiving. His glory does not reveal an angelic conception, but portends his role as the remnant that will survive the flood and renew the earth, and he is to be given a name that signifies his function. The story that began with apprehension and the fear that something terrible would happen to the earth ends with the promise of good things for the earth.

As is typical of the Enochic material, the sin, judgment, and renewal at the time of Noah will be replicated at the eschaton, when God will judge a thoroughly

perverse and sinful world, deliver the righteous few, and usher in an era of perfect and full righteousness and blessing. Thus the Noah story not only concludes the narrative of events in Enoch's fictive world, but also points beyond the anticipated eschatological judgment, with its massive destruction, to the joy of final salvation in an incorruptible world.

Viewed in this way, the story had an important function for the reader of the Enochic corpus. The reader's experience in the real world and in the narrative world of the corpus was marked by perceived evil of all sorts and by apprehension about the impending wrath of God and its consequences. The reader could empathize with poor Lamech. A catchword in this text is "earth," which appears ten times. The earth was marked by corruption, sin, violence, and iniquity. What would happen on the earth (106:6) was God's unmitigated wrath and the annihilation of humanity. But beyond that, evil and wickedness would end and violence would cease, and good things and joy would arise on the earth. Thus, in this final section, the reader was led through the whole gamut of Enochic eschatological thought and was left in the last line with the encouragement and comfort of good things to come. This concluding emphasis closely approximated the final note that had been struck by chap. 105, when it in turn had brought the corpus to a conclusion.

Literary Genre

Many features in this story are typical of biblical commissioning narratives, especially of the subgenre that recounts the birth and naming of an important person in Israelite history. The typical elements of the commissioning genre are listed in the comm. on 14:8–16:4. Birth and naming stories participate in this genre in the sense that the child is set apart for a task or function already at the time of conception or birth, and the name given is symbolic of this fact.

In the present story the most obvious elements of this subgenre are the birth of the child and the command by Enoch, who plays the role of an angelic interpreter, that Methuselah explain the significance of the child and

name him accordingly. Like many commissioning stories, it ends as the commission is carried out. Also connected with the genre is the epiphanic description of the newborn child (cf. Dan 10:2-5; Rev 1:12-16), which epiphany Methuselah refers to as "a terrible vision" (106:9). As the story unfolds, it becomes a parody of a commissioning vision. Lamech reacts in terror to what he perceives to be the incarnation of a forbidden angelic conception, but he learns that the child's unearthly beauty is actually symbolic of his divinely sanctioned salvific function—and perhaps of the righteousness that, already in Gen 6:9, qualified him for that function. Thus the glory that creates terror reflects the reality that is cause for naming the child as the bringer of salvation, rest, and joy.

This story and its parallel in the Genesis Apocryphon have inevitably been compared to the infancy narratives about Jesus in Matthew and Luke.¹ Although the stories in Matthew 1-2 and Luke 1-2 have obvious points of contact with the accounts of the conception and birth of Samson and Samuel, both leaders of Israel born of barren women,² in two respects the Noah story indicates important parallels to its NT counterparts. Noteworthy, especially in 1QapGen 2, is the similarity between Lamech's suspicion of his wife and Joseph's concern about Mary's mysterious pregnancy in Matthew 1. In addition, in both sets of stories the supernatural conception of the child is at issue. In the Noah stories a forbidden supernatural conception is denied; in Matthew and Luke a conception by the Holy Spirit is affirmed. Whether in the earlier forms of the Noah story (see below, § Relationship to Parallel Stories) the glorious appearance of the newborn child did reveal a special, divinely instigated conception is a point of speculation that can be neither proven or disproven on present evidence. Strikingly, the canonical accounts about Jesus' birth are completely lacking in the kind of legendary details about the child's appearance that are present in the Noah story. The epiphanic motif will appear, however, in the later Christian *Prot. Jas.* 19:2. The Noah story

1 Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 79.

2 Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden

City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), esp. 156-57, 268-69.

has a counterpart also in the account of the miraculous birth of Melchizedek, which appears in 2 Enoch 69–73 at a place roughly analogous to 1 Enoch 106–107.³ The confrontation between Nir and his wife, described in 71:6–8, is more closely paralleled in 1QapGen 2 than in 1 Enoch 106.

Relationship to Parallel Stories

1 Enoch 106–107 is one of four Enochic texts that closely resemble one another, as will be readily evident in the summary that follows.

Here, when “righteousness has been brought low” (106:1), Lamech sees in the newborn infant “a terrible vision” (v 9), which is interpreted when Methuselah goes to the ends of the earth and inquires of Lamech’s grandfather, Enoch. The angels have transgressed; there will be a flood bringing universal destruction, but Noah will be a remnant.

The closest parallel to these chapters occurs 1QapGen 2–5, unfortunately in a badly deteriorated ms.⁴ Lamech recounts the story of Noah’s birth in the first person singular. As col. 2 begins, the child is already born. Lines 1–18, which have no counterpart here, describe a stormy and passionate confrontation between Lamech and his wife, Bitenosh, who denies that she has had intercourse with an angel. In 2:19–26 Lamech runs to Methuselah, who goes to Enoch to seek an explanation. Tiny fragments of the conversation follow. It must have been extensive, because the part corresponding to 1 Enoch 106–107 concludes at 5:25, when Methuselah returns and reports Enoch’s answer to Lamech.

In 1 Enoch 83–84 Enoch has “a terrible vision” (83:2, 7) in which the earth is swallowed up and the hills and trees sink down (v 4). When he cries out and laments,

his grandfather Mahalalel asks why and then interprets the vision: the earth will sink into the abyss and all humanity will be wiped out, but a remnant will remain (vv 7–10). In his prayer Enoch acknowledges the sin of the angels, but asks for posterity (chap. 84).

Chapters 65–67 are a Noachic section in the Book of Parables. In chap. 65 Noah sees the earth sinking and goes to the ends of the earth and cries out to his great-grandfather Enoch and weeps. Enoch asks why and, upon hearing, explains about the angels’ sin and promises the survival of Noah’s seed. Chapter 67 repeats the theme in an elaboration of Gen 6:13–18 that asserts that the ark was built by angels.

The similarity between 1 Enoch 106–107 and the Genesis Apocryphon is the most obvious, since both relate a common incident—Noah’s birth. The relationship between the two versions is uncertain. According to Milik, 1QapGen 1–15 is a lengthy summary of an extensive Aramaic Book of Noah from the fourth to third century B.C.E. (perhaps also attested in a Hebrew version in 1Q19), and 1 Enoch 106–107 is a brief summary reference to the work.⁵ This conclusion is problematic for several reasons.⁶ (1) The Apocryphon devotes more space to Enoch and his activity than does 1 Enoch 106–107, which suggests an Enochic rather than a Noachic source for the Apocryphon’s version. (2) Some of these elements are typical of 1 Enoch. (3) A Superscription identifying “The Book of the Words of Noah” follows the story of Lamech and precedes the story of Noah’s life and activities. (4) Some of the peculiar features of the Apocryphon’s version reflect tendencies elsewhere in the Apocryphon. (5) The chronology in

3 See the translation of 2 Enoch by Francis Andersen in *OTP* 1:196–212. On the story, see Beverly A. Bow, “Melchizedek’s Birth Narrative in 2 Enoch 68–73,” in Argall, Bow, and Werline, *Later Generation*, 33–41.

4 For a detailed comparison of the two stories and a discussion of the possible relationship between these two stories and the tendencies in the Apocryphon’s version, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Patriarchs Who Worry about Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon,” in Michael E. Stone and Esther Chazon, eds., *Biblical*

Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls (STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 137–58. Another Qumran text, 4Q534, has been cited as possibly a fragment of an account of Noah’s birth, but the parallels to these stories are sparse. For a discussion see F. García Martínez, “4QMess ar and the Book of Noah,” in idem, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden, Brill, 1992) 1–44.

5 Milik, *Enoch*, 55–56.

6 The following summarizes Nickelsburg, “Patriarchs.”

1QapGen 12 appears to be dependent on *Jubilees*, which is to be dated at the earliest in the first quarter of the second century B.C.E.—much later than Milik’s suggested date for the earlier Book of Noah.⁷ These considerations suggest that while 1QapGen 6–11 may know Noachic traditions not preserved in 1 Enoch, the Apocryphon’s story of the birth of Noah is an expanded version of the account in 1 Enoch 106–107 rather than a more complete witness to the Noachic source of 1 Enoch 106–107.

The interrelationships among the other three stories appear to be quite complex. Each pair has common elements not found in the third:

	65–67	83–84	106–107
Noah story	x		x
Enoch, interpreter, at the ends of earth	x		x
Earth sinks	x	x	
Earth without inhabitants	x	x	
Noah’s seed	x	x	
Noah’s remnant		x	x
Terrible vision		x	x

In addition, each story appears to reflect primitive elements. In chaps. 65–67 and 106–107 Noah and Methuselah seek an interpretation from Enoch, while in chap. 83 Enoch, normally a transmitter of tradition, receives an interpretation about the flood from the otherwise unimportant Mahalalel. In chaps. 83–84, Enoch has a vision in which he sees the earth sinking, but in chap. 65, less tenably, Noah sees the earth actually sinking before the waters are let loose (chap. 66). In 84:5 Enoch’s anxiety about a remnant seems more appropriate to Lamech or Noah (see comm. on 84:5–6), but it is not expressed in chaps. 106–107, although it appears to be presumed in the promise in 106:18. The evident wordplay on Lamech in 106:1 parallels the idea of the earth’s sinking in the other stories and may presume a story with such an element (see comm. on 106:1a). This complex set of data makes it difficult, if not impossible, to draw firm conclusions about the precise nature of the interrelationships among these stories.

Common elements in all the stories are, however, the centrality of Enoch, the emphasis on angelic sin, and the flood as judgment. While these factors and details relate all of the stories to chaps. 6–16, in one respect they all

agree in an emphasis that is not present in those chapters. The angelic sin and its punishment notwithstanding, the major concern in chaps. 65–67, 83–84, and 106–107 is with the flood as judgment for human sin. All flesh is not so much a victim of angelic transgression as it is responsible for sins that may have been instigated by the angelic revolt.

Source and Date

Milik is probably correct that this text uses older Noachic tradition. Rather than being a summary that refers to one older work, however, it appears to be an ad hoc composition that makes use of a number of older traditions—including some from the Enochic corpus itself—for the literary purposes described above. In its present form, then, it must be dated after the incorporation of the Epistle into the corpus in the first half of the second century B.C.E. (see Introduction §3.1.3) and before the copying of 4QEn^c in the last third of the first century B.C.E.

■ **106:1a** The introductory words in this verse suggest a casualness about the passing of time that does not accord well with the urgency suggested in 81:6, where the angels give Enoch one year to instruct his children before he is removed from their presence. Perhaps the author or editor responsible for the placement of chaps. 106–107 did not have clearly in mind the time span indicated in chap. 81.

Enoch’s taking of a wife for Methuselah is an odd touch. In the early chapters of Genesis, wives play almost no role until the story of Abram (the situation is altogether different in *Jubilees*), and the “taking” of wives is mentioned only in Gen 6:2. Only in chap. 24 does Genesis mention a father (Abraham) taking a wife for his son (Isaac). In *Jub.* 4:27, different from here, Methuselah takes a wife for himself after Enoch has left the scene.

Like the authors of 1 Enoch 6:6 and 13:7–9, this storyteller finds significance in names. “Lamech” (לִמְךָ) symbolizes the fact that until the time of Noah’s father, righteousness had been brought low (ἐσταπεινώθη = בִּרְךָ)

7 On the dependence of 1QapGen on *Jubilees*, see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 16–17. For the date of

Jubilees see Nickelsburg, “Bible Rewritten,” 101–3.

upon the earth.⁸ The notion is in accord with the J account in Genesis 3–6, which depicts the progressive disintegration of humanity that culminates in God’s judgment in the flood. For the Enochic corpus in general, although the sin in the garden is mentioned (32:5–6) and murderers are the descendants of Cain (22:7), the significant beginning or source of substantive evil is located in connection with the descent of the angels “in the days [generation] of Jared,” Enoch’s father (1 Enoch 6:6; 106:13). Against this prevailing viewpoint, the viewpoint in 93:3 is expressed in words close to the present text: “until my time righteousness endured.” The Aramaic verb was evidently קָם (lit. “stood” or “arose”) (4QEn^s 1 3:24, Milik, *Enoch*, 264), an antonym to מָוָךְ. Thus two very different views of the beginnings of iniquity (see comm. on 93:1–3a) are expressed in strikingly similar phraseology. The use of the verb מָוָךְ here is especially noteworthy, because two parallel stories use the verb “to sink” with reference to the earth’s being submerged at the time of the flood (65:1; 83:7; see above, § Relationship to Parallel Stories), and the Aramaic verb appears to have been at home in cosmological contexts (see the Targumim on Judg 5:4, of heaven; Hab 3:6, of the mountains; and Ps 139:8, of the psalmist sinking into Sheol). ■ **1b–7** With righteousness at its low point, it is time for the birth of Noah, which will signal the approach of destructive judgment for the mass of humanity and salvation for a remnant. Lamech’s marriage and the conception and birth of Noah are recounted in formulaic language (cf. 7:1–2), including explicit reference to the fact that the child’s father is Lamech. Thus the reader is unprepared for the description of the wunderkind that follows in vv 2–3.

Like Enoch’s account of the heavenly palace in chap. 14, this description depends heavily on similes to depict the unique by reference to the known. Specifically, the author portrays the newborn infant by means of comparisons that strongly suggest that he is of supernatural origin. The appearance of his body is described para-

doxically. The initial similes are traditional and convey a sense of both purity and beauty, but the coexistence of snow white and rose red boggles the mind. Does one think of a body that changes its appearance,⁹ or is the idea like Enoch’s description of the heavenly temple—where in God’s realm the mutually exclusive elements of ice and fire can coexist (see comm. on 14:9)? The description continues to astonish. Not only does the newborn babe have hair as thick as wool, but the similarity to Dan 7:9 suggests a divine being, and one who looks like an old man (cf. Rev 2:14, where woolly hair is an attribute not of the eternal God but of the risen Christ). Noah’s hair is matched by the splendor of the child’s countenance and by his eyes, which blaze like sunlight (cf. Dan 10:6 and Rev 2:14, where the eyes of the angel and of Christ are likened to mere torches and flames).¹⁰ The child’s precocious actions complement his supernatural glory. Though newborn, he is able to stand upright and praise God. On standing as the posture for prayer, see comm. on 12:3. On “the Lord of eternity” or “the King of eternity” in doxological contexts, cf. 12:3 (see comm.); 22:14; 25:7; 27:3; 81:1, 3. In summary, the narrator portrays a newborn child whose glorious appearance and first actions are appropriate to a “full-grown” heavenly being. Little wonder that Methuselah later describes this as a “vision” (v 9).

It is uncertain precisely what investment this author had in this description of the baby Noah. Of primary importance is the narrative function of the description, which is variously recounted three times. For the characters in the story, Noah’s appearance is *prima facie* evidence of supernatural conception. His father was apparently an angel, at a time when angels were fathering children from human mothers. But, as the reader knows from the beginning, and Lamech and Methuselah will discover, the appearance is deceiving.

Otto Betz cites a number of parallels of what he terms “geistliche Schönheit” (beauty of the Spirit).¹¹ But the descriptions are of various sorts. Sarah’s beauty,

8 On other occurrences of this etymology, see Milik, *Enoch*, 215.

9 Cf. *Ap. John* 2:1–9, also with reference to the infant’s hair, which suggests an old man.

10 For this detail in the Noah story, see also 1Q19 frg. 3, 5 DJD 1:85. John Strugnell (private communication, June 2000) suggests that the “house” that

shines (v 2) may refer to the child’s forehead. For בית עיני (“house of the eyes”) as the Aram. expression for “forehead,” see Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1:96. But cf. “whole house,” in v 10, hardly an appropriate allusion to the forehead of a child.

11 Betz, “Geistliche Schönheit: Von Qumran zu Michael Hahn,” in Otto Michel and Ulrich Mann,

praised in 1QapGen 20:2-8, is a novelistic device traditional also in the *wasf*, a genre of love poetry.¹² In *Joseph and Aseneth* 5-6, Joseph's sunlike appearance reveals him, in the land of the sun god, to be truly a son of the living God; the language is angelic.¹³ Later, Aseneth will be transfigured as a sign of the immortality she has obtained (chaps. 18-19), and even Jacob appears like an angel (chap. 22). The transfiguration stories in the Gospels reveal Jesus' status as Son of God par excellence, but probably derive from resurrection traditions.¹⁴ As such they are related to other NT texts that describe or allude to the eschatological glory of the body of the risen and exalted Christ.¹⁵

These texts are of some help in interpreting this passage. Noah's appearance probably has a revelatory function; it is indicative of the righteousness and perfection that will qualify him to be the patriarch of a new race and, perhaps, the one who will cleanse the polluted world (see comm. on vv 16-18). In the narrative logic of the story, Noah's glorious appearance catalyzes the events that enable Enoch to make this known.

Lamech's reaction is natural. Epiphanies always cause fear,¹⁶ and given the particular circumstances here, the father flees for help, or better, for an explanation. In order to provide continuity and avoid repetition, the author has Lamech state his conclusion (albeit three times) rather than narrate in detail the evidence on which he bases the conclusion. "The child is of a 'different' order (*ἀλλοιότερος*); he is not like us humans, but like the offspring of an angel. Therefore he cannot have been conceived by me (*ἐκ ἐμοῦ*; contrast *ʿemnehu*, v 1b), but by an angel." This interpretation is explicit in 1QapGen 2:1: Lamech fears that the child was sired by one of the watchers and was one of the *Nepilin* (2:1).¹⁷ Lamech's secondary conclusion here is more correct

than the first. The birth of the marvelous child is a sign of things to come, and to judge from his double use of the verb "to fear" (*φοβέομαι*, *ἐνλαβέομαι*, vv 4, 6), he anticipates the worst.

Lamech's appeal to his father, though psychologically understandable, is also related to Methuselah's function as the primary link in the transmission of the Enochic tradition. Previously, Methuselah had received from his father the records of his visions and heavenly journeys (81:5-82:3; 76:14; 79:1; 83:1; 85:1-2; 91:1-3). Now that the time of revelation has passed, a new, prodigious event requires a revealed explanation. The interpretation is expected to be transmitted like other interpretations in 1 Enoch: Enoch will seek from the angels the explanation of a vision (v 9) and will pass it on to Methuselah (see also v 12).

■ 8-12 In this new episode, Methuselah carries out his son's request that he seek out Enoch at his present dwelling with the angels, at the ends of the earth. The chronology of this event is problematic.¹⁸ According to the chronology in the MT and LXX of Gen 5:21-29, Enoch had already been "taken" by God before Noah's birth. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch and *Jub.* 5:20-28, Noah was born 180 years before the final taking of Enoch, during his three hundred years with the angels. Which view is reflected here? Enoch's presence with the angels comports well with most of what is said of the patriarch throughout the corpus (see chaps. 12-36 + chaps. 81-82). Nonetheless, the latter passage, with its mandate for one-year's instruction, and the indication in 106:1 that Methuselah married during that one-year period, require that in the present context this

eds., *Die Liebhaftigkeit des Wortes: Theologische und seelsorgische Studien und Beiträge als Festgabe für Adolf Köberle zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Hamburg: Im Furche, 1958) 76-79.

12 Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 119-20, citing M. Goshen-Gottstein.

13 See Nickelsburg, "Stories," 67, esp. n. 180.

14 Mark 9:2-8; Matt 17:1-8; Luke 9:28-36.

15 1 Cor 15:49; Phil 3:21; 2 Cor 4:6; cf. Acts 9:1-9. The motif is related to Jewish texts that promise the transformation of the righteous into the likeness of angels (see comm. on 104:2).

16 On this element in commissioning stories in particular, see comm. on 14:8-16:4.

17 See the translation by Beyer, *Texte*, 167.

18 See Devorah Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch," VT 33 (1983) 27.

event must be placed after Enoch has been removed to his final location, probably in the paradise of the north-east (see chap. 32; cf. *Jub.* 4:23).¹⁹

The scene that describes Methuselah's approach and his invocation of his father recalls the parallel scenes in chaps. 65 and 83 (see above, § Relationship to Parallel Stories). The younger man obtains from the elder an explanation of something he has seen that portends the coming cataclysm. Methuselah describes the topic of discussion as a matter of "great distress" (ἀνάγκη μεγάλη), a more or less technical term for eschatological distress (see comm. on 100:7), and as a "terrible vision" (*rāʿey ʿedub*, quite possibly = ὄρασις σκλήροϛ). The Ethiopic term parallels *rāʿey senuʿ*, which occurs at 83:2, 7, as a description of Enoch's first dream vision. In either case, the Aramaic word—whether ܐܬܝܪ or ܕܝܬܝܪ—could denote either "terrible" or "difficult."²⁰ Both the parallelism here and the facility with which Mahalalel interprets the dream in chap. 83 suggest an affective meaning. In chap. 83 Enoch sees a terrifying nightmare and reacts accordingly. Here Methuselah refers to the fearful spectacle that Lamech has seen and to the harsh implications that have struck terror in the hearts of Lamech and Methuselah.

Methuselah's narrative in vv 10-12 adds nothing of substance to what we already know, although the order of the account has changed. The description of the child, taken from vv 2-4 with one interpolation from v 5, is framed by Lamech's conclusions about the child in vv 5-7:

vv 10bc	5
10d-12b	2-4
12c-f	6-7

■ **106:13 – 107:3** The remainder of the story, which recounts Enoch's response to Methuselah's query, divides into two parallel sections that describe two cycles of sin, judgment, and deliverance. The first cycle is set in Noah's time; the second will be consummated in the author's time. The pattern is familiar from 91:5 || 6-9:²¹

Introduction	106:13a-c	—
Sin	13d-14	106:19–107:1a
Punishment	15	—
Salvation	16	—
Righteous generations, end of evil	17, 18g-h	107:1b-e
Tell Lamech, child is his; name, function	18a-f	107:2-3

■ **106:13a-c** Enoch introduces his speech as Methuselah had, with a distich of two short lines. In the first line, where Methuselah had spoken of great distress, Enoch promises that God will "renew." The text is uncertain (n. c). 𐤀 is corrupt; according to 𐤁, God will renew the commandment or law or covenant.²² A reference to Genesis 8–9 seems indicated, or even expected (cf. 93:4). If so, to what does the text refer: the commandment about eating blood (which is of great concern in 1 Enoch 9), the order of the seasons (Gen 8:21-22), or the covenant signed by the rainbow? Along with these last two possibilities, there may be here an allusion to Noah's function as the producer of the "seed" that will renew the population of the earth (10:3; cf. 10:16, and in texts parallel to the present one, 65:12; 67:1-3; 84:6). Such an allusion would be consonant with the point of this story, twice repeated, that Noah is the sign of rescue, remnant, and joy after the destruction (see comm. on 107:3).

Enoch's second introductory line also parallels Methuselah's:

because of a vision,	I have approached, Father (v 9c)
just as I have seen, child,	I have told you (v 13c)

Enoch responds to what Lamech saw by reminding Methuselah what he, Enoch, had previously seen and told (σημαίνειν) Methuselah. Enoch refers to texts earlier in the corpus. Chapters 6–11—Enochic in the context of 1:1—tell of the descent of the watchers "in the days of Jared" (6:6; 106:13). In chaps. 12–16 Enoch recounts the vision in which he learned of the angels' violation of the realms of flesh and spirit (cf. 15:4-7; 106:14). In the broader context of the corpus (see chaps. 81–82), both of these sections belong to Enoch's instruc-

19 So Dimant, *ibid.*

20 See Black, *Enoch*, 320, who opts for "dreadful" and cites Charles's and Knibb's translation, "disturbing."

21 VanderKam, "Studies," 518.

22 For details and possibilities, see the discussion in Black, *Enoch*, 320–21.

tion to Methuselah. This instruction continues in chaps. 83–84, where Enoch recounts to Methuselah the contents of his first dream vision, in chap. 91, whose brief two-part historical survey parallels 106:13–107:2, and in 93:1–10 and 91:11–17, which attribute similar information to a heavenly vision. Against this background, Enoch responds to Methuselah’s request for angelic interpretation by referring to his own angelically interpreted visions, which he has already transmitted to Methuselah.

■ **13d-19** In the first half of his apocalypse, Enoch focuses on events connected with the time of the flood. This section corresponds to 91:5 and 93:4a-d.

■ **13d-15** As in chaps. 6–7, and their elaboration in 12–16, the sin of note is the angels’ intercourse with women. The days of Jared mentioned in 6:6 are here specified as “the generation of Jared my father” (or “days of Jared my father,” if 1QapGen 3:3 is a valid testimony to the present text). The precise wording of v 13dβ is uncertain due to evident textual corruption (see n. f), but the reference is clearly to the rebel watchers. What is not so certain is how to construe the verbs in vv 13–14. I have taken the aorists, translated “transgressed” and “married,” as translations of Aramaic perfects and interpreted the rest of the verbs, which are in the present tense, as translations of Aramaic imperfects, indicating repeated past actions. Alternatively, these verbs could refer to actions still in progress.²³ Verse 14a repeats the idea in v 13d. The watchers have “transgressed the custom” (ἐθνος). Although we cannot be certain what Aramaic word stood here originally, the Greek formulation can be related to the indictment in 15:4–7. God has established appropriate modes of conduct for spirits and for human beings, and the watchers, who are spirits, have acted like human beings and thus transgressed the established custom. (Cf. comm. on 2:1–2; 5:2–4. Nature does not deviate from its prescribed and accustomed ways, but human beings have transgressed God’s commands.) Ironically, although the angels have married

women in order to perpetuate their own kind (6:1; 15:5–7a), the result of their union is not spirits like themselves, but beings of flesh (106:14e). This notion agrees with the earlier texts; the giants have bodies of flesh (15:9), and like human beings they will die (10:9–10; 16:1). The angelic sin must result in divine wrath and punishment. Because the present text deals explicitly with Noah, different from all the earlier texts except the dream visions, this author refers specifically to the flood and its one-year duration (Gen 7:11; 8:14).²⁴

■ **16-18** The event that brought Methuselah to Enoch was the birth of Lamech’s son and the fear that this child’s evident angelic conception was a portent of bad things to come. The author momentarily maintains the suspense. Enoch’s initial response offers little comfort: angels have mingled with women and incurred God’s wrath. The oracle appears to continue in the same vein, moving from the general to a threatening particular: “And as for this child that was born. . . .” But the sentence ends on an unexpected note; the child will survive the disaster. Lamech’s fear is unfounded. What he suspects to be the result of a forbidden angelic conception is actually the harbinger of the good news that lies beyond the bad—God’s triumph over the tragedy that is plaguing the creation. The birth of the child that has caused consternation is a reason to rejoice; the child will be the instrument for salvation and the renewal that Enoch had mentioned in v 13.

The passage has an a-b-a’ structure. Framing the section are two similar passages that describe how Noah and his sons will survive the flood and the evil that it will expunge (vv 16–17, 18g–h). At the center of the passage is a command to announce to Lamech the truth of the matter and to give the child a name that signifies his function (v 18a–f).

Verse 16 identifies Noah and his three sons as the remnant that “will be left” (καταλειφθήσεται) when the mass of humanity dies in the flood, and the contrast, “he . . . and his three children with him | all men . . . ,”

23 Milik (*Enoch*, 209–10) interprets them to refer to the present time. Cf. Black (*Enoch*, 100).

24 The texts of Gen 7:11 and 8:14 vary on the dates for the beginning of the rain and the drying of the earth: 361, year 600, month 2, day 17 to 601, 2, 27; LXX, 600, 2, 27 to 601, 2, 27; *Jub.* 5:23, 31, year 34 of jubilee, month 2, day 17 to 35, 2, 17.

is clear. The passage appears to reflect Gen 7:23: when every living thing is blotted out, “only Noah was left and those who were with him” (וַיִּשְׁאַר נֹחַ וְאִשְׁרָתוֹ, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος Νῶε καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ); in addition, it was probably read in light of prophetic texts about the survival of a remnant.²⁵ Less certain is Milik’s suggestion that the verb in v 16a involves a play on the name of the child, because the same Greek stem (κατάλειμμα, “remnant”) occurs in the explanation of the name in v 18e.²⁶ Milik argues that κατάλειμμα translates the substantive (א)נח or נח, which he identifies as Hebrew. The difficulty with this interpretation is that the root נח and its cognates appear not to have been used in Aramaic or Syriac with the meaning “left behind” or “remnant.” In Gen 7:23, cited above, the verb employed is שָׁאַר, whose nominal forms appear commonly in biblical texts to denote “remnant.” All three Targumim retain this root. Moreover, where the *hiphil* form of Heb. נח occurs in the biblical text with the meaning “leave behind,” it is always replaced by another Aramaic root, usually שָׁבַק. Thus, if a form of the root נח (*nûah*) appeared in v 16a and/or v 18e as a wordplay on the child’s name, the paronomasia was bilingual, as in the case of Jared (see comm. on 6:4–6). According to v 16b, the child and his children “will be saved” (σωθήσεται, *dehna*). This verb, which also occurs in v 18g, evidently translated Aram. פָּלַט in both places. The same Aramaic verb occurs in 10:18 and, evidently, in 10:3 (where they are translated by ἐκφεύγομαι, “escape”) in connection, respectively, with the righteous who will escape the judgment and the son of Lamech, the righteous one, who will escape the flood. The usage of the verb here underscores the remnant connotations, since the nominal form פְּלִיטָה occurs in the Hebrew Bible in parallelism with שָׁאַר to mean “an escaped remnant.”²⁷

The precise meaning of v 17 is obscured by the textual problem noted in n. a. Does one follow Ⓢ and translate “He (the child) will calm the earth (πραῦνεῖ τὴν τῆν),” assuming here the presence of Aram. נִיחַ and thus a play on the name Noah (see comm. on v 18)? Or

does one follow Ⓢ and see a reference to the cleansing of the earth, with Ⓢ representing a corruption of the Gk. verb πλύνω? Such a mistake in Greek is easy enough, and the hypothesis may be supported by what appears to be the remnant of the verb כָּסַח in Ⓢ (4QEn^c 5 2:22; Milik, *Enoch*, 209).

In order to clarify the two lines of interpretation that follow from these two verbs, we must also clarify the respective connotations of the object of the verbs. According to v 17, the earth is “cleansed” or “calmed” from φθορά (*musnā* Ⓢ), and this noun appears again in the parallel passage in v 18g-h. The Greek noun means “ruin,” “destruction,” or “corruption.” Significantly, this word and its cognates occur several times in the LXX of Gen 6:11-13, where they translate the Heb. root שָׁחַח (“destroy”), which designates both what all flesh has done and what God will do in turn. Its basic meaning is again “ruin” or “destroy,” as is also the case with its Aramaic equivalent, כָּבַל (which occurs in 4QEn^c 5 2:22; Milik, *Enoch*, 209). The Eth. root (*masana*, *musna*) also appears frequently in the flood account in *Jub.* 5:1-3. How does one construe this noun with reference to the two verbs of which it is the object in the respective texts? If Ⓢ is essentially correct, the text offers another play on the etymology of Noah’s name; the child will survive in a world that has been “calmed” from the destructive violence that brought it to ruin. If Ⓢ is correct and the reconstruction of the Aramaic accurate, the text describes a cleansing from the pollution created by the sexual defilement of the watchers and the bloodshed that has polluted the earth. There is some support for this line of interpretation in the parallel account in 10:20-22, which speaks twice of the earth being cleansed (καθαρίζομαι) from all manner of evil things. Of this list, the one specific element missing in both 106:17 and 18g-h is the category of uncleanness or defilement (ἀκαθαρσία, μίasma). It is perhaps represented by the noun φθορά. In such a case, the translation “corruption,” with its modern English connotations of “rot” and “putrefaction,” would capture the meaning of the

25 On the remnant see V. Herntrich, “λεῖμμα, κτλ.,” *TDNT* 4 (1967) 196–209.

26 Milik, *Enoch*, 216.

27 See Herntrich, “λεῖμμα,” 196. See also BDB, 812, s.v. פְּלִיטָה.

original text here. Finally, if one accepts this line of interpretation, the question remains: how does the purifying occur? If the Ethiopic verb form is correct, it appears that the flood is God's massive ritual washing of the world. If one accepts the syntax in 8, then perhaps it is Noah's sacrifice that brings atonement for the earth. This interpretation of Gen 8:20 appears in the fragmentary 1QapGen 10:13, "... and for all the earth I atoned" (ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת), which reflects the interpretation in *Jub.* 6:2: "He (Noah) made atonement for the earth, and he took a kid and made atonement by its blood because of all the sin of the earth."

Since Enoch has explained the child's significance, he commands Methuselah to reassure Lamech and give the child an appropriate name. Verse 18b corresponds to vv 6a, 12cd, and 7, 12f. Lamech thought the child was not his own but was conceived by an angel, and he sent to ascertain "the truth." He is to be told that the child is his "in truth" (בקשט, 4QEn^c 5 2:22).

As in v 17, the text of v 18cd is flawed (see n. d). Milik thinks there is a triple etymology in v 18d-g.²⁸ Rightly citing Greek evidence for a double etymology as old as Philo of Alexandria, he finds in v 18c-f a double etymology to correspond (in reverse order) to Philo's ἀνάπανσις ἢ δίκαιος ("rest or righteous"). Arguing that ὅσιος corresponds to the latter meaning, he reconstructs the text as follows: ὅσιον κά[λεσο]ν τόδε τὸ παιδίον τὸ γεννηθὲν καὶ Νῶε κάλεσον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα = וְיִיחַ קרי' שמו' דן עלִימא נרי' יליד ונוח קרי' שמו' ("and 'Pious' call this child that was born, and 'Noah' call his name"). At least two problems attach to this reconstruction. First, Milik claims that the first etymology, reflected in the use of ὅσιον, is based on the late Heb. adjective נוח or Aram. נַיִח, meaning "*quietus, mitis, placidus, gratus, bonus*," although he cites no textual evidence. The range of meanings clearly derives from the basic meaning "quiet" and only by derivation suggests a connotation that might be indicated by the Gk. ὅσιος. Second, this Greek vocabulary never appears in the LXX as a translation of either the root נח or the root צדק, the normal equivalent of Philo's δίκαιος.

As an alternative, the translation above presumes the following reconstruction: . . . ἐστὶν δίκαιως καὶ <ἔσται

δίκαιον καὶ> ὅσιον <τόδε τὸ παιδίον καὶ Νῶε> κά[λεσο]ν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα = בקשט וילדוהא קשיטא [הוא] ותמיןמא נעלימא דן ונוח קרי' שמה. Several factors support this reconstruction. (1) In תמימא ("perfect," "upright") it posits a Semitic root that the LXX translates by ὅσιος ("pious") (Prov 2:21; Amos 5:10). (2) It explains the curious fact that in the defective δίκαιως καὶ ὅσιον, 8 replicates a known idiom (see comm. on 102:4-5); the combination existed in the original text. (3) The posited Aramaic behind this combination has a close counterpart in Gen 6:9: "Noah was a righteous man, blameless in his generation" (נח איש צדיק תמים היה בדורתו).

Thus, according to this reconstruction, Enoch begins by asserting that the child is Lamech's, continues by describing how his character will differ from his contemporaries, and concludes by supplying a name that will be appropriate to the function that follows from his character. He is Lamech's remnant, who will survive when all humanity dies (see above on v 16), and thus he will provide "rest." This etymology is based on the primary meaning of the Semitic root נוח (*nûah*), both in Hebrew and Aramaic, and is reflected in Philo (see above), the LXX, and Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 1.20, *requiem*; cf. 3:8). It differs from Gen 5:29 נח, which traces the meaning of Noah's name to the Heb. root נחם (*naḥam*), "console." The evidence in Greek, combined with the interpretation in Pseudo-Philo, which is based on a Hebrew original, indicates that the etymology in the present text had some broader currency in Semitic tradition. How Noah will bring rest is not said. Pseudo-Philo, following the wording of the biblical text, sees in Noah rest for a cursed earth. That the earth, and not just Lamech, will receive peace is suggested here in the double use of the second person plural in this verse. The victims of the corruption the angels brought into the world will find rest. See further the commentary on 107:2.

The etymology is followed in v 18g-h by a slightly extended reprise of vv 16b-17. Although these two lines at the end of the section close an a-b-a' pattern, they could also be the last part of the message that Methuselah is to communicate to Lamech.

■ **106:19–107:1** These verses constitute the second half of Enoch's oracle, and like their counterpart in 91:6-9,

they anticipate renewed evil in the world followed by the final annihilation of such evil.

Verse 19a has an ironic ring. After hearing that Noah and his children will be saved when God has judged “all sins and iniquities that are consummated upon the earth,” one now learns that after this judgment there will be “stronger iniquity than what was formerly consummated on the earth.” God’s new beginning will not work as one might suppose that it would (cf. the wording in 91:6-7 and the comm.).

This was, of course, a sad fact of life that the readers of this chapter readily understood, but the author has Enoch provide documentation for his prediction. He has had access to the secrets (סִגְנוֹן) of God, which have been inscribed on the heavenly tablets. This assertion assures the reader that postdiluvian sin was no surprise to God, who knew that it would happen even before the flood took place. It is all within the divine purview, and so is its final abolition, which must also come to pass, since it too has been inscribed. The wording of 106:19b–107:1a (“I know . . . I have read . . . I have seen”) parallels earlier references to the heavenly tablets in 81:1-2; 93:1; 103:2.

Enoch has learned from the heavenly tablets that postdiluvian evil (עוֹלָם) will continue for many generations until righteous generations arise. The allusion is evidently to the information Enoch gathered from the heavenly tablets and wrote down in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10; 91:11-17). If we accept the plural reading of א against ע (see n. d) in the present verse, the author is speaking not simply about the righteous generation that will uproot evil (93:10), but about the whole scenario described in 93:10; 91:11-17. Although the final cessation of evil and violence (107:1c-d) presumes a second great judgment parallel to the flood, this author does not focus on that judgment, as is the case in 91:7c-e, but on its consequences, viz., the removal of evil and the arrival of “good things upon the earth.” This emphasis will be the author’s last word in 107:3.

■ **107:2-3** The second half of Enoch’s oracle ends, like the first, with the command that Methuselah communicate with Lamech and name the child. The content of these verses differs notably from 106:18a-f.

Verse 2 is expanded beyond its counterpart in 106:18ab. The wording “go, say” is typical of a prophetic commissioning (see comm. on 15:2). It appears in 10:2 and in 12:4; 13:1; 15:2. Here, moreover, the emphatic “go” indicates that the story is ended. That the child is Lamech’s is now emphasized in a positive and negative formulation (בְּקִשׁוֹ וְלֹא בְּכִדְבִין, “in truth and without deception”). The double formulation has an exact parallel in the Demotic Magical Papyrus 5:15, 20.²⁹

Verse 3 is textually problematic because, although it is attested in both G and E, the ms. of 4QEn^c 5 2 indicates a blank line and wide bottom margin after v 2 (see Milik, *Enoch*, plate XV). Assuming that v 3 must have been original, Milik asserts that this verse had been written on the next column of the scroll.³⁰ This conclusion is supported by 1QapGen 5:24, which has a fragment of a counterpart to 107:3a. From a formal point of view, v 3 is not surprising. In a general way it brings the story to closure. Moreover, to the extent that this story reflects a commissioning, it follows a tendency in such stories to describe the fulfillment of the commissioning.

This fulfillment includes, first, Methuselah’s return to Lamech and his report of what he had been told. Second, in keeping with Enoch’s instructions, the child is called Noah. With this naming, however, the story takes an unexpected turn. These final two lines correspond formally to 106:18d-f, which provide an etymology, or a double etymology, for “Noah,” meaning “rest” and, perhaps, “remnant.” The present verse suggests another explanation. He is the one who “gladdens the earth from destruction.” Perhaps the mention of “earth” indicates a closer relationship to Gen 5:29 than in 106:18d-f, although this is doubtful when that passage is read in the context of the following line. Nor is it clear how the verb “gladden” (εὐφραίνω = חָדַר) can derive etymologically from either נַח or נָחַם. One might think more of an alliteration with the letter *het* in common, and joy as a quality related to either rest or consolation. The notion of joy, moreover, occurs twice in 10:16-19, whose agricultural metaphors correspond to Genesis 9 (see comm. on

29 F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, eds., *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*

(Oxford: Clarendon, 1921) 47.

30 Milik, *Enoch*, 217.

10:16c-17). Perhaps related to this is *Jub.* 7:3-6, the counterpart of Gen 8:20-21, where “joy” appears three times as a characteristic of Noah’s infamous feast after the grape harvest (cf. also 1QapGen 7:7).

There is one final possible explanation for this last line, viz., that the Greek reflects an Aramaic textual corruption from חרת (“to renew”) to חרִי (“to gladden”).

Noah is the one who as the bearer of seed “renews the earth from destruction.” Such an idea in the last line would be a fitting reprise of Enoch’s first line, “God will renew his commandment (or ‘covenant’) upon the earth” (106:13).

- 1 Another book that Enoch wrote^a for his ~~sons~~ Methuselah and for those who would come
after him and keep the law in the last days.
- 2 You who have observed (it)^a and^b are waiting in these days until the evildoers are brought
to ~~an~~ end and the power of 3/ the sinners is brought to ~~an~~ end—you wait until sin passes
away.
For their names will be erased from the book of life and from the books of the holy
ones,^a
and their seed will perish forever;
their spirits^b will be slaughtered,
and they will cry out and groan in ~~a~~ desolate, unseen place,
and in fire they will burn, for there is no earth there.
- 4 I ~~saw~~ there something like a cloud, which could not be discerned, since because of its
depth^a I ~~was~~ unable to look up at it. And flames of fire I ~~saw~~ burning gloriously, and some-
thing like glorious mountains were turning over and quaking to and fro.
- 5 And I asked one of the holy angels who ~~were~~ with me, "What is this glorious (place), for
there is no heaven, but only flames of fire that ~~are~~ burning and the sound of weeping and
crying^a and groaning and severe pain."
- 6 And he said to me, "The place that you see—here are thrown^a the spirits of the sinners and
blasphemers and those who do evil and those who alter everything that the Lord has said
by the mouth of the prophets (about) the things that will be done.
- 7 For there are books and records about them in heaven above,
so that the angels may read them^a
and know what will happen to the sinners and the spirits of the humble,^b
and those who afflicted their bodies, and were recompensed by God;
and those who ~~were~~ abused by evil men;
- 8 those who love God,
and do not love gold and silver and all the good things that are in the world;
but gave their bodies to torment;
- 9 and those who^a from the time they existed did not desire the food that is in the world, [,]
but considered themselves ~~as~~ ~~a~~ breath that passes away; [,]
and to this they kept.
The Lord tested them much,
and their spirits were found pure,
so that they might bless his name.
- 10 And all their blessings I have recounted in the books.
And he has recompensed them for their lives,^a
for these were found to have loved heaven
~~more~~ than their life that is in the world.^b [,]
Although they were trampled down by evil men and heard reproach and insult from
them and were abused,
yet they blessed me.
- 11 And now I will summon the spirits of the pious (who are) from the generation of light;
and I will transform those who <have descended into> darkness,^a
who in their bodies ~~were~~ not recompensed with the honor appropriate to their
faithfulness.
- 12 Indeed, I will bring forth in shining light those who loved my holy name,
and I will seat each one on the throne^a of his honor,
and they will shine for times without number.
- 13 For righteous is the judgment of God,
and to the faithful he shows faithfulness,
because they abide in the paths of truth.^a
- 14 And the righteous, as they shine, will see those who ~~were~~ born in darkness cast into
darkness;
- 15 and the sinners will cry out and see them shining;
and they, for their part, will depart to where the days and times are written for them.^a

108:1

- a *kāleʾ maṣḥaf zaṣaḥafa hēnok* | “Another book of Enoch, which he wrote” (*kāleʾ maṣḥafa hēnok zaṣaḥafa*) T⁹.
- 2a + *ṣanāya* (“good”) ggʾ, a gloss to parallel “do evil” in the next line.
- b Om. “and” ggʾmqT⁹.
- 3a from the book - - - - holy ones] *ʾemmaṣḥafa heywat waʾemmaṣḥefta qeddusāt* (“... and from the book of the holy one” [... *waʾemmaṣḥafa qeddus*] g) ggʾ | “from the books of the living and from the holy books” (*ʾemmaṣḥefta heyāwān waʾemmaṣḥeft qeddusān*) q | “from the book of the holy living ones” (*ʾemmaṣḥafa heyāwān qeddusān*) x | “from the book (+ of T⁹) and from the holy books” (*ʾemmaṣḥaf [ʾemmaṣḥafa T⁹]*) *waʾemmaṣḥefta qeddus (-ān, -āt)* mtT⁹ | “from the books of the holy ones” (*ʾemmaṣḥefta qeddusān* with varr.) β. ggʾmqT⁹ indicate reference to two sets of books. Short reading of β seems due to omission by hma.
- b + “will be destroyed and” (*yethagwalu wa- t, yethagalu wa- T⁹*) tT⁹, a double reading, perhaps a dittograph from the previous line.
- 4a *ʾemʿemaqu* | “because of the greatness of its depth” (*embezḥa ʿemaqu*) gʾ, a gloss | “because of its darkness” (*emṣālamatu*) T⁹.
- 5a “crying and weeping” β.
- 6a *yetwaddayu* | “are led” (*yetwassadu*) gqT⁹.
- 7a *yānbebewomu* | “cause them to dwell” (*yānberewwomu*) ggʾqT⁹.
- b *walamanāfesta teḥutān* ggʾmqtuT⁹, abcdioprsvwyzbʾ (om. *wa* = “and”) T⁹ | “the humble spirits” (*walamanāfest teḥutān*) efhklxnaʾ.
- 9a *waʾella* β | “those who” (*ʾella*) gʾqT⁹ | “these” (*ellu*) mt¹ | “and these” (*waʾellu*) t² | “but” (*ʾallā*) g. The reading used is more consonant with the series in which it occurs.

- 10a *laʾarʾestihomu* (lit. “for their heads”), used in ㊦ as a reflexive pronoun. I take it to reflect the use of ψυχή with the meaning of “life,” an interpretation corroborated in line d.
- b *zalaʾālam*, which could mean simply “eternal” (cf. 99:14; 104:5; 91:9). Cf. Dillmann (*Henoch*, 80), who attaches it to “heaven,” and Hoffmann (*Henoch*, 2:882), who translates “welcher für ewig.” With Martin (*Hénoch*, 286), Charles (*Enoch*, 271), and Knibb (*Enoch*, 2:251), I emend to *zabaʾālam* (so ㊦ gʾ), bringing the expression into parallel with *zawesta ʿālam* (v 8) and *zawesta medr* (v 9).
- 11a have - - into darkness] emending *laʾella tawaledu bašelmat* (“those who were born in darkness”) to *laʾella waradu*, presuming the text to be a dittograph of v 14. Cf. 102:7.
- 12a + “of honor” (*kebr*) β-n, a double reading.
- 13a Lit. “in the dwelling of the paths of truth” (*bamāḥdara fenāwāta retʿ*) t | “in the dwelling, the paths of truth” (*bamāḥdar fenāwāta retʿ*) q | “in the dwelling and paths of truth” (*bamāḥdar wafenāwāta retʿ*) gT⁹ | “in the dwelling and in truth” (*bamāḥdar wabaretʿ*) m | “in the dwelling of the upright paths” (*bamāḥdara fenāwāt retuʿāt*) al.
- 15a Various mss. add a subscript: “The vision of the secrets (‘the secret vision’ g) of Enoch” gm | “Here is completed the secret vision of Enoch” q | “Here is completed the vision of Enoch” x | “The vision of Enoch the prophet is completed” na¹ | t is defective.

Introduction

This “other book that Enoch wrote” is actually a summarizing and interpretive conclusion to the corpus, which exhorts the righteous who live “in the end of days” to endure in their expectation that the judgment will soon vindicate them and eradicate sin and the sinners who have troubled and oppressed them. Such a conclusion is not surprising. Violence, oppression, and persecution are a constant in most of the strata of the corpus, as is the hope of God’s recompense, guaranteed by the realities of a realm that transcends the present world. The author, then, has drawn on ideas, expressions, and traditions that will resonate with the reader of the earlier

chapters and has created a conclusion that interprets the corpus as a revelation of eschatological import that is intended to console and exhort.

Parallels to the Rest of 1 Enoch

A quick overview reveals the major points of similarity between this chapter and the corpus of which it is the conclusion. The superscription (v 1) recalls chaps. 81–82 and Methuselah’s role as the primary transmitter of eschatological revelation; and the form and wording of the superscription, together with the exhortation (vv 2–3), parallel the introduction to the Epistle (chap. 92). The promise that sinners will be annihilated (v 2) is sub-

stantiated in vv 3-6 by a revised form of the visions in chaps. 18 and 21. The extended description of the righteous and their abuse by sinners (vv 7-10) has the fewest parallels in the corpus, but it refers to the heavenly books mentioned in chaps. 81 and 103 and reflects a situation and worldview similar to that in the Book of Parables. The concluding announcement of the judgment of the righteous and sinners (vv 11-13, 14-15) employs important motifs and imagery found in chaps. 102-104 and 62-63. Since none of these parallels to the earlier chapters indicate the use of independent, more primitive tradition (see comm.), it seems likely that chap. 108 was composed as the conclusion to a form of the corpus that included at least chaps. 1-71, 81:1-82:4, and 85-105. (See the discussion of the formation of the corpus in the Introduction §3.1.3.

The Righteous and Their Attitude, Worldview, and Lot in Life

Verses 7-10 are especially significant for the historical interpreter of this chapter. Together with a few verses outside this section, this description of the righteous employs an idiom largely unparalleled in the rest of the Enochic corpus. Therefore, in the concerns and unique nuances of these passages we may ascertain this final author's particular emphasis and interpretive signature on the corpus as a whole and we may look for the author's broader theological, intellectual, and social context.

Constitutive for the self-understanding of the righteous is their concern to "keep the law" (v 1), a cliché that occurs only here in 1 Enoch. Important as one's deeds are, the author emphasizes the attitudes that underlie obedience. One "loves" God, or heaven (vv 8, 10)—again a thoroughly biblical sentiment unparalleled in 1 Enoch. By contrast, one does not love or desire the things "in the world." So fundamental is this deprecation of the created order in the name of one's allegiance to heaven that it is emphasized three times (vv 8, 9, 10), although elsewhere in 1 Enoch it is expressed only in 48:7. Along with love of God is "faith" or "faithfulness" (vv 11, 13),

elsewhere attributed to the righteous only in 104:13 and in the Parables (39:6; 46:8; 58:3; 61:4). Their faith and their love of God leads the righteous to offer themselves to verbal and physical abuse by "evildoers" (vv 7-10). That such suffering occurs because of one's piety is implied elsewhere in 1 Enoch only in the Parables (46:7-47:4), but here alone it is said that God is testing their spirits (v 9). In recognition of their unhappy lot in life, the righteous are described as "the lowly," a term used only here in 1 Enoch to denote a religious quality rather than simply one's social or economic status.

Although I have indicated some similarities to the Parables, this chapter speaks with a voice that one can better define by noting parallels in other Jewish literature. Especially significant are the wisdom texts and motifs of the Hebrew Scriptures and Hellenistic Judaism, with their warnings about the love of money, their emphasis on the transience of life, their admonitions to love God and keep the law (or commandments), and their assertions that God tests the faithful. Particularly noteworthy are the parallels in the Wisdom of Solomon (see comm. on vv 8, 9, and 13), which suggest the use of a common tradition that nuanced the clichés and concerns of the wisdom tradition by claiming revealed knowledge of the hidden heavenly realm that severely limits the significance of the phenomenal world.¹ A similar worldview is attested in the *Testament of Job* and, among Christian texts, in Hebrews, James, and 1 Peter. Key parts of the preaching attributed to Jesus in Matt 5:3-12; 6:19-21, 23-34 || Luke 6:20-23; 12:33-34; 12:22-32 also attest this kind of apocalypticized wisdom.

The citation of this parallel material is consonant with this chapter's Enochic ascription and its function as a conclusion to the corpus. Other important segments of the corpus can be described as apocalypticized wisdom (see Introduction §5.1.1.3-4), and additional parallels to the Wisdom of Solomon are evident (in particular see comm. on 102:4-104:8). The present chapter continues to draw from the broad pool of apocalypticized wisdom traditions as it shapes its interpretation of the Enochic corpus.

1 On the relationship between the Wisdom of Solomon and Jewish apocalyptic texts, see John J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and

Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17 (1977) 134-41.

Provenance

Although it would be unwise to attribute this chapter to any specific Jewish group or sect, some indicators of the author's social, intellectual, and theological context can be related to elements in other texts. Most obviously, the author understands himself to stand in a tradition whose patron was thought to be Enoch, and he describes the righteous in categories drawn from the Epistle and the Parables. Other terminology in vv 11-15 ("the generation of light," "those born in darkness," "faith" or "faithfulness") is paralleled in the Qumran Scrolls (cf 1QS 3-4; 1QpHab 8:1-3). Another parallel to the scrolls is the term "the lowly," used to designate the downtrodden status of the righteous, but also their religious disposition, which is indifferent to or contemptuous of worldly wealth and possessions. While the evidence for a particular group known as the *Anawim* is tenuous, there are many lines of convergence between 1 Enoch 108 (and perhaps also the Epistle), some of the Qumranic materials, and the kind of spirituality propounded in the Magnificat, parts of the Sermon on the Mount, and the Epistle of James.² Further comparative study of these texts may reveal new insights into a common religious mentality that proliferated itself in a variety of groups and sects in early Judaism and primitive Christianity.

Historical Circumstances and Date

One hint that this chapter provides about its historical setting occurs in its references to religious persecution. Elements in the text are traditional and may reflect the Book of Parables and texts like 2 Maccabees 6-7. Nonetheless, through this usage the author of chap. 108 allows the corpus to speak to people who identify with the kind of suffering and persecution that took place in the Maccabean period and in the circles in which the Parables were composed.

One's dating of this chapter depends on one's conclu-

sions about its relationships to other literature. If the chapter does presuppose the Book of the Watchers, the Epistle, the redactional material in chaps. 81-82 and in the Dream Visions, and the Book of Parables, this indicates a terminus post quem around the turn of the era.³ If the author of 1 Peter knew the present text (see Excursus: Parallels between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter), the year 100 C.E. would be a terminus ad quem—thus indicating composition in the first century C.E.

■ **108:1** This superscription defines the chapter as primordial tradition written for the benefit of the righteous who will live in the end time. Methuselah's function as the primary link in that tradition is emphasized in 81:5-82:3 (cf. also 76:14; 79:1; 83:1; 85:1-2; 91:1-3, as well as his role in the story of Noah's birth in chaps. 106-107), and the idea appears to be alluded to in 105:2. The Eth. expression *badahāri mawāʿel* regularly translates ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ("in the last days," Isa 2:2; 2 Tim 3:1) and ἐπ' ἐσχάτου (-ων) τῶν ἡμέρων ("at the end[s] of the days," Jer 23:20; 25:19 [49:39 *¶*]; 37:24 [30:24 *¶*]; Dan 2:28; 2 Pet 3:3), both of which are LXX translations of Heb. באחרית הימים (lit. "in the after-part of the days"), a common biblical designation for "the final period of the history so far as the speaker's perspective reaches,"⁴ usually translated in modern versions as "the end of days" or "the latter days." In the Qumran Scrolls, almost always in exegetical contexts,⁵ Heb. באחרית הימים and לאחרית הימים designate the definitive time about which the prophets spoke—sometimes identified with the time of the sect's existence, sometimes with the time of the appearance of the Messiah(s). In similar fashion, here the term designates the time before God's final judgment and thus gives the chapter a genuinely "eschatological" orientation. Although the precise expression occurs nowhere else in 1 Enoch, it is closely paralleled in 92:1, "the last generations" (*tewledd dahāryān*). This eschatological audience is mentioned also in the introductions to major sections in 1:2 and 37:2. The designation of the latter-day righteous as those who "keep the law"

2 For a discussion of the evidence pertinent to the hypothesis of the existence of the *Anawim*, with bibliography, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) 350-53.

3 On the date of the Parables around the turn of the era, see Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 221-23.

4 BDB, 31.

5 1QpHab 2:5; 9:6; 1QSa 1:1; 4Q162 2:1; 4Q174 1:2, 12, 15, 19; CD 4:4; 6:11.

(*ḡāqebu šerʿata* = *φυλάσσουσιν τὸν νόμον*) employs an expression common in the Hebrew Bible, other Jewish texts, and the NT.⁶ It occurs only here in 1 Enoch and is one of many examples of this chapter's special vocabulary; however, it is paralleled in 92:1 (those "who observe [lit., 'do,' *yegabberu* = *ποιήσουσιν*] truth and peace"). The normal Enochic term for divine Law is "righteousness" (*sedq*) or "truth, uprightness" (*retʿ*), and one is said to "do" (*gabra*) these or "walk" in their paths.

■ 2-3 The body of the chapter begins with an exhortation to those who "observe" (*gabra*) the law (v 2). The passage has a ring structure that begins and ends with the command to "wait until" the eradication of sin and sinners, an eschatological event referred to three times with slightly different vocabulary and nuances. First mentioned are those who "do evil" (*yegabberu ʿekuya*; cf. vv 6, 7, 10). The second clause identifies them as the powerful, who are able to abuse the righteous (vv 7, 10; cf. 96:5, 8). Last mentioned is the disappearance (*ḡalafa*) of sin itself. The phrasing may be an echo of 107:1, but the notion occurs in a very early stratum of 1 Enoch (10:20, 22), in the Apocalypse of Weeks (91:14) and its redactional parallel in chap. 91 (vv 5 [also the verb *ḡalafa*] and 8), and in chap. 92, as here, after an exhortation to remain steadfast because God's time will arrive (92:2, 5).

Verse 3 elaborates on the final destruction of sinners. When the sinners are exterminated, their names are removed from the book of life, or the book of the living (on the textual problem, see n. a). The verb complements those in v 2, and the idea is most closely paralleled in Ps 69:29 (28) and in Rev 3:5, where the book of life is a register of those who will survive the judgment (20:12, 15), an idea already present in Dan 12:1.⁷ Parallel to the book of life are the heavenly books of the holy ones. The double terminology may be pleonastic; alternatively the author may be referring to a second set of books that record the blessings that await the righteous (cf. 103:2). In any case the notion is odd, because the idea of heavenly books suggests a determinism that seems to preclude later exclusion from them. The same tension exists, however, between Rev 3:5 and 13:8. The author will return to the idea of heavenly books in v 7

(cf. v 10). The meaning of v 3b is not obvious if one is thinking of the wicked of the last generation. The idea makes sense in 22:7, where it refers to Cain's descendants, and in Wis 3:12, 16, which assumes an individual eschatology. Perhaps the distich is traditional. Name and descendants are often linked. The final tristich of v 3 looks beyond the removal of sinners to their punishment in the fiery pit, and the prediction's fulfillment is guaranteed by the vision that is recounted in the following section.

■ 4-6 The form of this passage (vision, question, angelic interpretation) parallels corresponding sections in chaps. 18–19 and 21–32. The contents of the vision closely approximate 18:12-16 | 21:1-6 (a desolate place, beyond heaven and earth [108:3], where mountainlike objects roll over in fire) and 18:10-11 + 19:1-2 | 21:7-10 (a pit of immeasurable depth into which they have been thrown). One major element distinguishes the present passage from its prototypes. Although the image of the mountains is appropriate to the stars mentioned in chaps. 18 and 21, the present text describes the place of punishment for the spirits of sinful human beings. The modification was traditional; a single place of punishment for angels and sinners is indicated already in 10:13-14. Other minor differences from the earlier visions are the references to something like a cloud (smoke?) hovering over the place and to the crying and groaning (vv 3, 5, 15). The differences do not require us to posit a written source other than the present Book of the Watchers.

The sinners to be punished are mentioned in two groups, each with a general term followed by a specific designation. The specificity of the last in the series is especially noteworthy. Only here in the entire corpus is explicit reference made to prophetic predictions, and the specific charge that the evildoers alter prophecies is striking. A similar idea occurs in 99:2; 104:10, 11, but there it is the law and Enoch's words that are altered and perverted.

6 See the passages cited by Christian Maurer, "φυλάσσω, φυλακή," *TDNT* 9 (1974) 237–39. To

these add Sir 35:1.

7 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 15–16.

Excursus: Hell in the Gospel Traditions

The cluster of motifs that appear in this chapter's description of the place of final punishment recur in the Gospels, in the Q logion attached to the story about the centurion (Matt 8:11-12 || Luke 13:27-29) and especially in Matthew's parables:

	Luke 13	Matt 8	13	22	25
(bind,					
1 Enoch 10:4)			30	13	
throw	28	12	42	13	
depart	27				41, 46
darkness		12		13	
weeping	28	12	42	22	
fire			42	41	
for angels				41	
righteous shine			43		
see righteous	28				

A similar notion appears in the logion about cutting off offending members to avoid departing or being thrown into the fire of Gehenna (Mark 9:43-47 || Matt 5:29-30; 18:9). Another reflex of the idea occurs in Luke. The rich man in the flame of Hades looks up and sees Lazarus, whom he had oppressed, in Abraham's bosom (cf. Matt 8:11-12 || Luke 8:28-29).

■ **7-10** By contrast with the sections that precede and follow it, this lengthy poetic description of the righteous and their attitude, actions, and plight is shot through with terminology that occurs rarely in the rest of 1 Enoch. The section divides into two parallel sections of uneven length:

	vv 7-9	v 10
1. books	7a	10a
2. recompensed	7b	10b
3. abused/trampled by evil men	7c	(10e)
4. love God/heaven	8a	10c
5. rather than what is in the world	8b	10d
6. torment, etc.	8c	10e
7. blessed God	9f	10f

The section is linked to the previous verse by the theme of "what will be done" or "will happen" (v 7). Different from v 6, here the reference is not to the events of history foretold by the prophets (or in the prophetic

books), but to heavenly books that recount the blessings and curses prepared for the sinners and the righteous. Although the notion of heavenly books and angelic scribes is common in 1 Enoch (see Excursus: Heavenly Books and Angelic Scribes), and the content of the books parallels 103:1-4, the present formulation is unique. The angels, who are normally thought of as the scribes of heavenly books, are here said to read what Enoch read according to 103:1-4. Taken together, vv 6-7 are paralleled in 1 Pet 1:10-12: the prophets inquired about the things they predicted—things the angels wish to peek into.

The righteous, previously introduced as "those who keep the law" (v 1), are here designated as "the humble" (*teḥutān* = ταπεινοί, עניי). Elsewhere in 1 Enoch, the expression occurs only in 96:5, where it is a social and economic designator for the victims of the rich and powerful. Here too it denotes the victims of the mighty, as is elaborated in the detailed description that follows. In addition, however, it designates the religious quality expressed by the common parallel term, "the poor."⁸

The heavenly books record the good things prepared for the *spirits* of the lowly. Cf. also v 3, which mentions the slaughter of the spirits of the sinners. The terminology suggests a dichotomized anthropology. Both here and in v 11, the spirits to be rewarded (because they were found pure, v 9) are contrasted with the body that has suffered (so also 102:4-5; 103:3-5).

Verses 7bc, 8c, and 10e depict the lowly as the victims of verbal and physical abuse at the hands of "evil men." The lowly "afflict" (*aḥamama*, perhaps κακόω or θλίβω) their bodies, suffer "torment" (*sā'ar* = ὀδύνη), and demean their life in the world; they are "abused" (*ḥašara* = ἀτιμάζομαι or ὀδενίζομαι) and hear "reproach" (*te'yert* = ὀδενίσμος) and "insult" (*serfat* = βλασφημία). This suffering, moreover, is a function of their piety (v 10cd). Because they love God, they subject themselves to this abuse. As a result, God has recompensed them for what they have lost (vv 7b, 10b, *fadaya* [also v 11] and *asaya*). The perfect tenses in vv 7b and 10b indicate that recompense is already determined by God (written in the books, according to v 7), although it has not yet come to pass (v 11).

8 See above, n. 1.

Verse 8ab is the first of three references to the deprecation of things “in the world” (*westa ʿālam*, *westa medr*, v 9a, *baʿālam*, v 10d) and the first of two couplets that contrast loving God/heaven more than things in the world. The viewpoint is basic to this section and to the chapter. Love of God is the highest good (cf. also v 12a) and is the motivation of those who keep the law (v 1). Although the world is where the righteous live, they do not love, cling to, or desire it and the things that pertain to it: bodily life (vv 7b, 8, 10b-e), wealth and “the good things” that it can buy (97:8-9), and food (v 9a). To the contrary, the righteous, from the time they come into existence, consider their life in the world to be as fleeting as a breath that passes away; what continues is their persistence in this viewpoint (v 9a-c). As phrased, the sentiment is an inversion of Wis 2:2-5; 5:9-14 (esp. 5:13), where the sinners are culpable because of their attachment to life in this world and their denial of existence beyond this life. Moreover, as for the protagonist in Wis 3:5-6, bodily life is a time when God tests the spirits of the righteous and finds them to be pure. Similar terminology was traditionally used of Abraham, who was “found faithful when tested” in the sacrifice of Isaac (Sir 44:20; 1 Macc 2:52). *Jubilees* 17:16–19:10 expands on the point; he was tried throughout his lifetime and “found faithful and patient in spirit.” On the faithfulness of the righteous here, see comm. on vv 11-13.

That the righteous bless God is echoed in vv 10-11, where it is contrasted with the ill treatment they endure because of their love for God. Here the expression has a liturgical ring. The closest parallel to the terminology is Ps 103:1, “Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name” (cf. Ps 145:21).⁹ The context celebrates God’s protection of the oppressed righteous and takes note of human transience. Equally significant is Psalm 34. An initial promise to “bless the Lord at all times” is expressed by one who includes himself among the “lowly” and afflicted (עני, עניים) righteous whom God delivers. 1 Enoch often speaks of God as the Great Holy One, and the prayer in chap. 9 asserts that this name is to be blessed (v 4). In 12:3, before Enoch’s

ascent to heaven; in 22:14; 25:7; 27:5; 36:4; 81:3, 10, at various points in the journey; and in 81:10, after his return to earth, the seer relates how he blessed God. In the present passage, however, the uttering of praise to God in the midst of suffering is an essential characteristic of the righteous. The hope, courage, and joy invoked in the Epistle are here said to have a doxological expression.

Verse 10 reiterates the thoughts of vv 7-9, usually in summary, but occasionally with variation and expansion. The precise meaning of v 10a is unclear. Is Enoch referring to what he has read in the heavenly books, mentioned in v 7a (taking the verb *nagara* to mean oral reading), or to what he has recounted in his own writings, which are in turn an account of what he has heard and read in heaven (see 81:1–82:3 and 103:2-3)? In either case the line is linked to the previous one; those who have blessed God will receive blessing. As often, the verb “find” implies judgment, and here it echoes v 9e; to love God is to have a pure spirit. “Heaven” is a circumlocution for God that allows an explicit contrast to the things in “the world.” Atypically, in line e, the author expands rather than summarizes an idea in vv 7-9. Through this long line with its a-b-b'-a' structure (trampled | heard reproach and insult | abused), the author concludes by emphasizing the oppression of the righteous, but he contrasts the catalog of abuses with the simple assertion, “they blessed me.”

■ **11-15** Having described the attitude and conduct of the righteous and their maltreatment by the wicked, the author concludes the chapter and the corpus by describing the judgment that will be dispensed to each group. In this concluding section, the author has reshaped traditional material found also in the Book of Parables, especially chaps. 62–63, and the Epistle, especially chaps. 102–104.

The largest part of the passage depicts the glorious vindication of the righteous (vv 11-13). In the first two of three tristichs, the author, speaking in the name of God, employs four verbs in the first person singular (“I will summon | transform | bring forth | seat”) to represent

9 Perhaps more to the point is 4QBarkī Nafshi^{a-c} (4Q434–438), some of whose differences from Psalm 103 parallel motifs in the present chapter. Perhaps both texts indirectly reflect a common

piety of “the poor.” On the Qumran text see the excellent discussion by Moshe Weinfeld and David Seely in DJD 29:254–65.

four steps or aspects to the process: resurrection, transformation, manifestation, exaltation. If one grants a single emendation (see n. a), v 11 is most easily read as a recasting of 102:5 and 103:3, 4. Inappropriately, those of the generation of light have descended to the darkness of Sheol without having received in their lifetimes the recompense due to them. Now God will undo that injustice. The adverbial introduction, “And now,” emphasizes the imminence of the judgment.

■ **11-13** To begin with, God will summon from the darkness of Sheol (see n. 5) the spirits of the pious (cf. v 7, “spirits of the humble”), which had been tested and found to be pure (v 9). This summons corresponds roughly to the trumpet blast and angelic mission mentioned in the resurrection scenarios in 1 Cor 15:52, 1 Thess 4:16, and Matt 24:31.

The expression “the generation of light” (*tewleda ʿenta berhān*) occurs only here in 1 Enoch and is balanced and contrasted with “those who have been born in darkness” (*ʿella tawalledu bašelmat*) in v 14. The destiny of each group is appropriate: the generation of light will shine; those born in darkness will be cast into darkness. The language recalls 1QS 3:13–4:14. “In the fountain of light (is the origin of) the generation of truth, and from the source of darkness (comes) the generation of perversity” (במעין אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושך תולדות העול, 3:19). The sons of light (בני אור) have their hearts enlightened (האיר), are ruled by the Prince of lights, walk on the paths of light and true righteousness (cf. 1 Enoch 108:13), and will be rewarded with a glorious crown and a majestic garment in eternal light. The wicked are ruled by the angel of darkness, are blind, walk in the paths of darkness, and will be consigned to the fires of darkness. In the present text, the imagery of the generations of light and darkness is governed by the typically Enochic ideas of eschatological glory and darkness and does not seem to imply the determinism of origin often seen in the Qumran Community Rule.¹⁰ The imagery is, however, related to other Enochic motifs. According to 89:74–90:7 (cf. 93:8), apostates are “blind,” while the youth who get wisdom “begin to open their eyes” (90:6). Similarly, “to certain men of a generation the paths of

violence and death will be revealed” (94:2). Such revelation is depicted as enlightenment in 5:8 (see comm. for the relationship of this passage to 1QS 2:2-4). Thus the imagery here characterizes the respective groups as those born in ignorance of God’s law and those who have been enlightened. “Generation” then has specific historical connotations, referring to the generation that is enlightened by revelation and “keeps the law in the last days” (108:1).

Having summoned the pious dead, God will transform (*walaṭa*) them, so that they shine in the light appropriate to their “generation” or nature (vv 12-13). This notion of the eschatological transformation of the righteous (dead) is a common topic in contemporary Jewish and Christian texts and can best be understood after a consideration of vv 12ab-13a. Different from 102:5, this author refers not to the “piety” (ὁσιότης) of the pious, but to their “faith” or “faithfulness” (*hāymānot* = πίστις). Either translation is consonant with the previous section, which characterizes the righteous as trusting in God rather than the things of the world and as enacting this attitude in faithful obedience. The motif appears again in v 15.

Verses 12-13a employ two traditional metaphors to depict the transformation of the spirits of the pious. In vv 12a and 13a their manifestation is likened to the shining of the stars. The verb “come forth” (*waḏʿa*), employed here in the causative mode, is typically used in 1 Enoch of the emerging of the luminaries and winds from their heavenly gates and windows (e.g., 33:3; 34:2; 36:1; 72:8; 75:7). Astronomical terminology also describes the “times without number” (*ʿazmān zaʿalbo ḥwalqwa*) for which the righteous will shine (cf. 72:1, “their time”; 91:16-17, the new creation during which the luminaries will shine will include “weeks without number” [*palbon ḥwalqwa*]). Astral or at least starlike eschatological glory is attributed to the wise teachers in Dan 12:3 and to the righteous in 1 Enoch 104:2 (where the heavenly portals are also mentioned), *T. Mos.* 10:9, 2 *Bar.* 51:10 (after their transformation into the splendor

10 On the problem of election, determinism, and predestination, see Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde*

(SUNT 15: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) 184–89.

of angels, v 5), Wis 3:7, and possibly 1 Cor 15:51 (cf. vv 40-41).¹¹ According to v 12b, the glorious manifestation of the righteous involves their heavenly enthronement, when they receive the “honor” (*kebr*) denied them during their lifetimes (v 11c). Here again the image is traditional (Wis 3:8; Rev 20:4-5). Especially noteworthy is the parallel between vv 12b, 14-15, and chaps. 62-63. In the latter, the Elect One is seated on the throne of his glory (*manbara sebhatihu*). The kings and mighty see him, are judged, and depart into darkness. In the present text, different from chaps. 62-63, the righteous, despite their enthronement, are not the executors of judgment. As a result of their vindication by God, they are enthroned in glory, in which they are seen by the sinners who had oppressed them. The scenario is closely paralleled in 2 Bar. 51:4-10.

Verse 13b-d is a tightly written tristich that attributes the foregoing to God’s “righteous judgment” (on which see comm. on 91:12-13). This justice is evident in the principle of appropriate recompense (see comm. on 95:5), viz., that God deals faithfully with those who are faithful, or have faith (*lahaymenān haymānota yehub*). The probable Greek that underlies Ε (τοῖς πίστοις πίστιν δῶσει) could be translated idiomatically “to the faithful (or ‘those who believe’) he gives assurances.”¹² The translation given above reflects, alternatively, the Semitic idiom in Mic 7:20 (תתן אמת ליעקב, δῶσεις ἀληθείαν τῷ Ἰακωβ LXX, קושטא דיעקב, “You will give truth to Jacob/Israel”), and the location of the passage and its function as an explanation of the enthronement suggest that the issue is the enactment of God’s faithfulness rather than God’s promise to be faithful. The meaning of the final line of the tristich (“in the dwelling of the paths of truth,” n. a) is problematic. The translation above posits in Semitic a nominal infinitive prefaced by the preposition ב, used causally. Also presumed is the verb שׁב or יֵהב, untenably mistranslated into Greek as “dwell” rather than “remain” or “abide.” With the suggested meaning the line complements the previous one; faithfulness involves the persistent pursuit of the ways of truth. A wordplay asserts God’s righteous

judgment. God “seats” (causative of יֵהב or שׁב) on thrones of honor those who did not receive such honor, though they “remained” (יֵהב or שׁב) in the paths of truth.

Similarities to Wis 3:5-8 have been noted in connection with vv 9 and 12. The present tristich also parallels Wis 3:9, with its references to truth and the faithful abiding in love. This collective evidence may indicate some sort of intertextual relationship or dependence on a common tradition.

The references to “faith” or “faithfulness” are remarkable because they have so few parallels in 1 Enoch. In the Epistle the verb occurs only at the very end: the righteous and pious will “believe in” the Enochic books given to them at the end time. Elsewhere in 1 Enoch, faith or faithfulness and believing are mentioned only in the Parables (39:6; 46:8; 58:3; 61:4). Outside 1 Enoch, the idea of “faith” and “faithfulness” occurs with some frequency in Jewish texts, notably the Qumran Scrolls.¹³ Also, as noted in the comm. on vv 7-10, the idea is often associated with the testing of Abraham. It is difficult to know whether the present context reflects or alludes to Abraham traditions. The mention of God’s righteous judgment of the faithful recalls the language of Gen 15:5, and the innumerable times when the righteous will shine parallels God’s promise that Abraham’s descendants will be as innumerable as the stars.

■ 14-15 The final tristich turns to the judgment of the sinners. The repetition of the phrases “and they will see them” and “the righteous shining” in the two verses could indicate dittography, but I take the text here to be correct. Thus I read v 14a as a long Semitic sentence, begun with a verb and concluded with the subject in the form of a nominal clause consisting of noun and participle—a legitimate retroversion from Eth. *ʾenza yetwaḥa-weḥu*. On the idea that the righteous will view the punishment of the wicked, see comm. on 27:2-3a. Conversely, the sinners’ viewing the glory of the righteous is a central motif in the tradition—based on Isaiah 52-53—documented in Wis 5:1-8, 1 Enoch 62-63, and 2 Baruch 51.¹⁴ In 2 Bar. 51:4, as here, the extensive lament of the

11 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 26-31, 82-87; John J. Collins, “Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age,” *HR* 17 (1977) 136.

12 LSJ, s.v. πίστις, 1.

13 See the many entries in Karl Georg Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) s.v. אֱמוּנָה.

14 Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 68-90.

sinner is reduced to a single verb. In 62:10, 63:11, and 2 Bar. 51:6, as here, the sinners' departure to their punishment is mentioned. The final line recapitulates earlier motifs. The "days and times" of the sinners' punishment parallels the "times without number" when the glorious enthronement of the righteous will be manifest (v 13a). The word pair "days/times" also occurs at the beginning of the Epistle (92:2).

The punishment of the wicked is certain because it has been written down (v 7). This final reference to the heavenly tablets provides a fitting conclusion to a written text that purports to be a record of what was heard and seen in heaven and read in the heavenly tablets.

Excursus: Parallels between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter

The probable relationship between 1 Pet 3:18-20 and the story of Enoch's mission to the watchers has often been noted.¹⁵ Other parallels between 2 Peter and Jude are also frequently mentioned in commentaries, and I have called attention to still other parallels between 1 Enoch and NT and post-NT references to the apostle Peter.¹⁶ What has hitherto escaped notice are the many terminological similarities between 1 Peter and this last chapter of 1 Enoch. These are noteworthy because they stand in two texts that use the promise of judgment and future glory already guaranteed in heaven as the motivation for faith in the midst of present suffering for the sake of righteousness. The parallels include the following.

	1 Enoch 108	1 Peter
do evil	2, 6, 10	3:12
seed will perish	3b	perishable seed, 1:23
spirits punished	3-6	spirits in prison, 3:19-20
(Noah, sons saved, 106:16, 18)		3:20
prophets, books, angels	6-7	1:10-12

love God, heaven	8, 10	love Christ, 1:8
disdain silver, gold	8	1:7, 18
do not desire food	8	desire milk, 2:2
breath that passes	9	flesh as grass, 1:24
spirits tested, found pure	9	faith tested, found praiseworthy, 1:7
bless, blessing	9-10	3:9
reproach, insult, abuse	7, 10	3:16; 4:4, 16
blessing by contrast	10	2:9
summoned from darkness to light	11	2:9
exaltation	12	5:4, 6
righteous judgment	13	1:17; 2:23

To this striking list of parallel ideas and terminology can be added a possible common use of expressions found in Psalm 34 (see comm. on vv 7-10 and cf. the quotation of Ps 34:12-16 in 1 Pet 3:10-12), as well as common knowledge of the tradition attested in Wisdom 3 (see comm. on vv 7-10 and cf. 1:7). At the very least, both texts are alleging to speak to a common situation, using a vocabulary common to apocalypticized wisdom traditions. It remains at present a mystery just how the various Petrine traditions relate to the Enochic texts and how both of these groups of texts relate to other Jewish and early Christian texts such as James and parts of the Sermon on the Mount (see the introductory notes, p. 553). The puzzle calls for closer study; nonetheless, the similarities between 1 Enoch 108 and 1 Peter are remarkable and could indicate that something like the text of 1 Enoch 108 was part of "Peter's" theological repertoire.¹⁷

15 See Bo Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsalien-sis 13; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1946) 52-125.
 16 See Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 590-600.
 17 In a letter dated February 7, 1997, John H. Elliott cautions that all the elements found in both texts are traditional. While this is true, the combination

of them in both texts is striking, particularly in light of other certain connections between 1 Enoch and 1 Peter.

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1. Passages

This index lists all citations of ancient literature in this volume except those from 1 Enoch itself. The principal treatment of such passages is, of course, in the commentary ad locum.

Other major treatments of these passages are accessible through the cross-referencing in the commentary.

a / Hebrew Bible and LXX**Genesis**

1-8	354
1:1-8:7	354
1-5	102
1-3	4
1	32, 183, 370
1:1	157, 351
1:2-3	284
1:2	90, 288, 289 ⁷⁸ , 298
1:2 (LXX)	298
1:9	157
1:26	186
1:27-28	272
1:28	226
1:29-30	186
2-5	358, 370
2-3	326, 327
2	370
2:4-3:24	327
2:7	371
2:8	327
2:9	313 ⁵
2:11	327
2:15	263 ¹⁶
2:16-17	313 ⁵
2:18-24	272
2:21-22	371
3-6	543
3-4	443
3	328, 371

3:2	313 ⁵
3:5-7	222 ²⁴
3:6-7	328
3:6	327, 328
3:8	220, 313 ⁵
3:10	220
3:23	263 ¹⁶
3:24	263, 263 ¹⁶ , 296, 296 ⁷ , 314, 328
4	192, 372
4:1-2	370
4:3-16	370
4:3-7	371
4:4-5	306
4:10-11	186
4:10	166, 167, 208, 305, 306, 371
4:11	306
4:12-16	371
4:17-24	370
4:17-22	371
4:17	177
4:18	177
4:19	183
4:25	370, 372
5	72, 370
5:1-32	371
5:1-24	443
5:3-4	372
5:3	370
5:6-32	370
5:21-29	544
5:21-24	1, 57
5:22	74, 270
5:24	78, 233, 260, 270, 341
5:29	548, 549
5:32	73, 376
6-9	73, 149, 166
6-8	359
6	25, 82, 119, 141, 147, 171, 176, 183, 186,

	205, 341
6:1-4	29, 71, 72, 73, 79, 81, 95, 102, 119, 166, 205, 206, 347, 358, 372, 373
6:1-2	89, 166, 176, 179
6:1	92, 93, 176, 179, 184, 372
6:1 (LXX)	176
6:2	174, 176, 182, 542
6:2b	166, 183
6:3	73, 223, 224, 227
6:4	166, 182, 183, 185, 186, 269
6:4 (LXX)	184
6:4b	166, 184, 185
6:4bc	183
6:5-9:29	358
6:5-9:28	205, 206
6:5-9:20	166
6:5-9:19	375
6:5-9:17	29
6:5-13	167
6:5-7	167, 183, 186
6:5	167, 179, 205, 206, 208
6:6-7	341
6:6	186
6:7	166, 186, 216, 218, 220, 226
6:8	73
6:9	166, 220, 376, 540, 548

Genesis (*cont.*)

6:11-13 147, 167,
167, 353,
547
6:11-12 166, 183,
186, 205
6:11 166, 206,
208, 443
6:12-13 341
6:12 149³⁷, 179,
196, 208,
454, 456
6:13-18 541
6:13 149³⁷, 166,
186, 219,
220, 226,
443
6:14-22 375
6:17 147, 149³⁷,
166, 216,
220
6:19 149³⁷
7:1-9 375
7:1 166, 220
7:4 166, 219,
226, 375
7:4 (LXX) 227
7:10 375
7:11 375, 546,
546²⁴
7:12 375
7:13-16 375
7:13 375, 376
7:14 508
7:15 149³⁷
7:16 375, 375³⁰
7:17-20 375
7:21-23 375
7:21 149³⁷, 508
7:23 166, 350,
353, 547
7:23 (LXX) 227
8-9 73, 167, 545
8:2-4 375
8:2 368
8:13 375

8:14 546, 546²⁴
8:15-18 375
8:16-18 376
8:17 149³⁷, 508
8:18 375
8:20-9:17 347
8:20-9:1 166, 228
8:20-22 351
8:20-21 550
8:20 166, 227,
228, 548
8:21-22 545
8:21 444
8:22 156, 226,
228
9-10 224, 226
9 375, 549
9:1-7 376, 444
9:1 166, 226,
227
9:2-4 167
9:2-3 186
9:2 508
9:4 187, 208,
305
9:5-6 186, 187
9:11-17 351
9:11 149³⁷, 166,
219, 224,
228
9:15 149³⁷, 219,
224
9:16 489
9:17 149³⁷
9:18 376
9:20 166, 224,
226, 227
9:25 376
10:1-37:1 377
10:1-11:25 358
10-11 377
10:15-18 376
11:3-4 176
11:10-25 167
11:16-23:20 358
11:26-12:3 377

12:1 53
12:2 226
12:3 54, 161, 407
12:13c 226
13:4 211
15:1 418³
15:5 330, 559
16 358, 377
16:12 358, 377
17:7 489
18:8 395¹⁶
18:14 352
19:24 287
20:9 177
21-24 358
21 377
21:11-12 268
21:17 418³
21:19 381⁶⁵
22:2 225³⁶
22:12 225³⁶
22:16 225³⁶
23:8 211
23:10 250
23:16 250
24 542
24:21 458
25-36 358
25:12-18 377
25:22-26 377
25:25 377
26:19 282²⁶
28:10-22 234, 249
28:10-19 177
28:12 285
28:13 249
28:17 249
30:16 184
30:37-42 96, 184
31:46-49 177
32:2-3 145¹⁵
35:11 371⁶
35:22-26 377
35:29 370
36 377
36:12 383

36:16	383	3:7-9	379	22:27(28)	319 ¹⁰
Gen 37—Deut 34		3:8	382	24:3-7	250
	378	4:10-16	252	24:9-11	446
Gen 37:1—Exod 1:7		5:22-23	379	24:9-10	285, 286
	378	6:5	379	28:29	271 ²
37-50	358	7:11	198	30:23	325
37:5-10	32	7:14—12:30	379	30:34	325, 326
37:17-36	378	7:22	198	31:16-17	489
37:20	176	8:3	198	32:1—33:6	380
37:25-27	379	8:14	198	32:19	145
37:25	325, 378	8:15	198	32:21	177
37:27	176, 378	9:11	198	32:30	177
37:28	378, 379	9:18	268	32:31	177
37:35	518	9:23	262	32:32-33	479 ¹⁶
37:36	378, 379	9:24	262 ⁷	33:3	485
39:6	176	10:21-23	379	33:5	485
39:9	177	12:23-39	379	33:20	264, 265
40:1—41:49	32	12:30	379	34:9	485
41	199	13:17—14:31	379	34:20	237
41:8	198	14	379	34:29-35	381
41:16	32	14:13	418 ³	35-40	381
41:24	198	14:15	401 ⁴³	40	381
41:39	32	14:19-20	379		
42:38	518	14:19	285	Leviticus	
43:11	325	15-32	379	4:4	237
43:31-32	395 ¹⁶	15:4-12	401 ⁴³	8:8	431 ⁴
44:29	518, 521	15:4-5	379	8:35	266 ²⁷
44:31	518, 521	15:10	379	10:17	469
46:1-7	378	15:12	379 ⁵²	11	377
49	135	15:15	146 ²²	11:5	358, 377
49:1	410	15:22—16:36	379	11:7	358, 377,
49:2	410	15:25	379		377
49:28	135	15:26	379	11:14	358, 377
		15:27	379	11:44	508
Exodus		16:4-36	379	11:46	508
1-18	358	19-40	358	14:5-6	282 ²⁶
1:10	176	19-32	380	14:50-51	282 ²⁶
1:15-22	378	19	145 ¹¹	15:13	282 ²⁶
2:1-10	379	19:10-15	180 ²⁶	15:16-18	271
2:11-22	379	19:16-18	509	15:19-24	272
2:15	368	19:16	261	16	180, 192
2:23-24	379	19:18	146 ²³	16:30	228
3:1—5:23	379	20:12	315	17:11	187
3-4	234	20:20	418 ³	19:19	213
3	254	20:21	261, 261	24:8	489
3:3-4	259 ¹	21:2-11	477	24:11	319 ¹⁰

Leviticus (<i>cont.</i>)		24:16c	138	20:3	418 ³
24:16	319 ¹⁰	24:17	141	22:5	475
25:39-46	477	24:17a	138	22:11	213
		24:17c-19	141	25:5-10	96
Numbers		24:20	138	26:15	206
1-2	382	24:21	138	28-33	135
6:24-26 (LXX)	147	24:23	138	28-32	33
6:26	147	25:13	489	28-29	455
6:27	147	26-27	382 ⁷²	28	525, 526
10:35	500	32:28	382 ⁷²	28:7	526
11:31	257	34:17	382 ⁷²	28:12	228, 281 ²¹ ,
13:30	382 ⁷¹				529
13:31-33	186	Deuteronomy		28:13	526
13:33	185	1:1-5	137	28:22-24	506
14:6	382 ⁷¹	1:21	418 ³	28:23	508
14:9	418 ³	1:34-38	382	28:29	458, 506,
14:18	469	1:35-39	382		526
16:30	489	1:37	382	28:30-31	527
16:31-33	401	1:38	382	28:31	506, 526
16:32	489	3:1-11	186	28:33	527
17:22(7)	237	3:2	418 ⁴ , 464	28:38-40	527
19:1-10	371 ⁸	3:8-9	250	28:48	527
19:17	282 ²⁶	3:9	240 ¹¹	28:50	527
20:22-29	382	3:11	185	28:51	227 ⁴⁵ , 527
20:25-28	382 ⁷²	3:22	418 ³	28:53-57	490
21:34	418 ⁴ , 464	4:2	534	28:62	526
22:1	137	4:10	524	28:65-67	526
22:31	381 ⁶⁵	4:11	261	28:65	526
23-24	139, 347	4:26	506	29:2	410
23:7	137, 138	4:28	492	29:18	412, 413,
23:18	138	4:33	452		443
24	131	5:1	250	29:20	413
24:3	138, 139,	7:18	464	30-33	31
	381 ⁶⁵	8	462	30-32	52
24:4	139	8:11-20	382	30	456
24:6	325	8:17-18	462	30:15-30	455
24:15-19	144	9:6	485	30:15	484
24:15-17	31, 129, 137	9:13	485	30:16	455
24:15	138, 139,	10:6	382 ⁷²	30:19	457, 458,
	381 ⁶⁵	10:14	145		506
24:15a	138	10:16	485	31-33	29
24:15b	138	11:29	319	31-32	250
24:15c	138	12:23	187	31:3-6	464
24:16	139, 381 ⁶⁵	12:32	534	31:5	464
24:16a	138	14:8	377	31:7	410
24:16b	138	15:12-18	477	31:11	250

31:19	411	15:13-19	382 ⁷¹	16:1-13	383
31:21	411	17:4	382 ⁷²	16:14-23	272 ¹¹
31:23	341	18:9	382	17	186, 383
31:26	411	19:51	382 ⁷²	17:4	186
31:28	250, 410	21:1	382 ⁷²	17:43	383, 358
32	33, 343	24:33	382 ⁷²	17:51	486
32:1	153, 411, 506	Judges		17:52	383
32:3	235	1:12-20	382 ⁷¹	18:10	272 ¹¹
32:5	447	2:11-13	382	18-27	383
32:6	492	2:16	382	31	383
32:8	94, 287 ⁷³	2:19-21	382	31:4	369
32:8 (LXX)	391	3:3	240	2 Samuel	
32:10	501	3:6	382	2:18-32	180 ³²
32:14	471	5:4-5	144	3:19-20	250
32:15-18	447	5:4	145 ¹¹ , 543	3:27-30	180 ³²
32:17	287, 492	6:12	185	4:7	486
32:41-42	281	6:26	179	5:17-25	384
32:41	281	7:20	448	7:12	371 ⁶
32:43	187	8:33	382	8:1	384
32:44	250	9:37	179	8:2-14	384
33	32, 52, 57, 129, 131, 135, 142, 144	10:6	382	9:7	418 ³
33:1-3	143	11:1	185	10:1-11:1	384
33:1-2	31	11:2	185	11:4	225
33:1	129, 135	17:3	382	12:24	372
33:2	143, 144, 145, 148, 149	18	240	13:28	418 ³
33:27	135, 136, 143	Ruth		16:11	371 ⁶
33:29	135, 136	1:16	211	20:22	486
34	382	1 Samuel		21:16-22	186
34:5-8	382	1-15	358	23:24	180 ³²
Joshua		1:28	524	23:5	489
1:1	382	2:8	285	1 Kings	
1:6	266	7:3-17	382	1-11	358
5:14-15	220	8-12	383	1	384
6:11	145 ¹⁵	11	383	6	264
8:1-2	464	12-14	383	6:2	262
8:1	418 ³	13-14	383	6:3	263
9:15	148 ³³	13:8-14	383	6:5	263
14:1	382 ⁷²	14:24-30	177	6:15	263
		15	383	6:16	263
		15:10-23	383	6:17	263
		1 Sam 16-		6:23-28	264
		2 Sam	358	8:10-11	384
				8:11	447
				8:19	371 ⁶

1 Kings (cont.)

8:22	235, 237, 352
8:25	213 ³⁷
8:26	213 ³⁷
8:27	145
8:50	148 ³⁴
8:62-66	384
9:24	395 ¹⁶
11:41	135
1 Kgs 12-2 Kgs 20	
	384
12:25-33	384
12:26-31	244
15:20	250
19:11	146 ²³
22	260
22:13-23	131
22:19-22	254
23:26-27	385

2 Kings

2:11	262
5:1	185
6:17	381 ⁶⁵
6:20	381 ⁶⁵
10:7	486
17:12	177
19:3	136 ⁶ , 465 ¹² , 506
20:18	371 ⁶
21	358, 385
21:3	385
21:4-7	385
21:9	492
21:11-14	385
22-25	358
23:1-3	250
23:2	250
23:10	319 ¹³
23:28-35	385
24:2-3	385
24:10-16	386
25	393
25:1-20	393

1 Chronicles

5:23	240
9:33	266 ²⁷
23:3	265
23:9	194
28:11	264
28:20	418 ³
29:11	235

2 Chronicles

3:9	264
7:1-2	384
7:4-10	384
7:13-14	222 ²³
15:6	490
16:4	250
17:8	180 ³²
20:17	418 ³
28:3	319 ¹³
28:23	528 ³²
30:9	148 ³⁴
31:5	227 ⁴⁵
31:13	180 ³²
33:1-9	385
33:6	319 ¹³
33:9	492
36	393
36:17-20	393

Ezra

1	490 ¹⁵
1:8-10	394
3:12-13	394
4:14	217
4:15	490
5:2	394
5:8	144
5:10	217
5:14-16	394
6:2	237, 490
7:6	66, 231
7:11	66, 231
7:12	66, 211 ²³
7:25	217
9-10	250
9	67

9:5	352
9:6	231, 238
9:8	213 ³⁷
9:10	213 ³⁷
10:15	180 ³²
11-13	69

Nehemiah

1:1	135
1:11	148 ³⁴
2:5	220
4:3	358, 383
8	250
8:1	231
8:4	231
9:7	445

Esther

3:13	296 ⁵
4:11	401
8:13 (LXX)	296 ⁵
9:5	464
13:9	206
13:10	206
13:11	206
13:12	206, 213 ³⁹
13:15-16	206
13:15	206
13:17	206
14:3	206
14:6-7	206
14:6	206
14:6:8	206
14:11-14	206
14:12	206
14:19	206

Job

1	73
3:13	501
3:24	474
5:1	209 ⁸
6:13	199 ⁴⁷
6:16	371
9:6	285
9:33	209

10:19	521	7:13(12)	281	36:9-10(8-9)	472
10:21	520	7:7(6)	500	36:10(9)	307
11:6	199 ⁴⁷	8	155	35:7-8	497
12:16	199 ⁴⁷	8:4(3)	155	37	162
14:12	501	8:6(5)	85	37:7	487
16:14	186	9:16(15)	497	37:13	463
16:19	209	11:5	485	38:17(16)	486
16:20	209	11:6	287	39(40):13	482
16:21	209	13:2(1)	353	42:6-9(5-8)	240 ¹¹
19:25-27	209	13:3 (LXX)	222 ¹⁹	44:24(23)	500
21:15	211	14:4	528 ³³	47:7 (LXX)	146 ²²
24	206	16:10	519	49:20(19)	221 ¹³ , 520
24:13	206	17:8	501	49:5(4)	343
24:19 (LXX)	226	18	180 ²⁶	49:7(6)	463
25:2	148 ³³	18:8-20(7-19)	179	50:5	518
26:3	199 ⁴⁷	18:8(7)	146 ²³	50:15	136 ⁶
26:7	285	18:10(9)	261	50:15	506
26:10	508	18:13-14(12-13)	262	51:9(7)	371 ⁷
26:11	285	18:15(14)	281, 261	52:9(7)	463
27:1	138	18:16(15)	284	57:7(6)	497
29:1	138	18:36(35)	528 ³²	58:6(5)	198
32:2	521	19	90	58:11(10)	500
33:10	528	19:8-11(7-10)	343	62:13	464
33:23	209	19:14(13)	177	68:8(7)	144
33:28	221 ¹³	20:2(1)	465 ¹²	68:18(17)	145 ¹¹ , 353
36:29	285	20:3(2)	528 ³²	69:21(20)	526
37:9	284 ⁵²	22:2	206	69:29(28)	478, 555
37:14	155	22:12	358	71:17	407 ¹⁶
37:16	285	22:13(12)	370 ⁴	72	407
38:1	261	22:15(14)	146 ²⁴	74:1	377
38:4-11	376	23	391	75:4(3)	285
38:6	285	23:1-2	380	77:3(2)	136 ⁶ , 506
38:8-11	508	23:4	401	77:4(3)	506
38:9	261	27:9	353	77:19(18)	261
38:22	262, 281 ²¹	28:1	488, 497	77:18-19(17-18)	281
38:39-41	509 ³	29	240, 262	78:2-3	138 ²
		29:3-9	261 ⁵	78:45	528 ³³
Psalms		30:4(3)	497	79:2-3	486
1:2	266	30:5(4)	518	79:13	377
1:3	319	32:3	315 ¹¹	80:13	377 ⁴¹
2	46, 58	33(32):9	265	80:2(1)	391
2:4	463	33(32):10-11	265	80:9-19(8-18)	445
2:9	401	34	557, 560	81:17(16)	471
4:3	485	34:12-16	560	82	391
6:9(8)	450	35:23	500	82:5	284
7:13-14(12-13)	281	36:5(4)	506	82:5(4)	395

Psalms (*cont.*)

85:5 (LXX)	162 ⁷
85:11-14 (10-13)	228
85:12(11)	226
86:7	506, 136 ⁶
88:11(10)	295
89:10(9)	508
89:15(14)	346
91	148
91:11	501
93:2	212
95:5	474
95:7	377, 488
97:2	261
97:4	261
97:5	146
100:3	391
102:3(2)	353
103	557 ⁹
103:1	557
104	157 ²⁵
104:2-9	376
104:2-5	285
104:4	281, 285, 296 ⁷
104:5-9	508
104:10-30	485, 485 ⁶
105:10	489
105:29	508
106:9	508
106:36-38	287
106:45	148 ³⁴
107:23-32	508
107:24	507
110	85
113:2	271
118:13	528 ³²
119	455, 456
119:36	343
119:176	380 ⁵⁵
121	141
121:4	501
133:2	94
135(134):7	281 ²¹
135:7	284 ⁵²
136:2-3	211

137:7	393
139	307
139:8	543
139:16	90
140:6(5)	497
141:9-10	497
143	341
143:2	341
143:7	353
145:21	557
147:3	526
147:4	91
147:14	471
148:8	262
148:14	518
149	363
149:1	518

Proverbs

1-8	454
1:8	342 ¹⁴ , 411
1:15-19	454 ¹
1:15-16	455
1:17	497
1:20-31	458
2:1	342 ¹⁴
2:7-20	454 ¹
2:7	199 ⁴⁷
2:12-13	455
2:18-19	455
2:21	548
3:1	342 ¹⁴
3:6	454 ¹
3:17	454 ¹ , 458
3:21	199 ⁴⁷
3:23	454 ¹
4	456
4:1	411, 457
4:4-6	458
4:4	458
4:6-10	411
4:6	457
4:10	411, 455, 457
4:11-19	454 ¹
4:12	455

4:14-19	455
4:14-15	455, 457, 458
4:18-19	455
4:19	455
4:20	343
4:25	455
4:26-27	454 ¹
4:27	455
5:6-8	454 ¹
5:7	411
5:13	343
5:15-18	472
5:21	454 ¹
5:56	455
7:2	501
7:24	411
7:25-27	454 ¹
7:25	455
7:27	455
8	46, 52
8:2	454 ¹
8:9	454 ¹
8:14	199 ⁴⁷
8:20	454 ¹
8:29	284, 508
10:16	524
11:28	463
14:12	457
15:29	237
16:25	457
17:13	464
17:19	485
17:20	485
18:1	199 ⁴⁷
18:14	526 ²⁵
20:22	464
22:21	489
23:4-5	474
23:5	474, 475
23:19	411
23:22	411
24:10	136 ⁶ , 506
24:12	464
24:17	486
24:29	464

25:1	533	4:8	250	14:9	295
25:19	136 ⁶ , 506	6:4	176	14:12-19	286
28:24	473			14:12	373
29:1	485	Isaiah		14:13-14	286
30:1	135	1-6	25	14:13	180 ²⁷ , 289
30:17	395 ²¹	1:1	139 ⁶	14:14	225
31:1	135	1:18	371 ⁷	14:15	497
		2:2-4	405	17:13	320
Ecclesiastes		2:2	554	19:2	490
1:1	135	2:4	249	22:13	520
1:3	522	3:2	185	22:25	535
2:11	520	3:7	349	24	349
2:14	520	3:16-24	194	24:5	489
2:22	520	4:2-6	478	24:16	143, 146
2:24	520	5	445	24:17-23	119, 146
3:2	520	5:1-7	445	24:18	284
3:9	520, 522	6	30, 131, 139,	24:19-20	146
3:13	520		210, 234,	24:21-22	221
3:19-20	520		254, 255,	25:4	526 ²⁵
3:19	520		260	26:14-19	304
3:20	520	6:1	255, 264	26:14	295
3:22	520, 523	6:2	255	26:19-21	304 ¹²
5:11(12)	501	6:3	255	26:19	432
5:17(18)	520, 523	6:4	255	26:20	510
6:1-2	475	6:5-7	252	26:20-21	220, 465,
6:2	475	6:5	255		510
6:3	520	6:6-7	256	26:21	143, 144,
6:6	520	6:8	220, 256		145 ¹⁰
7:15	520	6:9-13	256	27:5	148 ³³
8:14	520	6:9	256, 271	27:13	318 ⁶
8:15	520	6:10	398 ³²	28:15	320
9:2-3	520	6:13	353, 445	28:18	320
9:3	520	8:21	319 ¹⁰	28:29	199 ⁴⁷
9:7	520	10:5	401	29:5	320
9:8	371 ⁷	10:13	370 ⁴	29:6	320
9:9	523	11	46	29:19	526 ²⁷
9:11-12	520	11:1	445, 447	29:21	249
10:11	198	11:3	249	30:26	450
11:9	520	11:4	249, 401	32:2	320
12:10	489	11:6	358	33:5	271
		11:26	378	33:14	146 ²²
Canticles		13:10	509	34:2-7	500
1:16	176	14	102, 221,	34:4	509
3:6	324		223, 289,	34:6	448
4:15	282 ²⁶		327	34:7	370 ⁴
		14:4	138		

Isaiah (*cont.*)

34:11 (LXX)	289 ⁷⁸
34:16-17	479 ¹⁶
35:4	418 ³ , 526 , 529
37:6	319 ¹⁰
38:10-20	307
40	265
40:4	146 ²³
40:11	391
40:13-14	265
40:21	284
40:26	155
40:31	465
41:10	466
41:11-13	473
41:13	418 ³ , 466
41:14	466
41:18-19	227 ⁴⁴
42:2	349
42:25	163
43:1	418 ³ , 466
43:5	466
44:2-5	418 ³
44:9-20	492
44:9-11	473
44:18	493
45:8	226
46:11	458
48:22	462
49:2	222 ¹⁹
49:3	85 ⁶⁹
49:5	85 ⁶⁹
49:15	490
49:24-25	185
50:2	508
50:4	252
50:7	473
51:6	155
51:7-8	418 ³
51:9-11	379
51:9	500
52-53	559
52:11	85 ⁶⁹
52:13	296 ⁹
53:6	377, 380 ⁵⁵

53:11	488
53:12	211
54:4	418 ³ , 466
54:11-12	313 ³
55	343
55:3	343, 489
55:8-9	343
55:12-13	227 ⁴⁴
56:11	391
56:7-8	449, 449
56:7	318 ⁶
57:1-2	78, 341
57:1	270, 342, 517, 518, 520
57:13	318 ⁶
57:15	526 ²⁵
57:21	462
59:21	410
60	162, 228 ⁵⁸ , 359, 449, 449
60:5-11	449
60:21	445
61:1-3	445
61:10	226
61:11	226
63:15	206
64:1-3	146 ²³
64:1 (LXX)	146
65-66	49, 57, 131, 149, 161, 359
65	29, 55 ²¹ , 129, 147, 149, 161 ⁶ , 227, 228, 315, 315 ¹⁴ , 316, 318
65:6	479 ¹⁶
65:8-16	129
65:9-22	31
65:11	318 ⁶
65:15-16	161
65:17-25	449
65:17-19	161

65:19-20	315
65:20-23	226
65:20	160, 161, 227, 315, 399
65:21-22	227, 228
65:22	227, 315
65:23	315
65:25	318 ⁶ , 378
66	315
66:14	315, 315 ¹¹
66:15-16	31, 129, 149
66:16	131, 144
66:18-24	449
66:18-23	228
66:20	318 ⁶
66:24	317, 318, 319, 463, 472, 509, 525

Jeremiah

1:1	135, 139 ⁶
1:4-10	254
1:6	252
1:7	271
1:9	252
1:10	445
2:2	250, 271
2:13	472
2:21	445
4:4	485
4:30	195
5:20-29	153
5:20-25	131
5:21-24	508
5:21	492
5:22-24	153
5:22	154, 155
5:28 MT	153
6:20	325
7:13	398 ³²
7:16	211
7:24	343
7:26	343
7:31	319 ¹³

8:17	198	29:10	391, 440	1:3	139 ⁶
8:22	325	29:19	398 ³²	1:4-25	255, 286
8:23 (9:1)	463	29:22	161	1:4	255, 261,
9:1	58	29:25	534		262
9:23	463	31:15	372	1:5-14	255, 255
10:13	284 ⁵²	31:33-34	163	1:13-14	255, 259,
10:17	179	31:35	153		264
11:8	343	31:37	284, 285	1:13	255, 255,
11:10	398 ³²	32:17	352		261 ³ , 262
14:3-4	250	32:35	319 ¹³	1:14	143
14:13-16	487	32:42	484	1:15-21	255, 264
14:16	486	33:25	153	1:16	264
17:5-8	319	33:30	479 ¹⁶	1:22	255, 259,
17:6	484	36	250		262, 264
17:12	212	37:24 (30:24)	554	1:24	255
17:13	479 ¹⁶	38:6-13	221	1:26-28	264
20:8	455	38:20 (31:20)	225 ³⁶	1:26	255, 264,
20:9	315 ¹¹	39:16	484		286
21:8	457, 458	42:12	148 ³⁴	1:27	255, 262,
21:10	484	44:17	484		286
22:13-19	497	46:11	325	1:28	255
22:13-17	58	47:6	448	1:29-2:2	270
22:13	462, 497,	49:7-22	393	2:1	256
	498	50:6	377, 380 ⁵⁵	2:2	256
22:17	497	51:8	325	2:2 (LXX)	270
22:19	497	51:16	284 ⁵²	2:3-4	256
23:2	391	51:39	501	2:4	256
23:13	492	51:57	501	2:6	256
23:17	487	52:10	225 ³⁷	3:4	256, 271
23:20	554	Lamentations		3:7	398 ³² , 485
23:32	487	2:4	281	3:9	256
23:9-40	487	3:1	401	3:10	252
25	131	3:12-13	281	3:11	271
25:11-12	440	4:21-22	393	3:12-15	256
25:11	391	Ezekiel		4:5	363
25:12	391	1-2	30, 45, 58,	5:1	222 ¹⁹
25:19(49:39)	554		207, 210,	5:5	318, 318 ²
25:30-32	149		212, 254,	8-11	259, 262,
25:30-31	129, 144,		255, 256,		294
	149		259, 260,	8	294
25:30	143, 145 ¹⁰		261, 261	8:3	294
25:31	143, 144,		131, 259	9-10	385
	146	1	255	9:1-2	294
27:18	211	1:1-3	249, 255	10:1-22	264
29:1-23	33	1:1		10:15	255
				12:1	295

Ezekiel (*cont.*)

14:14	180, 220
14:20	180, 220
16	53
16:10-14	194
17:2	138
18:23	463
18:32	463
19:8	497
20:32	492
20:37	401
22:27	378
23:20	373
24:3	138
25:12-14	393
25:15	297
25:35	393
26:7	211 ²³
26:20	497
27:5	250
27:17	325
28	222 ²⁴ , 279, 327, 328
28:2	286
28:3	180
28:8	286
28:12-16	289, 327
28:13-19	286
28:13-14	286
28:13	286
28:14	286
28:16-18	286
28:16-17	286
28:16	286
30:24	448
31	327
31:2-18	327
31:9	263 ¹⁶
32:5-6	500
32:6	496
32:7	509
33:11	463
33:12	472
34	32, 58, 357, 358, 359, 377, 378 ⁴³ ,

	391, 405, 406
34:11-13	406
34:12	395
34:16	406
34:18-19	468
34:24	406
34:26-27	227 ⁴³
34:28	391
36:1-7	393
36:25-27	163
37	359, 391, 405
37:5-6	395
37:5	315
37:7-10	315
37:24-25	391
38	223
38:12	318, 318 ³
38:21	500
38:22	287
39:17-18	377
40-48	30, 259, 260, 295
40-44	67, 254, 256, 295
40-41	264
40:1-2	254, 262
40:2	295
40:3 (LXX)	262
40:4	252, 256
40:5	262
40:17	254
40:28-47	262
40:28	254
40:30	295
40:47-48	262
40:48	254, 263
40:50	254
41:1	256, 263
41:3-4	256
41:4	263
41:15-17	263
41:21	263
44:5	256
44:10-14	256

44:13	265
44:15	265
44:16	265
44:6-9	256
45:2	271
45:4	265

Daniel

1-6	68, 199
1	198
1:20	197
2	32, 33, 198, 199, 339 ¹¹ , 350, 357, 360, 393
2:1	357
2:2	197
2:10	197
2:18	238 ²
2:20-24	32
2:27	197, 198
2:28-30	522
2:28	339 ¹¹ , 554
2:29	339 ¹¹
2:31-45	357
2:37	211 ²³ , 238 ²
2:37	522
2:44	238 ²
2:45	144, 339 ¹¹
2:47	32, 211, 522
3	262 ⁹ , 506
3 (LXX)	90
3:26	212
3:33	144 ⁸ , 213 ³⁷
3:33 (4:3)	352
3:52	212
3:54	90
4	199, 350
4:4(7)	197
4:5(8)	32
4:7(10)	370
4:10(13)	140, 370
4:13(16)	235, 299 ⁶
4:14(17)	139, 140, 253
4:19(22)	146 ²²

4:20(23)	140		295, 374,	8:25	319 ¹¹
4:21(24)	202, 253		543	9	32, 33, 169,
4:23(20)	299 ⁶	7:10-12	255		209 ⁹ , 360,
4:24(27)	522	7:10	149, 255,		392, 393,
4:25(28)	202		261 ³ , 283,		439
4:28(31)	349		479	9:2	363, 391,
4:30(33)	522	7:11	158, 261,		392
4:31(34)	144 ⁸		319	9:16	318 ⁶
5	198	7:12	305, 383 ⁷⁷	9:20-27	295
5:4	491	7:13-14	357	9:20	318 ⁶
5:7	197, 198,	7:13	255, 256,	9:21	223, 235,
	383 ⁷⁷		261, 357,		249
5:11	197		374	9:24	363, 391,
5:15	197, 198	7:14	83, 84, 85,		392
5:16	383 ⁷⁷		256, 383 ⁷⁷ ,	10-12	30, 32, 33,
5:20	299 ⁶		488, 522		68, 295, 357,
5:23	238 ²	7:15-18	32		357, 391
6:26	383 ⁷⁷	7:15	255	10:2-12:11	249
7-12	68	7:16-27	295	10:2-5	540
7-9	295	7:16	298 ⁵ , 374	10:5-11	270
7	7, 32, 33,	7:18	149, 501	10:5	235
	58, 68, 69,	7:19	298 ⁵	10:6	543
	77, 79, 83,	7:20	158	10:7	289
	85, 119 ¹¹⁹ ,	7:22	149, 208,	10:8-10	263
	210, 254,		305	10:9-18	270
	260, 357,	7:23-27	32	10:9	267
	360, 392,	7:25	149, 158,	10:12	220
	393, 407,		319, 501	10:13	220, 225,
	446, 479,	7:26	383 ⁷⁷		295 ³
	480, 480 ²⁶	7:27	352, 383 ⁷⁷ ,	10:15	263
7:1-27	357		405, 501,	10:20-21	357
7:1-2	357		522	10:21-11:1	252
7:1	255, 370	7:28	289 ⁸⁴	10:21	33, 225,
7:2	255, 261	8-12	339 ¹¹		295 ³ , 479
7:3	261	8	32, 33, 357	11	357
7:4	261	8:1-2	357	11:2-12:4	357
7:5	261	8:3-26	357	11:2	298 ⁵
7:6	261	8:10-12	357, 439	11:14	400
7:7	261, 357	8:13-14	33	11:35	305, 371 ⁷
7:8	158, 261,	8:15-16	295, 390	11:36	185
	319	8:16-18	270	11:40	305
7:9-10	357, 403	8:16	223	12	169 ⁹ , 210,
7:9	255, 258,	8:17-18	357		230, 304 ¹²
	261, 264,	8:17	267, 305	12:1-3	209, 359,
	264, 264,	8:18	263		479, 528
	265, 286 ⁶⁴ ,				

Daniel (<i>cont.</i>)		1:2	145 ¹⁰	7:6	490, 500
12:1	136 ⁶ , 225, 226 ⁴¹ , 295 ³ , 314 ⁶ , 316, 340, 479, 480 ²⁶ , 485, 529, 555	4:2	472	7:7-9	520
12:2	169, 293, 304, 315, 318, 319, 404 ² , 432, 463, 472, 501	4-6	58, 458, 471	7:8	486
12:3	65, 66, 288, 488, 515, 529, 558	4:7-8	472	7:9	521
12:4	30, 305	5:4	458	7:14	401
12:9	305	5:6	458	7:20	559
12:10	371 ⁷	5:7	458	Nahum	
12:12	340	5:10	249, 548	1:1	139 ⁶ , 252
12:13	305	5:11	471	1:5	146, 146 ²³
		5:12	472	3:4	487
		5:18-20	463	Habakkuk	
		6:6	468	1:8	222 ¹⁹
		9:13-14	227 ⁴³	2:6	138
		Obadiah		2:18	533
		8-14	393	3:3	143
		12	136 ⁶	3:3	145 ¹⁰
		14	136 ⁶	3:6	146 ²³ , 543
		16	318 ⁶	3:9	281
		16	521	3:10	146 ²³
		Jonah		3:16	465
		1:1	139 ⁶	Zephaniah	
		1:4-5	508	1:1	139 ⁶
		1:9	474	1:15	261, 463, 465
		Micah		2:3	220
		1	131, 144	3:3	378
		1:1	139 ⁶	Haggai	
		1:3-4	31, 58, 129, 143, 143, 144, 145, 146	2:6-9	449
		1:3	143, 144, 145, 145 ¹⁰	2:6	157, 474
		1:4	143, 145	Zechariah	
		1:4b	146	1-6	291, 292
		1:7	413	1	45, 207
		2:1-3	506	1:1	139 ⁶ , 295
		2:4	138	1:6	295
		3:3	528 ³³	1:12-17	209
		4:3	249	1:15	261
		6:2	284	2:13	145 ¹⁰
		6:9	199 ⁴⁷	3:1-5	209
		6:10	524	7:1	295
		7:2	518	7:11	398 ³²
				8:3	318 ⁶
Hosea					
1:1	139 ⁶				
2:10	227 ⁴⁵				
2:24	227 ⁴⁵				
4:4	249				
5:10	474				
9:17	398 ³²				
Joel					
1:1	139 ⁶				
2:1	318 ⁶				
2:2	261, 463				
2:10-11	509				
2:19	227 ⁴⁵				
3:1-2(2:28-29)	411				
3:3-4 (2:30-31)	199				
3:3 (2:30)	200				
4:2(3:2)	499				
4:12(3:12)	499				
4:17(3:17)	318 ⁶				
Amos					
1:1	135, 139 ⁶				

8:16	457	7:15	378	25:34	305 ²³
8:19	457	7:16-20	445	25:41	225, 305 ²³ ,
9:1	45	7:17-20	443		525, 556
9:3	179	7:23	450	25:46	556
10:3	391	7:26-27	462	26:29	219
11	359, 391	8:11-12	556, 556	26:51-54	200 ⁵⁸
11:4-17	58	8:12	556	26:64	84
11:4	391	10:15	496	27:24-25	187
11:9	391	10:16	378	28:16-20	30, 86
11:15-17	358, 391	10:32-33	83, 84	28:16	84
13:7	377	10:34	500		
14:8	282 ²⁶	12:31	296	Mark	
14:16-21	228 ⁵⁸	12:33-34	445	1:9-11	247 ⁴⁷
14:16	405	12:43	273 ¹¹	1:11	225 ³⁶
		13:11	522	2:12	84
Malachi		13:30	556	3:4	459
1:1-5	404	13:38	500	3:27	221 ¹¹
1:2-4	393	13:41	500	3:29	296
1:7-8	58	13:42	556	4:11	162
1:7	395	13:43	556	5:3-4	221 ¹¹
1:8	395 ¹⁸	13:50	525	7:13	486
1:10	395	15:14	380	7:20-23	158
1:12	395	16	124	8:31	84
3:16-18	478	16:13-23	246 ⁴³	8:38	83, 84, 85,
3:16	60, 237, 238,	16:13-19	246		149
	490	17:1-8	544 ¹⁴	9:1-8	246
3:23-24 (4:5-6)	405 ¹⁰	18:9	556	9:2-8	544 ¹⁴
		21:32	456	9:7	225 ³⁶
b / New Testament		21:33-46	445	9:12	84
		22:11-13	84	9:31	84
Matthew		22:13	221, 556	9:43-47	556
1-2	540	22:13a	84 ⁶⁶ , 124 ¹⁸⁵	10:2-9	477
1	540	22:22	556	10:33-35	84
2:11	324	22:41	556	10:45	84
3:8-10	445	23:15	474	11:25	235
3:15	456	23:35	306 ³¹	11:30	176 ¹
5:3-12	494 ²⁸ , 553	24:5	488	12:1-12	445
5:5	162	24:11	488	12:6	225 ³⁶
5:29-30	556	24:26-27	83	13	199
6:5	235, 235 ³	24:29	509	13:6	488
6:19-21	553	24:31	558	13:7	339 ¹¹
6:19-20	475	24:36-44	444	13:8-13	490
6:22-23	163 ¹¹	24:37-39	136 ⁷	13:8	200 ⁵⁸
6:23-24	553	24:43-44	85	13:10	86
6:33	458	25	84	13:12	500
7:13-14	455, 455 ⁸	25:31-46	84	13:17	490, 491

Mark (*cont.*)

13:19	136 ⁶
13:22	488
13:25	146, 509
13:26-27	85
13:26	83
13:27	500
14:26	123 ¹⁷⁸
14:62	83, 84, 85

Luke

1-2	540
1:5-23	234
1:11-20	223
1:16-17	405 ¹⁰
1:19	442
1:26-28	223
1:37	352
1:46-47	523
2:14	148 ³¹
2:37	266
3:4	135
3:8-9	445
3:21-22	249
6:9	459
6:20-26	34
6:20-23	553
6:36	464
6:39	380
6:43-44	445
7:21	274
8:2	274
8:28-29	556
9:28-36	544 ¹⁴
9:29	249
10:3	378
10:12	496
10:18	480 ²⁶
10:20	480
10:29	521
11:28	494
11:34	163 ¹¹
11:50-51	187
12:6	238
12:8-9	83
12:8-9	84

12:10	296
12:13-34	475
12:19-20	521
12:20	484
12:21	463
12:22-32	553
12:33-34	553
12:39-40	85
13:6-9	445
13:27-29	556
13:27	556
13:28	556
15:18	176 ¹
16:9	524
16:15	521
16:19-31	307
17:22-37	83
17:26-27	444
18:1-8	84
18:11	235
18:13	235, 238
20:9-19	445
21:12	233
21:14-15	162
21:23	136 ⁶
21:34-36	85
22:18	478
22:69	84, 478
23:35	84 ⁶⁷
23:47	84 ⁶⁷
24	86
24:31	381 ⁶⁵
24:41-42	373

John

1:2	340
1:13	272
1:28	247
3:13-16	85
5:25-29	85
8:28	85
8:34	36 ³²
9:35-39	85
10:12	378
12:23-41	85
12:28-29	262

13:31-32	85 ⁶⁹
13:31	85
14:1	432
14:26	210
15:1-11	445
15:26	210
16:9-10	210
16:11	210
16:13	210
16:14	210
21	103

Acts

1:7	432
2:23	477
4:28	477
4:29	213 ³⁷
7:51	485
7:56	84
9:1-9	544 ¹⁵
9:2	456
10	103
10:31	238
12:7	221
16:24-27	221
19:9	456
19:12-16	273 ¹¹ , 274
19:23	456
20:29	378
21:11	221
22:4	456
23:12-14	177
24:14	456
24:22	456
26:25	489
27:14-20	508

Romans

1:21	492
1:27	492
2:6	464
2:14-16	471 ²
3:25-26	341
3:30	341
4:7-8	341
5	102

5:12-21	407 ¹⁷	5-6	210 ¹⁷	Hebrews	
6-8	455	5:16-6:10	210	1:1-2:9	210
6:20-23	455	5:16-6:8	455	2:14-18	210
7-8	210, 210 ¹⁷			3:4	376
8:14-17	210	Ephesians		4:14-5:9	210
8:26-27	210	1:8	522	7	210
8:34	210	1:17	316 ¹⁷	7:1	178 ¹⁸
9:1-13	445	1:19	145 ¹⁶	7:25	271 ²
11:1-24	445	3:19	343	10:1	91
11:25	522	5:14	433	12:23	480
12:17	464	6:10	145 ¹⁶		
1 Corinthians		Philippians		James	
2:1	522	3:21	407 ¹⁷ , 544 ¹⁵	1:4	411
2:8	316 ¹⁷	4:3	480	3:13	124 ¹⁸³
4:2	515	4:7	343	4:8	411
4:12	527			4:13-16	475
4:14	225 ³⁶	Colossians		5:4	462
6:3	252	1:22	518	5:16-18	237
8:5	211	2:11	518		
10:20-22	492	1 Thessalonians		1 Peter	
10:20	287	1:10	85	1:7	560
11:2-16	89	2:19-20	85	1:8	560
12:8	253	3:13	85, 149	1:10-12	556, 560
15:15	515	4	85	1:17	560
15:23-28	85	4:13-18	85	1:18	560
15:24	85	4:13	517	1:23	560
15:32	520	4:16	558	1:24	560
15:40-41	559	5:1-11	85	2:2	560
15:45-50	407 ¹⁷	5:1-10	433	2:9	560
15:49	544 ¹⁵	5:17	85	2:23	560
15:51	559			3:3	86
15:52	558	1 Timothy		3:10-12	560
2 Corinthians		1:15	457	3:12	560
3:12-4:6	380 ⁵⁸	1:17	488	3:3	196 ³⁷
4:6	544 ¹⁵	2:8	352	3:9	464, 560
5:10	464	2:9	196 ³⁷	3:16	560
11:14	287	4:9	457	3:18-20	560
Galatians		6:15	212	3:19-20	560
1:11-17	86	2 Timothy		3:19	123 ¹⁸⁰ , 435
3:17	486	2:15	489	3:20	560
4:4-6	210	3:1	554	4:4	560
4:8	492, 492	3:16	89	4:16	560
				5:2-4	103
				5:4	560
				5:6	560

2 Peter	
1:17	488
2:2	456
2:4-5	86
2:4	86 ⁷²
2:21	456
3:3	554
3:10	530, 530 ³⁹

1 John	
4:6	498

Jude	
6	86, 225, 251
13	289
14-16	96
14-15	83, 86, 90, 124 ¹⁸² , 149
14	143, 443
15	143
17	86
25	86

Revelation	
1-5	210
1:1	339 ¹¹
1:3	34
1:4	207, 210, 294
1:7	85
1:10-20	295
1:12-17	270
1:12-16	540
1:17	442
1:20	294
2:7	314
2:14	543
3:1	210
3:3	85
3:5	480, 555
4:1-2	85
4:2-11	85
4:5	207, 210
4:6-8	207, 210
4:8	259, 266, 310

4:9	488
4:11	488
5:6	210
5:12	488
6:1	262
6:9-11	501
6:9-10	187
6:15-16	220
7:12	488
8:2-4	210
8:7	262
8:10-11	373
8:12	509
8:13	34
9:1-6	373
9:1	200, 289
9:12	34
9:20	492
11:3	405 ⁸
11:14	34
12:13	210
12-13	373
12	210
12:7-17	223, 225
12:7-12	210
12:10	238
12:12	34
12:12-17	210
13:8	480, 555
14:2	262
14:4	124 ¹⁸⁶
14:13	34
14:18-20	500
16:15	34
17	295
17:7	522
17:14	212
18:10	34
18:16	34
18:19	34
19:6	262
19:9	34
19:16	212
19:20	283
20:1-3	85, 210, 223, 225

20:2	221 ¹¹
20:4	286 ⁶⁴
20:4-5	559
20:6	34
20:7-10	210, 223, 225
20:7	225
20:8-9	223
20:10	85, 225, 525
20:12-13	480
20:13	464
20:14-15	283
20:15	225
21-22	449
21	227 ⁴² , 480 ²⁶
21:4	315 ¹⁴
21:10-14	405
21:11-12	480
21:12-21	313 ³
22:6-11	295
22:6	339 ¹¹
22:7	34
22:14	34
22:18-19	534

c / Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Adam and Eve (Vita Adae et Evae)

	96
12-16	273
25-28	30
25:3	327
26:1	263
27:1	263
28:4	262
29:2-10	96, 328
49-50	96
50	79

Ahikar (Arabic)

7:27	221
------	-----

Apocalypse of Abraham

1-14	69
1-9	53

1-7	492	4:21	466	1:1	233
1-7	493	4:27	466	1:3-10	100
1-2	444	4:30	466	1:4	186, 235
1:4	54			3-37	80
3:1-2	54	<i>2 Baruch</i>		3-36	80
6:1-4	54	1	249	3-6	80
14	445	1:1	69	3	87
15-18	69	2:2	237	7-10	80
23:4-12	328 ⁵¹	4:2-7	405, 449	7	80
25	69	10:18	69	8-10	80
<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>		13:11	474	9:1	327
2:1-4:1	372	21:23-25	501	11-17	80
17:1	287	24:1	480	18	80
20	328	29:5	87	18:7	80
20:4	313 ⁵	29:5	227	18:9	146, 146 ²¹
25-29	96	30:2	501	21:3	223
40:1	207	35:2	463	21:5	223
<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>		36-40	69, 79	21:6-22:1a	80
3:6-9	480	36-37	445	22	81
6-7	338	49:7-8	69	24-30	80
9:3	480	51	559	24:1	223
<i>Aristeas, Letter of</i>		51:4-10	559	24:2	90
12-13	396	51:4	559	33-44	452
155	533 ⁷	51:6	560	33-40	81
<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>		51:10	558	33:4	258, 265
	107	55:3	296	33:6-9	453
7:2	264	56-71	439	34-35	453
7:3	264	57:2	446	36:1-2	453
<i>1 Baruch</i>		59	452	36:2-3	75
1:1	252	63:6	296	38:3	453
2:16	206	64:4-6	385	39:1-7	453
2:27-3:10	61	72	69	39-56	80
2:27	162 ⁷	75	338	40:1-2	443, 453
2:30	485	77:13-16	69, 70	40:12-13	453
3-4	458	78-86	34	44-63	453
3:9-4:1	61	<i>3 Baruch</i>		48:6-9	344
3:14-4:4	458	4	328 ⁵¹	57-63	81
3:24-26	186	8:4-5	506	64-65	81
3:26-28	186	11-12	209	67	80
4	46, 52	<i>Bel and the Dragon</i>		69-73	541
4:1	458, 489		492, 493	71	80
4:5	466	<i>2 Enoch</i>		<i>3 Enoch</i>	
4:7	287	1-2	80	1:1	264 ¹⁸
		1	87, 100	3-15	81

Enochic Book of Giants. See also
4QEnGiants

8, 9⁵, 10-11,
 13³³, 21, 22,
 100, 100¹⁵²,
 102, 115,
 117, 172-173

1 Esdras

2:12-15 394
 2:16 394
 4 394
 4:40 352
 4:45 393
 5:63-64 394
 6:1 394
 6:18-20 394
 6:32(31) 486

Esther, Additions to

256
 15:6 256
 C 2 212³²
 C 3 213
 C 14 212³²
 C 25-27 213
 D 2 212³⁴
 E 4 212³⁴

4 Ezra

3:9-12 220⁷
 3:12 444
 3:13 445
 4:35-36 501
 4:35-36a 338
 4:36 296
 5:22 237¹
 5:23 445
 6:20 480
 6:21 490
 6:24 490
 6:36 237¹
 7 501
 7:37 145¹²
 7:85 501
 7:95 501

8:19 237¹
 8:62 477¹⁴
 9:28 237¹
 10 449
 11-13 68. 79
 12:11 68
 13:4 146²⁴
 13:10 145¹²
 13:31 490
 13:35-38 499
 13:38 145¹²

Jeremiah, Epistle of

4 492
 5 493
 14 (13) 401
 16 493
 23 493
 29 493
 58 492
 65 493
 70 538

Joseph and Aseneth

5-6 544
 6:2-3 158
 6:7 158
 7:2 206
 8:6 158
 11:8-9 158
 11:16 158
 12:4 158
 12:5 158
 13:13 158
 18-19 544
 22 544

Jubilees

1:1 72
 1:4 72
 1:7-18 399
 1:9 72
 1:12 158
 1:16 445, 526
 1:26 72
 1:29 450

2:33 72, 489
 3:14 72
 3:31 480²¹
 4-5 372
 4:11-33 72
 4:15-26 72
 4:15 72, 73, 87,
 93, 97, 99,
 177, 195,
 196, 374
 4:16-27 73
 4:16 73, 341
 4:17-23 73
 4:17-20 73
 4:17-18 74⁸
 4:17 72. 349
 4:18-20 25, 341
 4:18-19 338
 4:18 72, 74, 440
 4:19 72, 74
 4:20 74, 180, 370
 4:21-23 233
 4:21-22 74
 4:21 72
 4:22 74
 4:23-24 74, 360, 374,
 480
 4:23 75, 545
 4:24 72, 74
 4:25 75
 4:27 370, 542
 4:33 73
 5-6 73
 5 73, 376
 5:1-13 73
 5:1-12 72
 5:1-3 547
 5:1 182
 5:2-3 196
 5:2 73
 5:5 73
 5:6-11 224
 5:6 72, 73, 196,
 372
 5:7-9 73
 5:9 73

5:10 73, 225
 5:12 73
 5:19 196
 5:20-28 544
 5:23-24 75, 97
 5:23 233, 546²⁴
 6:2 227, 548
 6:12-14 485
 6:17 480²¹
 6:35 480²¹
 7:2 73
 7:3-6 550
 7:20-39 72, 73
 7:20-29 444
 7:22 182, 185,
 186²⁰
 7:22-23 185, 186
 7:27-34 186, 485
 7:27-33 485
 7:27-29 444
 7:27 73, 47¹², 273
 7:29 525
 7:34-37 73
 7:38-39 74
 7:39 72, 74
 8:1-4 72, 73, 79
 8:3 73, 200
 8:12 318
 8:19 318
 8:22 285⁵⁸
 8:25-29 376
 10 73, 88
 10:1-17 72
 10:2 273
 10:3 273
 10:5-10 98
 10:5 273
 10:7-13 273
 10:7-12 47¹²
 10:8 273
 10:10-18 73
 10:12-13 274
 10:12 273
 10:17 72, 74, 270
 11-12 444
 11:4-5 287

11:5 273
 12 53, 73, 377⁴⁰
 12:1-12 493
 12:2-5 54
 12:16-20 73, 200
 12:17-20 54
 12:19 445
 12:20 273
 12:25-27 446
 13:8 144⁸
 15:31 391
 15:32 391
 16:18-29 480²¹
 16:24 323⁷
 16:26 220, 445
 16:29-30 489
 17:15-18:16 209
 17:16-19:10 557
 18:19 480²¹
 20 135⁴
 20:6-10 493
 21 135⁴
 21:6 485
 21:15 342¹⁴
 21:17 342¹⁴
 21:18-20 186
 21:21 342¹⁴
 21:24 445
 21:25 342¹⁴
 22 135⁴
 22:11 342¹⁴
 22:16-23 492, 493
 22:16 342¹⁴
 22:17 492
 22:18 492, 493
 22:19 342¹⁴
 22:20 342¹⁴, 493,
 525
 22:23 342¹⁴
 23 169, 169⁹,
 209, 359
 23:8-12 370
 23:12-31 166, 399
 23:23 486
 23:24-31 227⁴²
 23:25-31 160, 161

23:25-29 163
 23:25-28 161
 23:26 54
 23:27-31 147²⁶
 23:27 163¹¹
 23:29-31 161
 23:31 315¹¹, 466
 23:32 480²¹
 24:28-32 396
 30:11 489
 30:19 480²¹
 31:32 480²¹
 32:15 480²¹
 33:16 489
 36:6 445
 36:10 480
 36:18 370
 37:20 377⁴¹
 41:25 177
 48:1-4 209
 48:13 446
 49:8 489

Judith

9:2-4 206
 9:2 206, 212³²
 9:5-6 206, 213
 9:7 206
 9:8-10 206
 9:11 526²⁷, 528³²
 9:12 206
 9:13 206
 9:14 206
 10:13 489
 10:23-11:4 256¹⁰
 13:8 186, 486
 16:7 186¹⁷
 16:15 146, 146²³
 16:17 525

1 Maccabees

2:19-20 498
 2:29 65, 458
 2:42-48 400
 2:42 65, 363
 2:52 557

1 Maccabees (cont.)

2:54	489
3:3	186
3:24	396
3:41	396
3:50	176 ¹
3:60	176 ¹
4:10	176 ¹
4:22	396
4:30	235
4:40	176 ¹
4:43	404 ⁴
5:66	396
5:68	396
6:49	148 ³³
6:58	148 ³³
7:13	400
7:17	486
7:47	486
8:23	474
9:46	176 ¹
10:70-85	396
10:71-72	396 ²⁴
12:15	176 ¹

2 Maccabees

2:22	162 ⁷
3:39	212 ³⁴
4	400
6-7	554
7	252 ²
7:4	252 ²
7:10-11	252, 252 ²
7:13-19	252 ²
7:16-19	478
7:28	155
7:30-38	252 ²
7:34-35	478
7:34	528
7:35	212 ³⁴
8:1	213
8:3-4	187
9:5	212 ³⁴
9:18	526 ²⁷
10:4	162 ⁷
11:6-12	400

12:8	538
12:16	500
12:22	212 ³⁴
13:4	211, 212
14:6	65, 363, 400
15:2	212 ³⁴
15:11-16	249
15:15-16	401 ⁴⁴
15:30	486

3 Maccabees

2:1	352
2:2	206, 212 ³²
2:3	206
2:4-8	206
2:4	186
2:9-10	206
2:9	206
2:13-15	206
2:13	206
2:17-20	206
2:20	206
2:21	212 ³⁴
4:13	538
5:35	211
5:35	212
6:1-21	237
6:2	206, 212 ³²
6:4-8	206
6:9	206
6:12	206
9-10	206

Martyrdom of Isaiah

2:2	385
-----	-----

Paraleipomena of Jeremiah

107

Prayer of Azariah

2	235
3	203
3	212
3	235
10	213 ³⁷

30	203, 212
39	235

Prayer of Manasseh

2-3	212 ³³
3	508
11	213 ³⁷

Psalms of Solomon

2:13-14(11-12)	506
2:15	448
2:16	464
2:17-18	449
2:19	309
2:34	464
2:36	518
3:3	448
3:8	518, 518 ⁷
4:6-8	136 ⁷
4:8	448
5:12	162 ⁷
8:8	449, 506
8:12(13)	231
8:13	272, 272 ⁷
8:34	518
9:4-5	428
9:6	518 ⁷
10:4	489
10:6	518
13:5-9	518 ⁷
13:10	518 ⁷
13:11	518 ⁷
13:12	518, 518 ⁷
14:8	213 ³⁹
15:6-7	518 ⁷
15:7	518
16	518 ⁷
16:15	518, 518 ⁷
17:8(10)	530
17:10	530 ³⁹
17:16	518
17:21	506
17:34(38)	148 ³⁴
17:35	401 ⁴¹
18:10-12	31, 129, 154,
	156

Pseudo-Ezekiel		15:11-20	477	35:1	555 ⁶
frags.	13	15:11-12	477	35:24	66
Pseudo-Philo		15:11	525	35:34b-39	66
<i>Liber antiquitatum biblicarum</i>		15:12	525	36:22(17)	212
1:20	548	15:14-17	477	37:26	144 ⁸
3:8	548	15:18-19	477	38:25	527 ²⁹
6-7	53	16:3	477	39:1-3	66
6	377 ⁴⁰	16:6-14	477	39:4	66
9:2	379 ⁴⁸	16:7	71, 186	39:15	235
12:9	323 ⁷	16:11	485	39:28-31	507
18:10	445	16:17-23	71, 420	39:30	311 ⁸
19:10	452	16:17-19	212 ³⁴ , 477	42:15-43:33	129, 155
23:12	445	16:17	213 ³⁹ , 525	42:15-17	155
25-28	382 ⁷¹	16:18-19	146 ²³	42:22	155
27	362	16:24-30	153	43	31
28:4	445	16:24-28	129	43:2	155
Sibylline Oracles		16:24	323 ⁷ , 411	43:14	281 ²¹
1	439	16:26-28	156	43:26	143
2	439	16:26-27	155	44:9	521
2:202	200	16:27-28	155	44:16	71
3:702-31	449	17	477	44:17	220 ⁷
4	439	17:1-14	477	44:20	557
5:155-61	200	17:7	508	48:9-10	405 ¹⁰
Sirach		17:12	489	49:6	196
1:19	458	17:15	477	49:10	315
2:1	342 ¹⁴	17:17	287 ⁷³	49:14	71
3:1-16	58 ²	17:19-20	477	50:26	396
3:15	465 ¹²	21:8	498	51:7	506
3:17	342 ¹⁴	22:21	526 ²⁷	51:13-22	411
4:1	342 ¹⁴	23:16	268	51:16	343
5:1	525	24	46, 52, 343,	51:22	352
5:3	525		458		
5:4	525	24:1-29	458	Susanna	
5:6	525	24:1-27	61	12	206
6:23	411	24:4	271	15	206
6:33	343	24:14-15	325	35	206
7:18-31	411	24:16-17	157	36-41	206
11:18-19	475	24:19-24	343	42-43	206, 213
11:24	475, 525	24:23-34	343	42	144 ⁸ , 206,
12:13	198	24:23	343		212 ³²
14:16	263	24:30-34	70	43	206
15:11-17:24	428, 455,	24:33	61, 66, 343	46	187
	477	27:21	526 ²⁷		
		29:20	528 ³²	Testament of Abraham	
		34:11(31:12 LXX)	475	4:9 A	373
		34:1-8	61, 71, 493	8-9 B	455

Testament of Abraham (cont.)

8 B	283
10-11	97
10-11 B	360, 480
10:2	97
11-12 A	455
12-14	207
12-13 A	480
12	97, 264
12 A	500

Testament of Job

1:1	135
3	493
3:3-4	492

Testament of Moses

1:14	316 ²⁰
4:1	295, 352
4:2	264
4:3	352
4:4	238 ²
5-10	166
8:1	211 ²³
9:6	498
9:7	187
10	144 ² , 209
10:1-8	144
10:3-8	31
10:3	144, 413,
	500
10:5	509
10:7	413, 493
10:9	529, 558
12:4-5	213

*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs**Testament of Asher*

1:2	411
1:8	273 ¹¹
5:4	489, 532
6:2	498 ⁶
6:4-6	499
11:26	273 ¹¹

Testament of Benjamin

9:1	96
-----	----

Testament of Dan

1:2	410
2:1	457
2:4	380 ⁵⁸ , 381
5:5	498 ⁶
5:6	96
6:8	457

Testament of Gad

3:1	489, 532
6:2-5	177

Testament of Issachar

1:1	410, 411
4:1	411, 498 ⁶

Testament of Joseph

1:2	411
-----	-----

Testament of Judah

1:2	410
7:7	148 ³³
14:3	177
14:5	177
16:1	273 ¹¹
18:1	96
19:4	380 ⁵⁸ , 381,
	498 ⁶
20	209, 210,
	471 ²
20:1-5	480
20:1	478, 525

Testament of Levi

1:2	410
2-7	246, 247
2-5	249, 256
2:3-5	240 ⁸ , 246 ⁴³
2:3	246, 248,
	249, 499
3:1-4	145
3:3	498 ⁶
3:4	264
3:5	209
4:1	478, 525
5:1	208, 249,
	271

5:5-7	209 ¹²
5:6	209, 209 ¹² ,
	273 ¹¹
5:7	209 ¹²
6:1	194
8:2	294
10:5	96
14:1	96
14:5-17:11	246
16:1	96, 439
18:10-11	314
18:12	221 ¹¹ , 273 ¹¹

Testament of Naphthali

3-4	129, 154
3	96
3:2-4:1	153
3:3	498 ⁶
4:1	96, 96 ¹²⁹
8:1	411

Testament of Reuben

1:2	410
1:5	411
1:10	177
2:1	498 ⁶
3:2	498 ⁶
3:9	457
5	195, 196
5:6-7	96, 99, 184,
	373
5:6	196 ³⁶ , 287
5:7	186

Testament of Simeon

2:7	380 ⁵⁸ , 381
3:1	498 ⁶
3:5	273 ¹¹
4:5	411
4:9	273 ¹¹
5:4	96
6:6	498 ⁶ , 273 ¹¹
9:1	96

Testament of Zebulon

3:4	96
9:7	498 ⁶

Tobit

1:1	135, 252
1:3	61, 455
1:4-9	455
1:5-8	61
1:5-6	492
1:6	489
1:17-20	486
2:3-10	486
3	249
3:1-5	61
3:10	518
3:11	203, 206, 212, 235, 352
3:12	206
3:13	206
3:14	206
3:15	206
3:16-17	207, 209
3:16	208
3:17	220 ¹ , 221, 295
4:3-4	486
4:3	342 ¹⁴
4:5-6	455, 456
4:5	61, 342 ¹⁴
4:6	458
4:10	455
4:12-13	395 ²⁰
4:12	220 ⁷ , 342 ¹⁴
4:13	342 ¹⁴
4:14	342 ¹⁴
4:19	61, 342 ¹⁴ , 455, 456, 458
4:20	530
5:13	492
5:16(17)	458
5:21-22	455
5:21(22)	458
6:6-8	295
6:12	61
6:14	184
6:18	251
7:11	184

7:13	61, 446
7:14	446
8:3	221
8:5	212, 235
8:6	212 ³³
8:15-17	235
11:1	458
11:14	235
11:15	458
12:6	235
12:10	298 ⁵
12:11-15	207
12:12-15	209
12:12	237, 238
12:14	220 ¹ , 221
12:15	45, 208, 294, 442
12:19	373
13	235
13:4	235
13:6	144 ⁸ , 235
13:7	235
13:9-18	61, 449
13:10	144 ⁸
13:16-17	313 ³
14:2	235
14:4-7	413
14:5	61
14:8	61
14:10-12	486

Wisdom of Solomon

1-9	79
1-5	455, 469
1:6-11	213 ³⁹
1:6-10	353
1:16-5:23	59
2-5	78, 84; 85, 306 ³¹ , 432
2-4	517, 519
2:1-4:9	78
2	59
2:2-5	557
2:2	521
2:6-12	521
2:6	176

2:9	523
2:16	213
2:17-20	521
3-4	148
3	560
3:1-9	148, 341
3:1	315
3:2	484
3:5-8	559
3:5-6	557
3:7	559
3:8	559
3:12	555
3:16	555
4:10-15	78, 443
4:10-14	270
4:10	341
4:20-5:8	78
4:7-17	341
4:7-9	78
5	82
5:1-8	559
5:4	484
5:5	141, 530
5:9-14	557
5:13	557
6:8-11	353
7:2	272
7:17	443
8	411
9	353
9:2	353
9:4	353
9:9	353
9:10	220 ¹ , 353
9:13-18	452
10-16	59
10	78
12:18	162 ⁷
12:23-16:4	493
12:23-24	492
12:24	492
13:1	492
13:6	492
13:10-11	491
13:16	492

Wisdom of Solomon (cont.)

13:18	492 ¹⁹
14:6	186
14:22	492
15:4-5	492
15:4	492
15:7-8	491
15:8	533
15:9	213
16:11	527
16:17	262 ⁷
17:1-18:19	379
21-22	353

d / Dead Sea Scrolls

1Q19	
	9 ³ , 77, 541
frg. 3	543 ¹⁰
frg. 5	543 ¹⁰

1Q20. *See also 1Qap Gen*

	76, 76 ²⁰
1-5	76
1 2:5	144 ⁸
6	76
12	76 ²²
19-20	76

1Q26	58
------	----

1Q34 ^{bis}	156
3 2	129
3 2:1-4	154

1Q180	
1:1	432

1QapGen

1-15	541
2-5	541
2	540, 541
2:1-18	541
2:1	140, 184 ³ , 372, 544
2:14	144 ³

2:16	140
2:19-26	541
2:23	74
3:3	177, 374, 546
5:3	538
5:9	442
5:24	549
5:25	541
5:29	135
6-11	542
6:2	411, 534 ¹⁰
6:6	538
7:7	238 ² , 550
10:13	227, 548
12	542
12:17	144 ³ , 238 ²
20-22	449
20:2-8	544
20:12	206, 212
20:13-15	206
20:13	206, 308 ⁴¹
20:14-15	206
20:14	187, 206, 305, 308 ⁴¹ , 448
20:15-16	206
20:15	206
20:19	197
21:2	144 ⁸ , 211
22:13	179 ²⁴

1QGiants^a (1Q23)

11

1QGiants^b (1Q24)

11

1QH

1(9):23-26	480
4(17):15	407 ¹⁷
4(17):29-40	77 ³⁴ , 146 ²⁴
9(1)	340
9(1):7-15	340
9(1):15-20	340
9(1):21-31	252

9(1):21	522
9(1):23-27	340
9(1):23-25	440
9(1):27-31	251
9(1):28-31	352
10(2):13	487
10(2):14	487
10(2):15-16	487
10(2):16-19	487
10(2):29	497
11(3):19-23	432
11(3):21	177
11(3):22	141, 176
11(3):28-36	146 ²³ , 283, 509
11(3):34	509
11(3):35-36	509
11(3):35	509
11(3):36	509
11(3):46-49	143 ¹
12(4):5-13(5):4	487
12(4):5-27	487
12(4):5-18	487
12(4):5	163, 487
12(4):9-10	487
12(4):10	487
12(4):12	487
12(4):13-16	411
12(4):16	487
12(4):20	487
12(4):25	487
12(4):27-	
13(5):4	148
12(4):27-29	163, 487
12(4):29-40	77
12(4):32-33	148
12(4):32	145 ¹⁶
12(4):33	146 ²⁴
13(5):20	235, 352
14(6):15	445
15(7):10-11	252
15(7):31	144 ⁸
15(7):32	155
16(8):6	445
16(8):32-33	146 ²⁴
16(8):36	252

18(10):2	155	3:21	487	1:12	554 ⁵
18(10):14	235, 352	3:22	442	1:15	554 ⁵
19(11):3-14	148	4:4	446	1:19	554 ⁵
19(11):9	148	4:6-8	466	4Q180-181	77, 81, 82
19(11):10-14	432	4:11	485	4Q180	77 ³⁰ , 439,
19(11):28	155	4:18-26	163		440, 440 ³
frg. 2:10	176	4:18-19	432, 433	1:3	440
1QIs ^a		4:18	412	1:6-8	172
53:11	221 ¹³	4:19-23	449	1:7-8	229
1QM		4:20-23	227 ⁵³ , 407 ¹⁷	4Q181	77 ³⁰ , 439,
9:15-16	207	4:22	176		440, 440 ³
17:8	271	5:4	487	4Q184	489
1QpHab		5:11	487	1:15	
1:13	65	6:6-12	266	4Q186	200
2:1-4	487	8-9	400	4Q200 (Tobit)	9 ³
2:2-3	486	8	65	4Q213-215	76 ²⁴ , 96 ¹³²
2:5	554 ⁵	8:4-10	448	4Q227	75 ¹⁷
7:5	522	8:5-7	77	4Q228	77 ³³
8:1-3	554	8:5	445	4Q247	77
8:17-9:2	518	8:6	148	4Q266-273	77 ³²
9:2	268	9:17	446	4Q318	200
9:6	554 ⁵	9:18	522	4Q415-418 (<i>Mūsār lēMēvîn</i>)	50, 58, 60,
10:9-12	487	11:1	487		60 ¹⁰ , 61
1QpPs ^a		11:3	163		
1:18-19	487	11:7-9	445		
1QS		11:7-8	176		
1-2	429	11:19	155		
1-2	429 ²⁰	1QSa			
2:3	163	1:1	554 ⁵		
2:5-9	133	1Qsb			
2:24	558	1:1	135		
3-4	66, 78, 210 ¹⁷ ,	3:22	135		
	456, 554	5:20	135		
3:13-4:14	558	2QGiants (2Q26)	11		
3:13-18	340	4Q162			
3:15-4:26	153, 455	2:1	554 ⁵		
3:15-18	153	4Q171 (4QPs ^a on Psalm 37)	162		
3:16	158	4Q174			
3:19	558	1:2	554 ⁵		
3:20-24	47 ¹²				
3:20	442				

4Q415		4QAmram ^a		1 3:17	185
	59	1 1:1	135	1 3:18-19	183
				1 3:18	183, 233,
4Q416		4QBarkiNafshi ^{a-c} (4Q434-438)			251
	59		557 ⁹	1 3:20-21	183
1 10:14	59			1 4:1	175, 189,
2 2:6-7	526	4QDibHam ^a			198
2 3:12-14	420	6:14	479	1 4:2	189, 198,
2 3:12	526				199
2 3:21	225			1 4:3	175, 188
2 4:2-7	272 ¹⁰	4QEn ^a (4Q201)		1 4:5	189
			9, 10, 25	1 4:6-7	206
4Q417		1 1:1	135, 139	1 4:6	202
	59	1 1:2	137	1 4:7-8	202
1 1:14-17	59	1 1:3	137	1 4:8	203, 208
1 1:14-16	480	1 1:4	137	1 4:9-10	203
1 1:15-16	60	1 1:7	142	1 4:19	204
		1 2:1	150	1 4:20	204
		1 2:2-3	150		
4Q418		1 2:3-4	150	4QEn ^b (4Q202)	
8:6	526	1 2:6	150		10, 19, 25
9:13-14	526	1 2:7-8	151	1 1:16	175
69	526	1 2:8	151	1 1:17	175
69 2:7-14	59	1 2:9-20	151	1 1:28	195
188,6	59	1 2:10	151	1 2:2-4	174
81	67 ³²	1 2:11	151	1 2:2	174, 176
		1 2:12	151, 157	1 2:3	176
4Q418a		1 2:13	151	1 2:8	175
	59	1 2:14	159	1 2:17	175
		1 2:15	159	1 2:19	197
4Q423		1 3:1-2	174	1 2:21	182
	59	1 3:1	174	1 2:25	183
5:1-2	489 ¹⁴	1 3:3	177	1 2:26	188
		1 3:5	175	1 2:27-28	188
4Q529 6-12		1 3:6	175	1 3	188
	208 ⁶	1 3:7	175	1 3:2	189
		1 3:8	175	1 3:4	175
		1 3:9	175	1 3:5	189
4Q533		1 3:10	175	1 3:13	203
	11	1 3:11	175	1 3:14	203
		1 3:12	175	1 3:15	203
4Q534		1 3:13	175, 182	1 4:6	217
	541 ⁴	1 3:14	182	1 4:7	202
		1 3:15	182, 197	1 4:8	218
4Q561		1 3:16-17	182	1 4:9	225
	200	1 3:16	182	1 4:10	217

1 4:11	218
1 6	252
4QEn ^c (4Q204)	
	10, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26
1 1:3	143
1 1:15	143
1 1:18-19	150
1 1:18	150
1 1:19-20	150
1 1:20	154, 155
1 1:21	150
1 1:26-27	151
1 1:28	151
1 1:30	151
1 2:2	150
1 2:25	175
1 2:26	175
1 2:27	175
1 2:28	175
1 5:1-2	219
1 5:1	218
1 5:2	218
1 5:3	218, 226
1 5:4	218
1 5:5	226 ⁴¹
1 5:6	218
1 5:7	218
1 5:8	218
1 5:19	234
1 6:1	237
1 6:4	208
1 6:5	248
1 6:7	248
1 6:10	251
1 6:12	251
1 6:13	251
1 6:14	253
1 6:15-17	252
1 6:15	251
1 6:17	252
1 6:18	252
1 6:20	257, 262, 258
1 6:24	258

1 6:25	258
1 6:26	258
1 6:28	258
1 7:2	258
1 8:27-30	287
1 8:29	277
1 11:3	310
1 12:23-24	325
1 12:24	321
1 12:25-26	321
1 12:27	321
1 12:28	321
1 12:29	321
1 12:30	321
1 13:24	331
1 13:26	331
1 22:1-2	300
1 22:1	300, 304
1 22:2-3	301
1 22:2	301
1 22:3	301, 305
1 22:4	187, 301
1 22:5	301
1 26:6	320
1 12:25	325
4 4	369
4 5	369
4 7	369
4 8	369
4 10	369
4 11	369
5 1	531
5 1:26-28	537
5 2	549
5 2:2	549
5 2:3	549
5 2:20-21	538
5 2:21-23	538
5 2:21-22	538
5 2:22-23	539
5 2:22	547, 548
5 2:24	539
5 2:25-26	539
5 2:25	539
5 2:26	539
5 2:27	539

5 2:28	539
5 2:29	539
4QEn ^d (4Q205)	
	10, 363 ¹⁶
1 11:2-3	301
1 11:2	302
1 12:5-6	310
1 12:5	310, 317
1 12:6-7	310, 317
1 12:7	317
1 12:8	317
1 12:9	317
2 1:24	368
2 1:26	368
2 1:29	368
2 2:29	369
2 3:27-28	369
4QEn ^e (4Q206)	
	10, 11, 326, 363 ¹⁶ , 376
1 22:3-4	306
1 26:15	321
1 26:16-17	321
1 26:16	321
1 26:17	321
1 26:18	321
1 26:19-21	326
1 26:19	321
1 26:20-21	322
1 26:20	321, 326
1 26:21	322, 327
1 27:2	322
1 27:10	322
1 27:19	329
1 27:21	331
4 1:13	368
4 1:14	368
4 1:15	368
4 1:16-17	368
4 1:17-18	368
4 1:18	368
4 1:19-20	368
4 1:19	368
4 1:20	368

4QEn ^c (<i>cont.</i>)		1 4:22	437	4QLevi ^b ar	
4 2:2	368	1 4:24	437	frg 2 9	446
4 2:3	368	1 4:25	437	frg 1 8	249
4 2:12-13	368	1 4:26	437	frg 2 13	248
4 2:12	368	1 5:14	451	frg 2 18	249
4 2:14	368	1 5:16	451		
4 2:16	403	1 5:17-18	451	4QMess ar	
4 2:18	368	1 5:17	451		541 ⁴
4 2:19	368	1 5:19	451	1:1	180 ²⁹
4 3:14	369	1 5:21	451		
4 3:15	369	1 5:22	451	4QMMT	
4 3:17	369, 381	1 5:23	451		223 ³⁰
				78	213 ³⁸
4QEn ^f (4Q207)		4QEnastr ^a (4Q208)			
	10, 363 ¹⁶		10	4QpHos ^a	
1:1	367			2:3-6	488
1:2	367	4QEnastr ^b (4Q209)			
			10	4QpNah	
4QEn ^g (4Q212)		26	335 ⁵	2:2	487
frg 1a	414	28	335 ⁶	2:4-5	487
1 2	413			2:8	487
1 2:13-26	413	4QEnastr ^c (4Q210)		3:3-8	487
1 2:19-20	410		10		
1 2:21	410			4QPrNab	
1 2:22	430	4QEnastr ^d (4Q211)		1:7-8	491
1 2:23-24	430		10		
1 2:25	430	1 1-3	335 ⁶	4QTob ar ^b	
1 3:2-3	435			1 10:18	251
1 3:19-20	435	4QGiants ^a (4Q203)			
1 3:20-21	435		11, 21, 185	4QTQahat	
1 3:21-22	435	7 1:6	172 ¹⁸	frg. 1 9-12	338, 343
1 3:22	443	8:5	176	frg. 1 9	342 ¹⁴
1 3:24-25	436				
1 3:24	435, 543	4QGiants ^b (4Q530)		6Q8 1	180
1 4	413		11		
1 4:12	436	4QGiants ^c (4Q531)		6QGiants (6Q8)	11
1 4:13	436		11		
1 4:14	436			7Q4 1-2	14 ⁴⁹
1 4:15	436	4QGiants ^d (4Q532)			
1 4:16	436, 437		11	11QMelchizedek	
1 4:17	437				440
1 4:18	437	4QGiants ^e (4Q556)			
1 4:19	437		11	11QPs ^a	
1 4:20	437			18:10	363
1 4:21	437	4QGiants ^f (4Q206 2-3)		18:12	518
1 4:22-23	437		11	19:7-9	518

19:7-8	518	4:17-5:19	395	7.14.7 §367	266
22:3-6	518	5:2-11	54	8.9 §245	518 ⁵
28:11	383 ⁷⁷	5:3-4	382 ⁷²	8.12.2 §295	518 ⁵
11QT		5:6-7	231, 272	9.2.2 §28	79
	534	5:20-6:11	399	9.3.1 §35	518 ⁵
62:1-11	266	5:20	487	11.1.3 §§12-15	428
11QtgJob		6:7	65	11.1.3 §17	486
8:2	187	6:11-13	395	12.1.1 §1-10	396
CD		6:11	65, 554 ⁵	13.14.2 §380	225 ³⁷
1-2	133	7:14-8:21	246	14.10.8 §216	486
1	65, 133, 163, 363, 399, 400	9:4	163	14.10.10 §219	533 ²
1:3-16	77	9:6	163	15.5.2 §24	148 ³³
1:3-12	399	10:9	163	15.10.3 §360	239 ⁴
1:3-9	447	10:15	258	15.10.3 §364	244
1:4-8	363	12:3	487	15.10.3 §404	245
1:7-12	54	12:6	455	18.2.1 §28	245
1:7-8	445	16:2-4	77	18.8.8 §304	486
1:10-2:14	455	20:30-31	446	19.6.1 §295	221
1:10-18	487			20.8.9 §183	486
1:10-15	455	Murabaʿat		<i>Jewish War</i>	
1:12	431	18 ar 8	449	1.4.6 §97	225 ³⁷
1:13	456 ⁹	20 ar	446	2.8.14 §§162-63	428
1:15-17	498	26 ar 5	218	2.9.1 §168	245
2:6	456 ⁹			4.1.1 §3	244
2:11-13	457	e / Other Jewish Texts		5.5.5 §218	323 ⁷
2:13	487	Artapanus	533	5.5.5 §221	264
2:14-4:12	399			5.10.3 §§429-33	490
2:14-15	133	<i>Chronicle of Jerahmeel</i>		6.3.4 §§201-13	490
2:14	381 ⁶⁵ , 381 ⁶⁶	23	196 ³⁵	6.5.3 §292	200 ⁵⁹
2:16-20	77	23:7	196 ³⁷	21.3 §404	245
2:17-3:12	186	Demetrius	533	Philo	
2:17	487			<i>De cherubim</i>	
2:18-19	184	Josephus		99	211
2:19	185	<i>Against Apion</i>		<i>Q. Gen.</i>	
3:1	487	22 §205-12	396	1.92	79
3:4	487	<i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>		<i>De gigantibus</i>	
3:14	487	1.1.3-4 §§37-43	328	2-4 (§§6-18)	79
3:18-20	407 ¹⁷	1.2.2-3.1		5-16	91
4:1	487	§§68-74	79	<i>De somniis</i>	
4:4	554 ⁵	1.3.1 §73)	186 ¹⁷	2.83-84	527
		1.3.4 §85	79	<i>De specialibus legibus</i>	
				1.18	211
				Pseudo-Eupolemos	
					71, 82, 533

■ / Rabbinic Literature

MIDRASH RABBAH

<i>Gen. Rab.</i>	
1:1	212
5:24	81
21:9	281 ¹⁶ , 296 ⁷
<i>Exod. Rab.</i>	
12:4	262 ⁷
<i>Lev. Rab.</i>	
27:5	371 ⁶
<i>Num. Rab.</i>	
2:10	207
<i>Eccl. (Qoh.) Rab.</i>	
3:15	371, 371 ⁶

MISHNAH

<i>ʿAbot</i>	
2:1	480
3:17	480
<i>Berakot</i>	
9:1	262
<i>Middot</i>	
4:5	264
<i>Sanhedrin</i>	
4:5	211
<i>Soṭah</i>	
9:15	490, 500
<i>Yebamaot</i>	
4:13	223
<i>Yoma</i>	
6:8	222 ¹⁸

TALMUDS

<i>b. Baba Batra</i>	
73b	311 ⁸
84a	282
<i>b. Berakot</i>	
58b	262
<i>b. ʿErubin</i>	
54a	263
<i>b. Keritot</i>	
6a	323 ⁷
6ab	326

<i>b. Nedarim</i>	
39b	212
<i>b. Niddah</i>	
61a	81
<i>b. Pesahim</i>	
54a	212
<i>b. Sanhedrin</i>	
8a	403
95b	223 ²⁸
<i>b. Yoma</i>	
67b	81
77	311 ⁸
<i>y. Berakot</i>	
9:13c	262
<i>y. Hagigah</i>	
2.77d, 42-54	524 ²⁹
<i>y. Sanhedrin</i>	
6.23c, 30-41	524 ²⁹
<i>y. Yoma</i>	
4.41d, 27-36	323 ⁷ , 326

TARGUMS

Deut 32:5	447
Judg 3:12	528
1 Kgs 10:5	271
2 Kgs 9:30	195
Ps. 37:35	442
Prov 25:1	533
Isa 24:22	305
Isa 54:11	195
Jer 4:30	195
Jer 22:13	474
Ezek 1:26	264
Ezek 17:7	219
Job 4:15	262

Targum Neofiti

Gen 4:7-8	306 ³¹
Gen 5:24b	233
Gen 6:4	184
Gen 26:8	206
Exod 14:19	285
Exod 20:2	262
Exod 20:3	262

Targum Onkelos

Gen 5:24	233 ¹
Gen 6:4	184

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Gen 5:24	233 ¹
Gen 6:1-4	81
Gen 6:2	86, 195, 196
Gen 6:4	184
Exod 20:2	262
Exod 20:3	262
Lev 16:10	222
Lev 16:21	222
Lev 16:22	262
Deut 30:15	455 ²

OTHER TEXTS

Midrash ha-beʿur

Gen 4:25	373 ²⁰
----------	-------------------

Pesiqta Rabbati

44	207
----	-----

Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer

4	207
---	-----

Sipre Deut

32:1 (§306)	154, 155
-------------	----------

Tanḥuma Yitro

10	373 ²⁰
----	-------------------

g / Christian Literature

PATRISTIC LITERATURE

Anatolius of Alexandria

<i>Paschal Canon</i>	
5	92

Athenagoras

<i>Apology</i>	
	103

Plea for the Christians

24-25	88
-------	----

Augustine of Hippo

<i>De civitate Dei</i>	
15.23	95
18.38	95

<i>Barnabas</i>		Hilary of Poitiers		<i>Contra Celsum</i>	
4:3	87	<i>Comm. on Ps. 133:3 (Tract. Super</i>		4.10	493 ²⁷
16:5	87	<i>Psalm. 132.6)</i>		5.52-55	91
16:6	87		93	5.52	251
18-20	455			5.55	91
		Irenaeus		7.62	491 ¹⁶
Clement of Alexandria		<i>Adversus haereses</i>		<i>De principiis</i>	
<i>Eclogae propheticae</i>		1.10.1	88	1.3.3	90
1-2	90	1.10.3	88	4.4.8	90
2	90	1.15.6	88	<i>Homiliae in Numeros</i>	
51-63	90	4.16.2	88	28.2	91, 107
53	90	4.36.4	88		
<i>Stromata</i>		4.37.1	88		
5.1.10.2	90	4.37.6	88	Papias	
		5.33.3	227	frgs.	103
<i>1 Clement</i>		<i>Demonstration of the Apostolic</i>		frg. 4	87
	103	<i>Preaching</i>			
19-20	87, 154	18	88		
				Pseudo-Clement	
Commodianus	101	Jerome		<i>Homilies</i>	93, 103
<i>Instructiones</i>		<i>Brev. in Ps. 132:3</i>		8	93, 99, 101,
3	93		94		104
		<i>Commentariorum in Epistulam</i>		8:10-20	97
Coptic Enoch Apocryphon		<i>ad Titum</i>		8:11-15	196
97, 103		1.2	94	8:12-18	188
		<i>Letter</i>		8:13	196
Cyprian		5.3	94 ¹¹¹	8:14	195
<i>De habitu virginum</i>		<i>De viris illustribus</i>		8:18-20	98
12-14	89	2	177	10-11	97
		4	94	21-23	98
<i>Didache</i>				<i>Recognitions</i>	
	6	Justin Martyr		1:29	97 ¹³⁶
1:6	455	<i>2 Apology</i>		4:26	97 ¹³⁶
9:2-3	253	5	87, 196, 287	8:50	97 ¹³⁶
<i>Doctrina Apostolorum</i>		Lactantius		Pseudo-Cyprian	
1-5	455	<i>Divine Institutes</i>		<i>Ad Novatianum</i>	
		2.15	92	16	14, 90, 143,
Epiphanius of Salamis		2.17	93		149
<i>Panarion</i>		7.19	93		
1.1.3	93			Pseudo-Vigilius	
		Melito of Sardis		<i>Contra Varimadum</i>	
Hermas		<i>Paschal Homily</i>		1.13	143, 149
<i>Mandate</i>		51	500		
1	90	Origen		Rufinus	
		<i>Commentary on the Gospel of John</i>		<i>Commentary on Apostles Creed</i>	
		6:42 (§217)	91	15	94

Tertullian	
<i>De cultu fem.</i>	
1.3	334
1.2	89
2	89
2.10	89
2.10	89 ⁸⁹
3	89
<i>De idolatria</i>	
4	14, 89, 287
14	
15	89
<i>De oratione</i>	
23	89
<i>De virginibus velandis</i>	
7	89

NT APOCRYPHA/PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	
32	99
<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	
	12, 103
4	87
13	87

<i>Gospel of Peter</i>	
	12, 103
39-42	87
40	186

<i>Protevangelium Jas.</i>	
19:2	540

GNOSTIC TEXTS

<i>Apocryphon of John</i>	
	103
2:1-9	543 ⁹
73:16-78:11	273 ¹²
BG 73.9-75.4	98
NHC	
II.27.22-30	99
II.27.24-30	98 ¹³⁸
II.29.10-30.4	98
III.38.10-39.4	98

<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	
24	163 ¹¹

<i>Hypostasis of the Archons</i>	
(II 4) 87:3	381 ⁶²

<i>On the Origin of the World</i>	
	103
(II 4) 94:25	381 ⁶²
(II 5) 103:18	381 ⁶²
125.31-127.17	98 ¹³⁸
NHC II.97-127	99
NHC II.114	99
NHC II.124	99

<i>Pistis Sophia</i>	
	103
15-21	99
99	99
134	99

ETHIOPIAN TEXTS

<i>Kebra Nagast</i>	
	104, 104 ¹⁶⁸
<i>Maṣḥafa Mestira Samay wameder</i> (<i>Book of the Mysteries of</i> <i>Heaven and Earth</i>)	
	104

<i>Maṣḥafa Seneksar</i> (<i>Ethiopian Synaxarium</i>)	
	105, 106

MANICHAEAN TEXTS

<i>Kephalaia</i>	
	100
Mani Codex	
	100
58:8-9	442

CHRONOGRAPHERS

Annianus of Alexandria	
	12, 15, 95,
	103

George Cedrenus of Byzantium	
	95, 109

George Syncellus	
	12, 12 ³¹ , 18,
	20, 95, 109

<i>Chronography</i>	
	109, 110
16 (17)	373
26 (27)	373
34 (35)	373
frags.	112, 115

John Malalas	
7(8)	373

Julius Africanus	
	95

<i>Chronographia</i>	
	92, 373

Michael of Syria	
	95, 109

<i>Chronicle</i>	
1.4	15

Pandorus	
	12, 95, 103

OTHER

Dante	
<i>Divine Comedy</i>	
	31, 295

h / Other Texts

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS

Berossus	
	192

Deir 'Alla Balaam Inscription	
	348

Demotic Magical Papyrus	
5:15	549

5:20	549	Aristotle	4.131	501
13:1-9	213	<i>Meteorologica</i>	9.237	199 ⁵¹
		341a 33	<i>Odyssey</i>	
Egyptian Book of the Dead		344a 16	1.364	501
12, 480		344a 33	10.175	519
		<i>Poetica</i>	10.503-15	283
Egyptian Song of the Harper		80b 25	11.12-22	283
520		<i>Problemata</i>	11:576-600	280
		45b 6	18.397	227 ⁴⁷
Gilgamesh Epic			19:510-11	501
	279, 281,			
	282	Cicero		
9 2:1-5	282	<i>De divinatione</i>	Horace	
9 3:7-9	282	1.35-36	<i>Odes</i>	
9:3:10-5:41	282	1.46	1.9.13-16	520
9 5:38	282	2.18-21	1.11.8	520
9 5:45-50	282			
11:195	282	Diodorus Siculus	Isocrates 4:172	526
11:7	282	1.55.7	211	
GREEK/ROMAN TEXTS		Euripides	Lucian	
		<i>Alcestitis</i>	<i>Dialogi Meretricii</i>	
Aeschylus		782-802	4:4-5	213
<i>Eumenides</i>				
	499	<i>Medea</i>	Minucius Felix	
<i>Prometheus Bound</i>		1297	<i>Octavius</i>	
	221	<i>Phoenissae</i> Scholion	26	88
1-81	193, 221	1260	213	
7-11	192			
106-12	192	Galen	Ovid	
106-10	193	<i>On Mixtures</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>	
142	193, 221	10.1	1:144-48	500
254-60	192			
254-56	193	Hesiod	Petronius	
271	193, 221	<i>Theogony</i>	<i>Satyricon</i>	
442-82	193	505-616	34	520
500-504	193	617-735		
618	193, 221	675	Plato	
1016	193, 221	713-48	<i>Apologia</i>	
		713-26	15 (27B-E)	273
		<i>Works and Days</i>	<i>Phaedo</i>	
Apollodorus		42-105	107D-108C	499
<i>Library</i>		110-27	109B-110B	281 ²⁰
1.1.1-2:1	222 ¹⁶	181-89	111C-112E	283
1.6.1	223 ³¹		112E-113C	283
			113A	283 ⁴³
Aristophanes		Homer	113D-114C	280, 283
<i>Clouds</i>		<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Respublica</i>	
579-83	199 ⁵¹	2.353	10.614-21	280

Plato (<i>cont.</i>)		Seneca		PAPYRI AND INSCRIPTIONS
<i>Symposium</i>		<i>Naturales Quaestiones</i>		CIG
193d	485	1.1.12-1	2003	2/1:244, no. 4539
Plautus		1.1.3-4	200	245 ²⁶
<i>Amphitruo</i>		2.32-52	199	3/2:1179, no. 4538b
1062-75	199 ⁵¹	Sophocles		245 ²⁶
Pliny		<i>Antigone</i>	486	3/2:1180 245 ²⁶
<i>Natural History</i>		Strabo		IG
2.137-48	200 ⁵²	16.4.14	324	14.422 ii.10 227 ⁴⁸
2.2000	200 ⁵⁸	Theophrastus		14.422 ii.3 227 ⁴⁸
30-36	324	<i>Historia</i>		14.422 ii.65 227 ⁴⁸
33.33 §101	286 ⁶⁸	9.4	324	14:422 iii.74 227 ⁴⁸
Plutarch		9.5.2	325	Mount Hermon Inscription
<i>Agisilaus</i>		Virgil		247
11.2-4	200	<i>Aeneid</i>		Tel Dan Inscription
<i>Brutus</i>		1.43	199 ⁵¹	244
40	486	1.230	199 ⁵¹	
<i>Moralia</i>		Xenophon		
563-68	280	<i>Cyropaedia</i>		
Ptolemy		1.4.25	485	
<i>Tetrabiblos</i>				
2.102	200			
3.1, 11-14	200 ⁵⁵			

2. Names

- Aalen, Svere
124
- Achtemeier, Paul J.
74, 123, 225
- Adler, William
12-13, 83, 92, 95,
123, 176, 182, 373
- Albani, Matthias
122
- Alexander, Philip S.
29, 71, 81, 176, 184,
373
- Alter, Robert
35
- Amstutz, Joseph
411
- Andel, C. P. van
123
- Andersen, Francis
80, 541
- Anderson,
Bernhard W.
212, 289
- Archer-Hind, R. D.
283
- Argall, Randal
63, 66, 71, 103, 121,
153, 155, 157, 163,
322, 328, 337-38,
343, 541
- Artom, A. Sh.
116
- Atiya, Aziz S.
106
- Attridge, Harold W.
12, 99, 102, 210
- Audet, Jean-Paul
455
- Avigad, Nahman
524
- Bagrow, Leo
284, 329
- Baltzer, Klaus
429, 455
- Baly, Denis
239
- Bammel, E.
405
- Barker, Margaret
120, 166
- Barnstone, Willis
416
- Barr, James
14, 19, 116-17
- Barrett, C. K.
405
- Barrois, Georges A.
499
- Bartelmus, Rüdiger
118-19, 122, 167,
170, 185, 190-93
- Bauckham, Richard J.
124, 405
- Bauer, Hans
178
- Bauernfeind, Otto
244
- Baumgarten, Albert I.
171, 192
- Baumgartner,
Joseph M.
77
- Bearman, Gregory
77
- Beck, H. F.
324
- Becker, Michael
54
- Beckh, Henricus
156
- Beckwith, Roger T.
121
- Beer, Georg
222, 250, 348
- Behm, Johannes
485-86
- Benoit, Pierre
520
- Berger, Klaus
71, 104, 116, 123
- Bergren, Theodore
71, 444
- Berlin, Adele
35
- Berlin, Andrea M.
474, 498
- Berman, Dennis
373
- Bertram, Georg
208, 265, 484, 526
- Bethge, Hans-Gebhard
99
- Betz, Hans Dieter
494
- Betz, Otto
209-10, 244, 543
- Beyene, Yaqob
105-6
- Beyer, Hermann W.
314
- Beyer, Klaus
183, 301, 435, 544
- Bickerman, Elias J.
170, 490
- Bietenhard, Hans
145, 220, 271, 534
- Bihlmeyer, Karl
87
- Bilabel, Friedrich
211
- Billerbeck, Paul
113
- Biran, Avraham
239, 244, 491
- Black, Matthew
12, 19, 61, 115-16,
124, 155, 175, 178-
80, 246, 320-22, 324,
326, 348-50, 405-7,
463, 537-38, 545-46
- Blanc, Cécile
91
- Blau, Ludwig
282
- Bleeker, C. J.
222
- Bloch, Raymond
200
- Block, Renée
29
- Boccaccini, Gabriele
24, 65, 122, 426
- Bodenheimer, F. S.
465
- Bogaert, Pierre
296
- Bonner, Campbell
13, 113, 469, 482-83,
504-5, 514-16, 527,
533-34
- Borgeaud, Philippe
245
- Borgouts, J. F.
198
- Borsch, F. H.
123
- Böttrich, Christfried
81
- Bouriant, Ulysses
12, 110
- Bousset, Wilhelm
45, 113, 261
- Bow, Beverly A.
103, 541
- Brakmann, Heinzgerd
106
- Brandon, S. G. F.
222
- Braun, Herbert
487, 492
- Brekelmans, C. H. W.
141
- Brock, S. P.
15, 174
- Broshi, Magen
77
- Brown, Raymond E.
210, 343, 522, 540,
554
- Bruce, James
109
- Brunet, Gustave
110

Buchanan, George W.	310-11, 313, 315,	Coughenour, Robert A.	Deppert-Lippitz,
112	317-22, 331, 334,	121	Barbara
Büchsel, Friedrich	346, 348, 350, 352,	Cowley, R. W.	194
474	363, 367, 369, 375,	82	Dequeker, L.
Budde, Karl	382, 385, 390-92,	Crenshaw, James L.	140
209	394, 396-97, 401,	145	Derrett, J. Duncan M.
Budge, E. A. Wallis	403, 406, 412, 430,	Cross, Frank M.	463
104-5, 108	432, 436-37, 440,	10-11, 60, 209-10,	Dewey, Arthur J.
Bultmann, Rudolf	447, 451, 461-64,	240, 261, 363	100, 442
45	468, 472, 483, 497,	Cumont, Franz	Dexinger, Ferdinand
Bunbury, Edward H.	500, 526-27, 535,	200	122, 441, 444, 446-
283	537, 545, 552		47, 449-50
Burkitt, F. Crawford	Charlesworth, James H.	Dahl, Nils A.	Dibelius, Martin
113, 231, 274	18, 120	371,	211-12, 457
Burton, Ernest de W.	Chazon, Esther	Dahlberg, B. T.	Díez Macho, Alejandro
197	76, 541	296	116
	Childs, Brevard S.	Dahood, Mitchell	Dillmann, August
Caley, Earle R.	287	240	12, 16, 109, 110-11,
287	Clemens, Richard	Dalman, Gustaf	145, 147, 177, 180,
Callaway, Harry M.	109	219, 403	190, 217, 220, 226-
286	Clermont-Ganneau,	Dalton, W. J.	27, 248, 258, 263,
Cameron, Ron	Charles	86, 123	281-83, 285, 287-89,
100, 442	231, 247	Danker, Frederick W.	310, 313, 321-22,
Caquot, André	Clifford, Richard J.	530	329, 346, 367, 374-
116, 348, 380-81	68, 240, 284, 286,	Dar, Shimon	75, 378, 381, 385,
Catchpole, David R.	289	195, 239-40, 246,	392, 394, 403, 406,
84, 123	Cohen, Shaye J. D.	261	412, 431-32, 440,
Cavallin, Hans C. C.	489, 492	D'Arcy, C. F.	444-48, 451, 457,
428	Collins, Adela Yarbro	112	469, 483, 509, 526-
Ceriani, Antonius M.	42, 223	Davidson, James E.	527, 538, 552
111	Collins, John J.	450	Dimant, Devorah
Charles, J. Daryl	12, 31, 46, 55, 59,	Davies, W. D.	22, 77, 117-18, 190-
124	61, 65, 68, 79-80,	253, 405	92, 440, 544-45
Charles, R. H.	112, 118-20, 170,	Dean-Oetting, Mary	Dindorf, W.
9, 12, 16, 18, 20-21,	190, 224, 280, 289,	120	12
35, 86, 110, 112-14,	291, 305, 337, 357,	Dehandschutter, B.	Dinkler, Erich
143, 146, 148-49,	400, 439-40, 501,	124	79
156, 159-61, 175,	553, 559	Delcor, Mathias	Dix, G. H.
177, 183, 186, 190,	Colpe, Carsten	118, 122, 185-86,	21-22, 117
197, 204, 208, 217,	3, 45	192	Dodd, C. H.
219, 221, 228, 238,	Conzelmann, Hans	Delitzsch, Franz	85
247-48, 250-52, 257-	211-12, 457, 462	183	Doeve, J. W.
58, 263-65, 267-69,	Cornfield, Gaalya	Delling, Gerhard	440
274, 277, 282-83,	244	220	Donadoni, Sergio
285-87, 294, 297-	Corriente, Federico	Denis, Albert-Marie	15
98, 300, 302-3, 307,	116	93-94, 428	

Dupont-Sommer, André 116	Fischer, Ulrich 80	García Martínez, Florentino 9-10, 114-15, 541	Goodspeed, Edgar J. 123
Dussaud, René 240, 244	Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 9, 76-77, 116-17, 140, 144, 178-80, 187, 223, 227, 235, 326, 373, 431, 449, 529, 533, 540, 542, 544	Gardiner, Alan H. 198	Goppelt, Leonhard 282
Edson, Charles F. 170	Flannery-Dailey, Frances L. 32-33, 295, 493	Gardner, Iain 100	Gordon, Cyrus H. 221
Edwards, G. Roger 227	Flemming, Johannes 16, 111	Gaster, Theodore H. 285, 319	Goshen-Gottstein, M. 544
Eger, Otto 486	Flusser, David 487	Gaylord, Harry E. 328	Gragg, Gene B. 105, 108
Ehlen, Arlis J. 36	Foerster, Werner 485, 492, 517	Gefrörer, A. F. 109	Gray, George Buchanan 221
Eichholz, D. E. 286	Fohrer, Georg 485	Geiger, E. E. 222	Green, William S. 45, 406
Eitrem, S. 283, 519	Fontenrose, Joseph E. 318	George, Wilma 329	Greenberg, Moshe 222
Elliott, John H. 2, 560	Forbes, R. J. 193-95, 286	Georgi, Dieter 79	Greenfield, Jonas 22, 76-77, 116-17, 119, 248
Embleton, Clifford 108	Fornberg, Tord 57, 99, 246	Gese, Harmut 292	Grelot, Pierre 61-62, 117, 119, 122, 278-85, 288, 519
Emerton, J. A. 254	Forsyth, Neil 123	Gil, Moshe 323	Gressmann, Hugo 45, 113
Eskenazi, Tamara C. 382	Frazer, James G. 223	Gildenmeister, J. 13	Griffith, F. Ll. 213, 549
Ettisch, E. E. 121	Frerichs, Ernest S. 42, 45, 406	Ginzberg, Louis 223	Grohmann, Adolf 211
Evans, Craig A. 120	Fuhs, H. F. 16, 104, 107-9, 116	Gitlbauer, Michael 13, 110	Gropp, Douglas M. 476
Evelyn-White, Hugh G. 233	Fujita, Shozo 444	Giverson, Søren 100	Gruenwald, Ithamar 261
Everding, H. E. 158	Funk, F. X. 87	Glasson, T. Francis 62, 119, 192, 254, 273, 280, 303, 305	Grundmann, Walter 316, 463, 484, 523
Ewald, Heinrich 110, 117	Fusella, Luigi 116	Goldberg, A. M. 371	Gry, Leon 218-19
Fabricius, Johann A. 13	Gaisford, Thomas 282	Goldschmidt, Lazarus 110, 114, 403	Gundel 200, 257
Feitlowitz, Jacob 116	Gammie, John G. 139	Goldstein, Jonathan A. 377, 396-98, 400-1, 403, 406	Gunkel, Hermann 166
Fenske, Wolfgang 54		Golomb, D. M. 15	Guthrie, William K. C. 280
Février, James G. 326		Good, E. M. 265	Habel, Norman 254
Firmage, Edwin 385			

Haile, Getatchew 16, 105	Hellholm, David 2, 57, 63, 80, 99	Isaac, Ephraim 18, 104-5, 115, 368	Kees, Hermann 198
Haldar, Alfred 240	Hengel, Martin 66, 192, 280, 390, 392, 476, 519-20	Isbell, Charles D. 197-98	Kenyon, Frederic G. 13-14, 20, 113
Hallevi, Joseph 177	Henning, W. B. 172	James, M. R. 110, 483	Klein, Charlotte 114
Halliday, William R. 199	Henten, Jan W. van 124	Jansen, H. Ludin 61, 113, 122, 254	Knibb, Michael A. 9, 11-16, 18-20, 106- 8, 115-16, 142-43, 150-51, 159-60, 175, 178-79, 204, 232, 277, 317, 346, 348, 350, 367, 369, 380, 385, 403, 430-31, 437, 468-69, 496-97, 505, 514, 537-38, 545, 552
Hammershaimb, Erling 116	Hertrich, V. 547	Janzen, Waldemar 416, 418	Kobelski, Paul J. 78, 179, 209, 211
Hance, William A. 108	Herzog, J. J. 110	Jastrow, Marcus 219, 304, 315	Koch, Klaus 117, 435-37, 440
Hanfmann, George M. A. 465	Higgins, R. A. 194	Jastrow, Morris 200	Koester, Helmut 97
Hanson, John S. 493	Himmelfarb, Martha 31, 87, 120, 123, 271-72, 295	Jeremias, Gert 172, 487	Kolenkow, Anitra Bingham 117, 135, 338
Hanson, K. C. 416	Hoffmann, Andreas G. 109, 177, 220, 281- 82, 329, 440, 552	Jeremias, Joachim 14, 113, 177, 326-27	Kollmann, Berndt 76
Hanson, Paul D. 31, 55, 118-20, 122, 131, 168, 190, 192, 286	Hoftijzer, J. 348	Jeremias, Jörg 146	Kooij, G. van der 348
Harlow, Daniel C. 328	Holladay, William L. 153	Johansson, Nils 209-10	Kosmala, Hans 220
Harrington, Daniel J. 60, 67, 326, 449, 480, 529	Hollander, H. W. 96, 135	Johnson, Aubrey R. 471	Kraft, Robert A. 59, 114, 123, 338, 455
Harrison, R. K. 315	Holm-Nielsen, Svend 212	Jonge, Marinus de 96, 135, 249, 446	Krencker, Daniel 246
Hartin, Patrick J. 124	Hölscher, Gustav 244	Jongeling, B. 114	Kugel, James L. 35
Hartmann, Hudson T. 227	Hornum, M. B. 245	Joubert, Stephan J. 124	Kugler, Robert A. 114
Hartman, Lars 119, 131-33, 138, 143, 145, 147-48, 152, 154, 160-61, 169, 224, 227-28, 440, 507	Horsley, Richard 66, 426, 476	Joüon, Paul 178	Kühn, C. G. 213
Hastings, Adrian 106	Hubbard, Benjamin J. 30, 254, 271	Kahana, Abraham 116	Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang 271
Hauck, Friedrich 177, 223	Hubbard, David A. 104	Kaiser, Otto 281	
Heldman, Marilyn E. 108	Hunt, Arthur S. 13	Kaplan, Chaim 114	
	Ingrams, Leila 108	Kaplan, Irving 108	
	Isaac, B. 245	Käsemann, Ernst 338, 418, 464	
		Kautzsch, Emil 2, 111	

Kuhn, Karl Georg 559	Levy, Jacob 195, 403, 492, 543	401, 412, 432, 447, 451, 509, 552	317-18, 320-29, 331, 335, 342, 361, 363,
Kutsch, Ernst 121	Lewis, Jack P. 220	Martin, Luther H. 45	367-70, 373, 401, 403, 405, 407, 410,
Kvanvig, Helge S. 61, 71, 119, 122, 254	Lichtenberger, Hermann 558	Maurer, Christian 555	413, 430, 432, 435- 37, 440, 443, 451,
Landes, George C. 139	Lindars, Barnabas 124, 403	McCarter, P. Kyle 348	453, 462, 474, 477, 491, 496, 500, 508,
Lang, Friedrich 265, 525	Lindsay, Jack 200	McCullough, Stuart W. 194, 465, 497	531, 533-34, 537-39, 541, 543, 546-49
Lapp, Nancy L. 227	Lipinski, Edward 177, 239-40, 246	McDermot, Violet 99	Millar, Fergus 244-45
Lapp, Paul W. 227	Lods, Adolphe 12, 20, 257	McKane, William 153	Miller, J. Innes 324-26
Larcher, C. 78-79	Loewenstamm, Samuel E. 104, 382	McNeile, A. H. 235	Miller, P. D. 60
Largement, R. 198	Löw, Immanuel 323-26	Meissner, Bruno 195	Mirecki, Paul A. 87
Larson, Erik W. 117, 175, 183, 188, 218, 233, 248, 251, 301-2, 321	Lucas, A. 195	Mendelsohn, Isaac 476	Moldenke, Alma L. 324-25
Laurence, Richard 16, 109	Lull, David 33, 413	Messel, N. 113	Moldenke, Harold N. 324-25
Lawlor, H. J. 83, 89, 90-93, 98-99, 102-3, 111, 123	MacRae, George W. 98, 458	Meyer, Rudolf 227, 272	Molenberg, Corrie 184, 186, 190-91, 194, 227
Layton, Bentley 96, 123	Mai, Angelo 13, 110	Michaelis, Wilhelm 455-56, 458, 497	Molyneaux, Brian L. 4
Leander, Pontus 178	Maier, Gerhard 429, 477	Michel, Otto 244, 462, 543	Moore, Carey A. 256
Lee, H. D. P. 257	Mann, Ulrich 453	Michl, J. 208	Moore, George Foot 113, 177, 240
Lefèvre, A. 198	Manson, T. W. 112	Migne, Jacques-Paul 110	Moore, Thomas 4
Legg, L. G. Wickham 112	Ma'oz, Zvi Uri 171, 239, 244-46	Milik, J. T. 9-15, 19, 21-22, 24, 61-62, 77, 81, 100, 106, 115-19, 122-23, 142-43, 150-51, 155- 57, 159, 166, 172, 174-75, 177-83, 185, 188-90, 196, 199, 202-4, 216-26, 229- 30, 234-35, 237-38, 240, 247-53, 257-58, 263, 275, 277, 279, 281-82, 284-85, 289, 296, 300-2, 310-11,	Morgenstern, Matthew 77
LeMaire, A. 348	Marcus, Harold G. 106, 108		Morin, D. Germanus 94
Lemke, W. E. 60	Marrassini, Paolo 106		Mountjoy, Alan B. 108
Leslau, Wolf 378	Martin, François 94, 99, 110-11, 190, 204, 282-83, 285-86, 310, 375-76, 392,		Mowinckel, Sigmund 113, 209-10
Levine, Baruch A. 348			Müller, C. Detlef 87
			Munck, Johannes 30, 246

Munier, H. 103	426-28, 432, 444, 448, 452, 455, 457-	Pfeffer, Friedrich 199	Reed, William L. 283
Munro-Hay, Stuart 106	58, 465, 469-70, 472, 475, 478-80, 482-83,	Philonenko, Marc 100, 116	Reese, Günther 356, 358-59, 380, 384, 404, 444, 446-
Muraoka, T. 179	488, 492, 496, 504-5, 513-17, 521, 525,	Pietersma, Albert 13	47
Murray, Edward 111	528-30, 541-42, 544, 554-55, 559-60	Piñero, Antonio 116	Reese, James M. 78
Murray, Robert 140-41	Nordheim, Eckhard von 117, 337, 457	Platt, Elizabeth E. 194	Reeves, John C. 100, 172
Naveh, Joseph 197-98, 213	Noth, Martin 179-80	Polk, Timothy 139	Reicke, Bo 560
Nebe, G.-Wilhelm 14	Oakman, Douglas E. 4, 426	Pollard, John R. T. 465	Reinbold, Wolfgang 76
Neugebauer, Otto 61, 106, 121, 330-31, 334	Olson, Daniel C. 86, 124, 414	Polotsky, H. J. 106	Reminick, Ronald A. 107
Neusner, Jacob 42, 45, 406	Oppenheim, A. Leo 198	Poole, Reginald S. 396,	Rengstorf, Karl H. 220, 244
Newsom, Carol A. 118, 121, 190-91, 193, 236, 271, 278, 280, 287	Orlinsky, Harry M. 250	Pope, Marvin H. 199, 209	Richards, John F. C. 287
Nibley, Hugh 82	Osburn, C. D. 124	Porter, Paul A. 118, 200, 375, 390- 92, 403	Richards, Kent H. 77, 122, 399
Nickelsburg, George W. E. 2-3, 5, 7-8, 12-14, 19, 29, 31, 33, 42, 45-46, 54-55, 57, 59-60, 63- 64, 67-69, 72, 76-80, 83-84, 96-97, 100, 102, 104, 114-24, 136, 145-49, 159, 161, 166, 169-70, 176, 187, 190-94, 207, 209-10, 222, 224-28, 232, 239, 246, 249, 252-53, 256, 262, 264, 271, 273, 295-96, 303-4, 306-8, 314-315, 319, 327-28, 338, 359, 363, 380, 382, 391, 399-400, 406, 413,	Osten-Sacken, Peter von der 209	Preus, H. D. 145	Ricks, Stephen D. 82
	Otto, Rudolf 113	Procksch, Otto 157, 166	Riesner, Rainer 246-47
	Pankhurst, Richard 108	Puech, Émile 9, 11, 14, 115, 428	Ringgren, Helmer 444, 518
	Parry, Donald 114	Qimron, Elisha 76-77, 213, 223	Robinson, James M. 212
	Paul, Shalom M. 478-80	Quasten, Johannes 87-95, 102	Rodinson, Maxime 107
	Peake, Arthur S. 221	Rabe, David 1	Rohde, Erwin 280, 283, 307
	Pearson, Birger A. 86, 97, 99, 103, 123- 24, 192, 210, 222, 380, 455, 480	Rad, Gerhard von 60, 166, 458	Roscher, Wilhelm H. 245, 288
	Penglase, Charles 193	Radermacher, Ludwig 111, 142, 159, 175, 216, 277, 301	Roth, W. M. W. 492
	Perkins, PHEME 99	Rau, Eckhard 121, 131, 135, 143- 44, 147, 152, 154-58, 334, 401	Rubinkiewicz, Ryszard 84, 124, 373
			Ruwet, J. 91
			Sacchi, Paolo 116, 119-20

Sacy, Silvestre de 109	Schober, F. 218	Smith, Jonathan Z. 330	265, 271-72, 284, 319, 369, 381, 395,
Saldarini, Anthony J. 427	Schodde, G. H. 110	Smith, Morton 193	416, 433, 469, 480, 489, 543
Sanders, E. P. 50	Scholem, Gershom 249, 260-61, 263	Sokoloff, Michael 19, 116-17, 178, 180, 183	Stuckenbruck, Loren 9-11, 115, 172-73
Sanders, J. A. 411	Schrage, Wolfgang 380	Sparks, H. F. D. 115	Suter, David W. 114, 118-20, 122, 139, 184, 231, 349
Sanders, Jack T. 58	Schuller, Eileen 114	Spiro, Sheila 77	Swete, H. B. 110, 235
Santos, Elmar Camilo dos 311	Schulthess, Fridericus 219	Staehlin, Rudolf 199	Taeger, Fritz 170
Sasson, Victor 348	Schultz, D. R. 88, 123	Stählin, Gustav 249	Tamrat, Taddesse 108
Sayler, Gwendolyn B. 69	Schulz, Siegfried 223	Starcky, Jean 180	Tarn, W. W. 171
Scaliger, Joseph J. 13, 109	Schürer, Ernst 111, 113, 244-45	Steiner, Richard C. 135	Tcherikover, Victor 63, 170, 427
Schalit, Abraham 244	Seely, David 557	Stendahl, Krister 2, 148, 246	Thackeray, H. St. J. 244
Schechter, Solomon 177	Sellassie, Sergrew H. 106-7	Steudel, Annette 76	Thalheim, Th. 222
Schiffman, Lawrence H. 476	Sellers, Ovid R. 227	Stinespring, William F. 262	Theisohn, Johannes 84, 123
Schmid, Hans Heinrich 226	Selwyn, E. G. 435	Stone, Michael E. 4, 14, 22, 29, 60, 67, 69-71, 76, 79, 96, 116-17, 121-22, 153, 155, 248, 254, 338, 380, 433, 444, 451- 52, 477, 487, 500, 541	Thompson, Herbert 213, 549
Schmidt, Carl 99	Shahid, Irfan 104		Thompson, John A. 195
Schmidt, Francis 97	Shaked, Shaul 153, 197-98, 213		Thomson, J. Oliver 283
Schmidt, Nathaniel 109	Shulman, D. 153	Strack, Hermann L. 113	Thorndike, Jeanie 441
Schmitz, Otto 212	Sim, David C. 84, 124	Strathmann, H. 295	Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. 9-10, 115
Schneemelcher, Wilhelm 87	Simon, M. 222	Stricker, B. H. 198	Tiller, Patrick A. 16, 20, 61, 66, 77, 100, 116, 354, 357- 59, 361-63, 367-79, 381-86, 388-89, 391- 92, 394-98, 400-1, 403-5, 407-8, 444-45
Schneider, Johannes 211, 220	Sivan, Daniel 77	Strong, Donald 474	Tobin, T. H. 12
Schneider, Käthe 284	Sjöberg, Erik 113, 123, 249	Stroumsa, Gedaliahu 79, 81, 98-99, 100, 153	
Schnutenhaus, Frank 144	Skelton, R. A. 284, 329	Strugnell, John 36, 60, 62, 67, 198,	
	Smalley, Stephen S. 124		
	Smith, George A. 239-40		

Tongerloo, Alois van	23, 142-47, 279, 282,	Weicker, Georg	Wolff, Hans W.
100	334, 422, 427, 436,	288	199-200, 249
Toombs, Lawrence E.	438, 441, 443, 476,	Weinfeld, Moshe	Wright, Benjamin G.
497	505, 545	557	63, 67, 122, 455
Torrey, Charles C.	Vaux, Roland de	Wellhausen, Julius	Wright, G. Ernest
14, 113, 538	244	218	10
Trebolle Barrera, Julio	Vegas, Montaner, Luis	Wendt, Kurt	Yadin, Yigael
77, 146	77, 146	108	181, 194, 207, 209,
Trever, John C.	Vermes, Geza	Werline, Rodney A.	266, 273
324-25	154, 244-45, 266,	103, 458, 541	
Trible, Phyllis	487	Wernicke, Konrad	Zimmerli, Walther
272	Villiers, Pieter G. R. de	245	194, 254, 318, 327,
Tzaferis, Vassilios	124	Westermann, Claus	476
244-45	Viviano, Benedict T.	166, 184-85, 375	Zimmern, Heinrich
	266	Wevers, John W.	211
Uhlig, Siegbert	Vogt, Ernest	194	Zohary, Michael
9, 16, 18, 20-21, 115,	147	Wieder, Naphtali	321, 324-26, 328
204, 322, 334, 346,	Volz, Paul	246-47	Zschietzmann, Willy
348, 350, 367-68,	113, 465-66	Wiegand, Theodor	246
468, 505		246	Zuckerman, Bruce
Ullendorff, Edward	Wacker, Marie-Theres	Wildberger, Hans	76
15, 104, 106-8, 116	118, 120, 290-92,	263-64, 350	Zuntz, G.
Unger, Eckhard	298-309, 313, 317-	Wilken, Robert L.	14, 113, 483, 505,
329	19, 332	82, 491	513-14
	Waldstein, Michael	Wilson, R. McL.	Zwicker, Johannes
Van Beek, Gus W.	99, 207	87	465
324	Ward, Roy Bowen	Winckler, Winckler	
VanderKam, James C.	475	211	
15, 23, 61-62, 67, 71-	Warren, Charles	Winston, David	
72, 74-75, 77, 79, 81,	247	78, 262, 520	
83, 89, 94, 96, 105,	Waser, Otto	Wisse, Frederik	
115-16, 119-20, 122-	273, 283	99, 207	

In the design of the visual aspects of *Hermeneia*, consideration has been given to relating the form to the content by symbolic means.

The letters of the logotype *Hermeneia* are a fusion of forms alluding simultaneously to Hebrew (dotted vowel markings) and Greek (geometric round shapes) letter forms. In their modern treatment they remind us of the electronic age as well, the vantage point from which this investigation of the past begins.

The Lion of Judah used as visual identification for the series is based on the Seal of Shema. The version for *Hermeneia* is again a fusion of Hebrew calligraphic forms, especially the legs of the lion, and Greek elements characterized by the geometric. In the sequence of arcs, which can be understood as scroll-like images, the first is the lion's mouth. It is reasserted and accelerated in the whorl and returns in the aggressively arched tail: tradition is passed from one age to the next, rediscovered and re-formed.

"Who is worthy to open the scroll and break its seals. . . ."

Then one of the elders said to me

"weep not; lo, the Lion of the tribe of David, the Root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals."

Rev. 5:2, 5

To celebrate the signal achievement in biblical scholarship which *Hermeneia* represents, the entire series will by its color constitute a signal on the theologian's bookshelf: the Old Testament will be bound in yellow and the New Testament in red, traceable to a commonly used color coding for synagogue and church in medieval painting; in pure color terms, varying degrees of intensity of the warm segment of the color spectrum. The colors interpenetrate when the binding color for the Old Testament is used to imprint volumes from the New and vice versa.

Wherever possible, a photograph of the oldest extant manuscript, or a historically significant document pertaining to the biblical sources, will be displayed on the end papers of each volume to give a feel for the tangible reality and beauty of the source material.

The title-page motifs are expressive derivations from the *Hermeneia* logotype, repeated seven times to form a matrix and debossed on the cover of each volume. These sifted-out elements will be seen to be in their exact positions within the parent matrix.

Horizontal markings at graduated levels on the spine will assist in grouping the volumes according to these conventional categories.

The type has been set with unjustified right margins so as to preserve the internal consistency of word spacing. This is a major factor in both legibility and aesthetic quality; the resultant uneven line endings are only slight impairments to legibility by comparison. In this respect the type resembles the hand-written manuscripts where the quality of the calligraphic writing is dependent on establishing and holding to integral spacing patterns.

All of the type faces in common use today have been designed between AD 1500 and the present. For the biblical text a face was chosen which does not arbitrarily date the text, but rather one which is uncompromisingly modern and unembellished so that its feel is of the universal. The type style is Univers 65 by Adrian Frutiger.

The expository texts and footnotes are set in Baskerville, chosen for its compatibility with the many brief Greek and Hebrew insertions. The double-column format and the shorter line length facilitate speed reading and the wide margins to the left of footnotes provide for the scholar's own notations.

Kenneth Hiebert



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key symbolic characteristic,
and volumes so identified.

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(boundaries described)	(focus on One)
Genesis	Matthew
Exodus	Mark
Leviticus	Luke
Numbers	John
Deuteronomy	Acts
2	6
History	Epistles
(trek through time and space)	(directed instruction)
Joshua	Romans
Judges	1 Corinthians
Ruth	2 Corinthians
1 Samuel	Galatians
2 Samuel	Ephesians
1 Kings	Philippians
2 Kings	Colossians
1 Chronicles	1 Thessalonians
2 Chronicles	2 Thessalonians
Ezra	1 Timothy
Nehemiah	2 Timothy
Esther	Titus
3	Philemon
Poetry	Hebrews
(lyric emotional expression)	James
Job	1 Peter
Psalms	2 Peter
Proverbs	1 John
Ecclesiastes	2 John
Song of Songs	3 John
4	Jude
Prophets	7
(inspired seers)	Apocalypse
Isaiah	(vision of the future)
Jeremiah	Revelation
Lamentations	8
Ezekiel	Extracanoncal Writings
Daniel	(peripheral records)
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Joel	
Amos	
Obadiah	
Jonah	
Micah	
Nahum	
Habakkuk	
Zephaniah	
Haggai	
Zechariah	
Malachi	

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ΚΑΙ ΕΓΓΕΝΕΝ ΚΑΛΗ ΛΑΘΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΔΕΛ-
ΛΑΧ ΤΟΝ ΓΙΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΓΕ-
ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΕΓΓΕΝΝΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ
ΟΝΤΟΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΚ-
ΝΟΙΣ ΤΑΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΤΩ
ΤΕΡΟΣ ΟΥΧ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΑ ΟΥΝ
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ΕΙΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ

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